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held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Monday, 26 February 1979, at 4 p.m.

Chairman

Mr. FERRER

(Panama)

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The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.

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

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1. Mr. AL-KAISI (Iraq) paid a tribute to Mr. Kéba M'Baye, Chairman-Rapporteur of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts, who had produced a well-balanced and well-documented report on violations of human rights in southern Africa (E/CN.4/1311), and to Mr. Harriman, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, for the statement he had made to the Commission. The renewal of the mandate of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts should make it possible to study all aspects of racism and the means of combating racism. His delegation endorsed the suggestion that an international tribunal should be created for the purpose of punishing the crime of apartheid. That tribunal should have a code in order that all individuals and representatives of States and all organizations or institutions responsible for the crime of apartheid might be prosecuted.

2. To promote and encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion was the most important principle of the Charter of the United Nations. For that reason, his delegation was pleased that the year 1978 had been marked by important international activities concerning human rights. Among those activities mention should be made of the following: the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which had been held at Geneva in August 1978 and which had adopted a declaration and programme of action, whose implementation his delegation called for; the symposium on the exploitation of blacks in South Africa and Namibia, held at Maseru (Lesotho) in July 1978; and the preparation of the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts, which had studied violations of human rights in southern Africa (E/CN.4/1311).

3. His delegation was extremely concerned about the conclusions reached by the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, namely, that direct relations existed, and were constantly increasing, between the racist régimes in

South Africa and Rhodesia and the Zionist entity in occupied Palestine. It associated itself with all those delegations which had condemned such co-operation as a hostile act against the oppressed population of South Africa and in that respect drew attention to paragraph 18 of the declaration adopted by the Conference; it also observed that paragraph 19 of the declaration drew a parallel between the policy of the Zionist entity and that of the régime in South Africa with respect to the humiliations and acts of torture inflicted on the Palestinian people and the racial discrimination to which it was subjected. He also quoted paragraph 15 of the programme of action adopted by the Conference, which listed the measures to be taken at the international level to eliminate racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

4. The report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1311) showed that the situation in South Africa had not improved with regard to apartheid, but quite the opposite. In comparison with the period previously considered, the number of executions and cases of torture had increased by nearly 50 per cent, most of the persons executed had been blacks; the repression spared neither women nor children. Prisoners had no guarantees with regard to their defence, and the courts collaborated with the Government in carrying out its policy of repression. The most serious violation of the right to self-determination concerned the attempts made by the South African Government to destroy the cultural identity of the blacks and to disrupt their unity, in order to keep them in a kind of bondage to a white State.

5. His delegation supported paragraph 17 of the recommendations adopted by the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on South Africa, in which it was suggested that the Commission on Human Rights should ask the United Nations General Assembly to have a study made of the problem of the South African Government's legitimacy in view of its policy of apartheid, and then to draw from that study all appropriate conclusions of law and of fact. It also supported paragraph 18 of the recommendations, in which the Working Group proposed that the Commission should take into consideration the results of the symposium held at Maseru (Lesotho) and request that the appropriate United Nations bodies, acting in consultation with the competent specialized agencies, should take the initiative of preparing an international convention on the rights of migrant workers; that UNICEF, acting in collaboration with UNESCO, WHO and FAO, should publish an investigation into the lot of black children in South Africa; and that States which had not yet done so should ratify the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. It supported paragraph 19 of the recommendations, in which the Working Group proposed that the Commission should pay particular attention to the results of the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

6. On the question of Namibia, the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts noted that the most important development had been the steps taken by South Africa with a view to unilaterally granting ostensible "independence" to Namibia, the main purpose of which was to assure South Africa of the maintenance of its control over Namibia. His delegation firmly supported the right of the Namibian people to realize its right to self-determination, independence and the enjoyment of all the rights recognized by the various international instruments concerning human rights. It endorsed the recommendation in which the Working Group proposed that the Commission should draw the attention of Member States to the need to assist SWAPO in its struggle to ensure the proper exercise by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination.

7. With regard to Zimbabwe, the Working Group requested the Commission to declare that the third Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 relative to treatment of prisoners of war and its additional Protocol were applicable to the Zimbabwe freedom fighters and demanded that the illegal, racist régime should grant those freedom fighters the treatment to which they were legally entitled.

