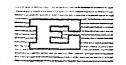
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#### COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Thirty-seventh session

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 1599th MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, on Friday, 13 February 1981, at 10 a.m.

Chairman:

Mr. CALERO RODRIGUES

(Brazil)

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### The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP OF EXPERTS (agenda item 6) (continued) (E/CN.4/1410; E/CN.4/1411; E/CN.4/1429; E/CN.4/1430; E/CN.4/NGO/290)

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) (A/RES/35/32; E/CN.4/Sub.2/425 and Add.1-7)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF APARTHEID (agenda item 17) (continued) (E/CN.4/1415 and Add.1-9; E/CN.4/1416; E/CN.4/1417; E/CN.4/1426; E/CN.4/NGO/290; A/RES/35/39)

- (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 21) (continued) (E/CN.4/1431; E/CN.4/1447; E/CN.4/1448 and Add.1; A/RES/34/24; A/RES/35/33; A/RES/35/34; ST/HR/SER.A/3; ST/HR/SER.A/5)
- 1. Ms. von ROEMER (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) said that her organization appreciated the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1429) on violations of human rights in southern Africa. The report confirmed that the so-called labour reforms in South Africa were intended to bring the growing independent black trade union movements under Government control an intention admitted by the South African Government and repeatedly mentioned by ICFTU.
- 2. The intensified efforts to prevent the independence of black trade unions came as no surprise. An example of those efforts was the forthcoming trial of Joseph Mavi, the President of the Black Municipality Workers Union, which had gone on strike in July 1980. He had been seized by police whilst seekinmg Supreme Court protection for his members and had then been detained under section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act. The action had been described by the Rand Daily Mail as an outrage and an illustration of the precariousness of personal liberty in South Africa. Another example, referred to in paragraph 363(f) of document E/CN.4/1429, was the banning of two senior officials of the Media Workers' Association. In addition, the General Secretary of the National Union of Journalists of the United Kingdom, had been refused entry into South Africa when seeking to assist in negotiations between unions and management.
- 3. As a result of a special conference held in November 1980, attended by trade union leaders from all over the world, the ICFTU Executive Board had adopted a programme of action to help the independent trade union movement of South Africa in its struggle for recognition. Companies whose management was obstructing such recognition would be selected for a special co-ordinated campaign. ICFTU and its affiliates would be ready to take appropriate solidarity action in support of independent black trade unions. They would seek urgent meetings with the EEC Council of Ministers and individual Governments with a view to involving trade unions, in the home countries of transnational corporations, in monitoring codes of conduct, and to securing the approval of sanctions against companies failing to

live up to the codes! provisions, since it was clear from paragraph 299 of document E/CN.4/1429 that reports submitted by transnational corporations themselves were unreliable. They would also press for a reduction by Governments of economic ties with South Africa, for example by removing export incentives and withdrawing financial, scientific and technological co-operation with that country, applying arms and cil embargoes, and increasing economic assistance to neighbouring independent African States so as to reduce their economic dependency on South Africa.

- 4. In addition, ICFTU, in co-operation with national trade union centres, would help to promote alternative job opportunities so as to remove the need for workers from neighbouring African States to migrate to South Africa in order to find work.
- 5. Full details of the programme of action would be provided to any delegation wishing to have them. The free trade union movement would not rest until <u>apartheid</u> had been abolished, and trade union and other human rights recognized, in South Africa.
- Mr. de SENARCIENS (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), introducing UNESCO's latest annual report on its action to combat . racial discrimination, especially in southern Africa (E/CN.4/1448/Add.1), reaffirmed UNESCO's commitment to contribute to United Nations efforts to combat apartheid and racial discrimination by all means, including an analysis, based on the social sciences, of the oppression practised by the apartheid régime. number of UNESCO studies had highlighted South Africa's discrimination in regard to education, science and culture. Recent publications on the subject, some of which were mentioned in the annual report, had analysed not only discriminatory policies but also the fallacious arguments and myths upon which the racist ideology UNESCO would shortly be issuing further publications of apartheid was based. on the subject, including Δpartheid and Social Research and Anti-Development: South Africa and its Bantustans. In addition, the French Anti-Δpartheid Movement had just completed, for UNESCO, an important study on power groups and propaganda in South Africa - a work which would complement the report contained in document E/CN.4/Sub.2/425.
- 7. The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination was organizing a seminar, to be held at UNESCO Headquarters in June 1981, on the history of occupation and repression in South Africa.
- 8. Although the institutionalized racism practised by the <u>apartheid</u> régime was a unique phenomenon, constant vigilance was nevertheless necessary in order to combat the appearance of racist structures and policies elsewhere, and UNESCO had always been active in that area. The task was highly complex; although it was relatively easy to reach agreement on the condemnation of racism, an appraisal of its forms and origins was more difficult. From the outset, UNESCO had suggested that the concept of race reflected social attitudes rather than biological evidence—which meant that the fight against racism called for the work of experts in fields such as sociology and psychology as well as in biology and genetics. The problem of racism was particularly apparent in urban environments, and the causes of urban segregation trends, which had such a bearing on the manifestations of racism, had been the subject of a recent symposium of experts at UNESCO headquarters to analyse the problem of implementing human rights in urban areas.

- 9. UNESCO