8. His delegation wished to stress the importance of paragraph 7 of document E/CN.4/1277/Add.9, in which the Syrian Arab Republic pointed out that articles I and II of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid referred not only to apartheid, but also to "similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination", and that the General Assembly, in resolution 3379 (XXX) had determined that zionism was a form of racism and racial discrimination. His delegation also drew attention to the substance of article I, paragraph 1, of the Convention, the text of which was reproduced in annex 2 to document E/CN.4/1277.

9. His delegation was taking a strong stand against racism and apartheid in all international forums. His country had acceded to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in 1969, and to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid in 1975. Article 19 of the Constitution of the Republic of Iraq prohibited any form of discrimination based on race, colour, nationality or ethnic origin, and article 25 guaranteed full freedom of religion, belief and religious practices.

10. After studying the report prepared by Mr. Khalifa (E/CN.4/Sub.2/415), his delegation considered that the multinational corporations of various Western countries, in particular the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, were playing a strong role in supporting the economy of the racist régime in South Africa. His delegation could only condemn those activities. It called upon the countries in question to take the necessary measures to terminate all collaboration with, and all deliveries of arms to, the régime in South Africa. It supported all the sanctions imposed on that régime under Article 41 of the United Nations Charter.

11. Lastly, his delegation supported the draft decision (E/CN.4/L.1450) proposed by the Indian delegation concerning the humiliating and discriminatory treatment to which Asian immigrants were subjected in the United Kingdom and other countries.

11 bis. Mr. LIVENHORE (Canada) said that, according to the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts, violations of fundamental rights in southern Africa had intensified in recent years. The report brought out the two features which characterized the situation in southern Africa; firstly, that institutionalized racism was imposed upon persons, from birth to death simply because of the colour of their skin, irrespective of their innate abilities; and secondly, that the other violations of human rights were part of a pattern of repression and related directly to the attempts of Governments to maintain institutionalized racism.

12. In view of the conclusions reached by the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts, it was incumbent on representatives of States to consider what measures could be taken to ensure respect for, and enjoyment of, human rights in southern Africa. In

Zimbabwe, the situation was deteriorating to the point of no return: some residents were leaving the country and those who remained seemed intent on defying the Security Council resolutions and on frustrating all attempts at conciliation. His delegation considered that the Rhodesian authorities should be made fully aware of the consequences of their actions, which could only lead to an intensification of civil war and inflame a hatred which might irretrievably jeopardize all chances of national reconciliation.

13. With regard to Namibia, his delegation felt that certain recent events gave grounds for hope for a solution and a settlement which would enable all Namibians to participate freely and fully in the determination of their national destiny. It hoped that all parties to the Namibian question would continue to prefer a peaceful course of action and to respond to the efforts of the Security Council.

14. As to South Africa, his Government had taken a number of unilateral steps to impress upon South African officials the need for change. The Canadian Consulate in Johannesburg had been closed and all Government-sponsored trade activities had been terminated. Since 1965, his Government had strictly observed the embargo on arms deliveries to South Africa. His Government did not expect that those measures alone would put an end to apartheid, even if other Western States followed its example. But the pressures for change were increasing with the number of States which felt compelled to take similar action. All those measures could not fail to show South Africa that the international community found apartheid unacceptable.

15. His delegation considered it important to avoid meaningless rhetoric and to be very precise about the Commission's aims in southern Africa. For that reason, it took exception to certain remarks and dubious judgements made by Mr. Harriman, the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid. Although it appreciated the reasons for Mr. Harriman's views, it nevertheless believed that only an approach which wedded the interests of black Africa and the growing concern of Western and other States could bring about the peaceful change which the whole world desired.

16. The problem of institutionalized racism in southern Africa was now the principal concern of the highest councils of the United Nations. That concern could only be increased by the work of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts which was studying violations of human rights in southern Africa. His delegation considered that the reports of the Working Group had added force and vitality to efforts to secure a transition in southern Africa from minority rule to majority government, and expressed appreciation to the Working Group for the report it had submitted.

17. Mr. MARTINEZ (Observer for Argentina), speaking at the invitation of the Chairman, said he wished to reaffirm his country's unalterable position with regard to the problems posed in southern Africa by the existence of colonialist and racist régimes.

18. In that context the documents which had been submitted in masterly fashion to the Commission showed to what extent the United Nations was concerned about the problems of decolonization, racial discrimination and apartheid. Discrimination - whether based on race, sex, language or religion - was prohibited by the Charter of the United Nations and by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and various other

United Nations instruments relating to human rights. In those circumstances, the very existence of a State which based its structures on racial segregation was a violation of the very principles underlying the United Nations.

19. Argentina strongly condemned apartheid as an immoral and aberrant form of racial discrimination and associated itself with those who called on South Africa to renounce that inhuman practice - which not only caused the peoples of Africa to suffer cruelly, but was also an affront to the conscience of man and constituted a violation of the principles of equality and justice on the basis of which the Argentine nation had been established and developed.

20. The declaration and programme of action adopted by the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (A/35/262) showed that the elimination of racial discrimination was imperative for the international community.

21. In view of the intensified political and racial repression and other human rights violations referred to in the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1511), the Commission should recommend Member States to redouble their efforts to persuade South Africa to realize that the installation of a majority Government and the establishment of racial equality were unavoidable requirements.

22. Twelve years had elapsed since the General Assembly, in resolution 2145 (XXI), had declared the mandate of South Africa over Namibia to be terminated and transferred the administration of the territory to the United Nations for the purposes of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Argentina had steadfastly supported those provisions. South Africa should comply with them and enable the Namibians to exercise freely, under the direct supervision and control of the United Nations, their inalienable right as recognized in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Argentina deplored the unilateral measures which South Africa had taken with a view to granting so-called independence to Namibia while at the same time strengthening its military presence in the territory and continuing to persecute members of SWAPO and persons who did not support the South African régime. It strongly condemned the acts and violations of human rights of the inhabitants of the territory mentioned in the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1511), and the attacks against Angola.

23. The situation in Zimbabwe was worsening. Losses of human life marked the path taken by Ian Smith since he had made his so-called unilateral declaration of independence in 1965 in order to convert that territory into an island of racial superiority. However, neither violent repression nor the reprisals against Zambia and Mozambique could halt those who were struggling for the establishment of a majority Government and a multiracial society. Ian Smith would even try to obtain a seat in Parliament on the occasion of the elections provided for under the so-called "internal settlement", which had been unanimously condemned since it violated the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination. That proved that the sole objective of the leaders of the white minority was to set up institutions which did not jeopardize their policy of colonialism and racial discrimination. His delegation considered that the Commission had a duty to strengthen the sanctions imposed by the Security Council and to pursue its action with a view to inducing the rebel régime to accept a genuine process of decolonization.

24. The Commission alone might not succeed in putting an end to the sad state of affairs prevailing in southern Africa, but at least it would reflect in its resolutions the international morality which condemned the status quo and the interests which sought to consolidate situations that ran counter to the course of history. In that manner, it would encourage those who were struggling for the exercise of their rights and would strengthen the motivation of peace-loving peoples.

25. Mr. ARMALIE (Observer for the Palestine Liberation Organization), speaking at the invitation of the Chairman, said he wished to reaffirm his organization's unalterable position with regard to the struggle which the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe were waging against the minority racist régimes that oppressed them - a position prompted by the same motivations as those which had driven the Palestinian people to take up arms against racist zionism. The complicity and co-operation in all spheres which linked the white minority régimes and the régime of the zionist entity made the analogy between the Palestinian problem and the problem of southern Africa even more striking.

26. The report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts, which had been prepared on the basis of indisputable facts (E/CN.4/1311), was an eloquent indictment against the barbarous and deliberate practices of the authorities in Pretoria and Salisbury. Massacres, arbitrary detention, systematic torture in prisons, discriminatory laws and the odious exploitation of African manpower were the kinds of weapons which the minority régimes used in order to preserve their domination over the people and soil of Africa.

27. The unanimous condemnation of those criminal acts and the statements of solidarity with the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia constituted a substantial contribution to the struggle which those peoples were waging for the exercise of their right to self-determination. Unfortunately, certain Western countries and the zionist entity of Israel, engaging in duplicity, continued to maintain economic, military and cultural relations with the apartheid régimes, as could be seen from the eloquent study by Mr. Khalifa, Special Rapporteur, on the adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa (E/CN.4/Sub.2/415). Obviously, those relations were likely to consolidate the minority régimes and not to lessen the suffering of the peoples in southern Africa. It was absolutely essential that they should be terminated.

28. All the measures taken by the international community to enable the oppressed peoples of southern Africa to exercise their fundamental right to self-determination had so far been unavailing and ineffective, but there was still time to take measures that would prove practical and to implement those measures. The programme of action adopted by the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and approved by the General Assembly in resolution 33/99 (I) proposed a number of such measures. But it was particularly important to explore the suggestion made by Mr. M'Baye at a previous meeting to declare the minority governments in Pretoria and Salisbury illegitimate - illegitimate because they constantly violated the provisions of international instruments such as the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and because they represented only a minority.

That illegitimacy also applied to the Government of the Zionist entity. Despite the successive waves of Jewish immigration to Palestine since 1917, and despite the priority accorded to immigration policy by all Zionist Governments since 1948, the present Zionist Government in Palestine continued to represent a minority, since Arabs - those who had remained in Palestine and those who, driven out by force or terrorism, formed part of the Diaspora - still constituted the majority of the population of Palestine.

29. It was the duty of the Commission to make a detailed examination of the question of the illegitimacy of the authorities in Pretoria, Salisbury and Tel Aviv, and of its legal consequences. At the same time, it should continue to denounce apartheid and Zionism, and intensify efforts to make world opinion more aware of the evils of those racist doctrines. Armed struggle remained the only means by which the oppressed peoples, under the leadership of their national liberation movements, would regain their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

30. Mr. AL-HAFEDH (Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization), speaking at the invitation of the Chairman, said that since its establishment 20 years previously his organization, which comprised national committees, national liberation movements and political organizations of all leanings from over 70 countries in Africa and Asia, had supported the legitimate struggle being waged by the Afro-Asian peoples against colonialism, neo-colonialism and all forms of racial discrimination.

31. Faithful to its anti-imperialist and anti-racist principles, his organization defended the cause of human rights in southern Africa and the struggle which the peoples of that region were waging against the racist régimes and the evils of the apartheid system, and for freedom and the exercise of their rights to self-determination and national independence. Racism, racial discrimination, Zionism and apartheid were crimes against humanity and the values of social progress. At the same time, they constituted a threat to the interests of all peoples and to international peace and security. Racism was a major weapon used by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism to undermine the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of nations. The racist régimes and imperialist Governments were the principal enemies of people's liberation movements, peace, détente, human rights and those who were working to establish a new international economic order.

32. At its seventh Presidium held at Hanoi in January 1979, his organization had reaffirmed its position of principle with regard to the just struggle of the peoples of southern Africa and in particular, had, (a) condemned the racist régimes in Pretoria and Salisbury for their crimes against the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe; (b) declared its full solidarity with the liberation movements in southern Africa, namely, the African National Congress in South Africa, the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe, and SWAPO in Namibia; (c) called on the United Nations and other international organizations to impose economic and other sanctions against the racist régimes in southern Africa and to assist the peoples of that region in their struggle for national independence and the right to self-determination; (d) denounced all the manoeuvres by the racist régimes to set up puppet régimes in Namibia and Zimbabwe, and

to bantustanize South Africa; and (c) condemned zionism as a form of racism and denounced the collaboration between the racist régimes in southern Africa and the zionist régime in occupied Palestine.

33. His organization had recently launched a world-wide campaign of solidarity with the liberation movements and the front-line States, namely, Angola, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Botswana, and to that end it had convened an international conference to be held in Zambia on 10 April 1979.

34. All the peoples of the world were confident that the organs of the United Nations, and in particular the Commission on Human Rights, would give a stimulus to the efforts being made to liquidate racism, racial discrimination and apartheid. They hoped that the work of the current session of the Commission would give new strength to all national liberation movements and all anti-racist forces.

35. Mr. EL SHAFEI (Egypt) said that his delegation had carefully studied the documents relating to agenda items 6, 7, 16 and 20, and had paid particular attention to the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1311). It had also listened with great interest to the statements by Mr. M'Baye, Chairman of the Ad Hoc Group, Mr. Harriman, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, and Mr. Khalifa, Special Rapporteur. Whereas the report of the Ad Hoc Group of Experts brought to light the inhuman crimes committed by the apartheid régime in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, Mr. Khalifa's study (E/CN.4/Sub.2/415) explained the causes of those crimes and the reasons for their persistence despite repeated condemnations by the international community.

36. In South Africa, the number of death sentences and executions remained extremely high, the methods of repression spared neither women nor children, and cases of torture, deaths of prisoners, mutilations, disappearances and murders disguised as suicides were increasing from day to day. Moreover, South Africa's racist régime was pursuing its "homelands" policy in violation of the Charter and in contempt of international opinion. In Namibia, massacres continued in villages and refugee camps, and the savage acts of repression against members of SWAPO were being intensified. The situation in Zimbabwe was equally alarming; massacres had multiplied as a result of the so-called "internal settlement" condemned by OAU and the United Nations.

37. In the declaration of the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, apartheid was considered to be a crime against humanity and a threat to peace and security in the world. The Egyptian Government and people supported the heroic struggle of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa for their inalienable right to self-determination, and regretted that certain Governments continued to give economic, political and military assistance to the racist and colonialist régimes. In that connexion, his delegation particularly regretted the intensification of Israel's relations with those régimes.

38. Mr. Khalifa's study contained reliable information, derived from official and semi-official publications and statements, relevant United Nations documents and experience gained through direct contact with reality, on the subject of assistance

to the racist régimes. It clearly established the existence of a causal link between military and political assistance and trade relations, on the one hand, and the pursuit of the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination, on the other. The dangers to international peace and security which resulted from such assistance, especially in the field of nuclear energy, were clearly indicated. His delegation supported the study's conclusions and recommendations, particularly with regard to the need for a complete embargo in all spheres and for the severance of all diplomatic, economic and financial relations with the racist régimes in southern Africa. His delegation also wished to congratulate Mr. Khalifa on the provisional list which he had submitted in pursuance of Commission resolution 7 (XXXIII).

39. Referring to item 20, he noted with regret and concern that the first half of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination proclaimed in General Assembly resolution 3057 (XXVIII) had passed without the desired objectives having been achieved or the majority of the proposed activities executed. However, the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held at Geneva in August 1978, had aroused the hopes of the international community; it was to be hoped that the declaration and programme of action adopted at that Conference and later approved by the General Assembly would be implemented as a matter of urgency. That task devolved upon the Commission on Human Rights, and his delegation wished to submit to it the following suggestions.

(a) Firstly, absolute priority should be given to support and assistance for victims of racism and racial discrimination. In that connexion he pointed out that in the declaration of the World Conference, support for the front-line countries which were victims of the racist régimes was considered to be a commitment of all Governments and all international and regional organizations. In addition, the international fund envisaged in General Assembly resolution 33/100 should be established to furnish additional assistance to the oppressed peoples.

(b) Secondly, governmental and non-governmental organizations should exert continuous and vigorous pressure on the racist régimes and should intensify their assistance to the national liberation movements.

(c) Thirdly, adequate means should be provided to ensure the participation of the specialized agencies and of the competent regional organizations in the activities recommended at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, such as regional seminars.

(d) Fourthly, it was to be hoped that at its thirty-second session the Sub-Commission would make practical and specific proposals for a programme of work which the Commission could undertake in order to implement the programme of action adopted by the Conference.

40. Lastly, he appealed to those States which had not yet done so to accede to the International Convention on the Elimination and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. He associated himself with the representatives of India, Pakistan and Yugoslavia in condemning certain ignominious practices relating to immigration, and expressed support for draft decision E/CN.4/L.1430/Rev.1 on the treatment of immigrants proposed by the delegation of India.

41. Mr. SENE (Senegal), referring to agenda item 6, congratulated the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on his statement and report (E/CN.4/1311). It was evident that during the period under consideration the situation in southern Africa had been marked above all by political repression, mass arrests and rigged trials. No acceptable policy had so far been initiated with regard to capital punishment, ill-treatment of prisoners, the situation of workers and the day-to-day existence of civil populations. In South Africa, the harsh repression unleashed against students and schoolchildren after the events at Soweto showed that the leaders in Pretoria were fully determined to take no account of the principles set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the other relevant international instruments. Their refusal to receive the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts was further clear evidence of their intransigence. In South Africa, the country which held the grim records for size of prison population and number of summary executions, the black populations were today plunged in a new "holocaust". Some years previously, the Pretoria Government had launched the policy of bantustanization, which had produced ghettos such as Transkei and Bophuthatswana which resembled concentration camps but had shamefully been baptized "independent States". In the face of that situation there had been a marked increase in the awareness of the black population but in addition, the international community must apply the necessary solutions. In particular, certain Western countries must make an effort to make the supporters of apartheid in South Africa see reason.

42. In Namibia, South Africa was organizing an electoral masquerade which met neither the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people nor the expectations of the international community; it was also making raids into neighbouring countries such as Angola, which harboured SWAPO militants. However, in December 1978 South Africa had agreed to apply the relevant Security Council resolution, and United Nations troops were arriving in Namibia at that very moment. The Namibian people and the international community must now ensure that the provisions of the settlement plan accepted by SWAPO were implemented in such a way that Namibia's national unity and territorial integrity were respected in the decolonization process.

43. In Zimbabwe, the so-called internal settlement, which had been condemned by the Patriotic Front, OAU and the United Nations, had led to an increase in violence and atrocities against the civil population. Pending direct negotiations between all the parties concerned, his delegation supported the legitimate struggle of the nationalists and condemned the murderous raids against Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana by the illegal Government in Salisbury.

44. Turning to agenda item 7, he thanked Mr. Khalifa for the report contained in document E/CN.4/Sub.2/415. That document showed that the reason why racist régimes continued to defy the international community was that they were benefiting from the military, economic, cultural and other assistance of certain Powers which passed themselves off as champions of human rights. Such scandalous practices must be stopped; the international community must impose a mandatory embargo on arms deliveries to South Africa and must demand the complete withdrawal of investments and the severance of diplomatic relations with that country. His delegation also considered that the General Assembly should investigate the legitimacy of the Pretoria Government in the light of its policy of apartheid and its systematic refusal to apply the principles of the Charter of the United Nations; an

international criminal tribunal should be set up to judge inhuman and degrading practices such as apartheid and racial discrimination. The United Nations bodies dealing with those problems should meet every year to exchange experience and co-ordinate their activities. In that connexion, he stressed the usefulness of the symposium which had recently been held at Maseru on the exploitation of black workers and the situation of prisoners in South Africa and Namibia.

45. In connexion with item 20, he emphasized the great impact which had been made by the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination held at Geneva from 14 to 25 August 1978. He hoped that the declaration and programme of action adopted at the Conference would be implemented without delay, and considered that the international community should also give effect to other instruments such as the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. For its part, Senegal had, in January 1979, adopted the necessary legislative measures to make the Convention applicable in its territory.

46. Recently, in connexion with item 4, Mr. M'Baye had referred to the television film Holocaust. Today, apartheid was holocaust raised to the status of a dogma and a system of government. In order to justify it, the whites of South Africa invoked racial superiority and the difference between evolutionary stages. The answer to that was that all men were born equal and that the values of the human condition must be recognized in everyone. So long as there were men who believed in the superiority of their race, freedom for the rest of humanity would be an illusion. Today, the racists in southern Africa, who stirred up hatred, prepared explosions of violence and threatened international peace and security, must be brought to reason. A veritable crusade must be organized against the citadel of racism in southern Africa. Already cracks were beginning to appear in that citadel and irreversible changes were imminent, since the balance of forces was to the advantage of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa.

47. The right to be different, based on respect for cultural and religious traditions, was an essential element of the right to development. In that connexion, his delegation supported President Giscard d'Estaing's suggestion for a dialogue between Europe, black Africa and the Arab world. Such initiatives could promote mutual understanding between different regions and help to remove the absurd barriers erected by the supporters of apartheid in southern Africa. A democratic and multiracial South Africa would enable the African continent to participate fully, in a renewed spirit of brotherhood, in the construction of universal peace.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.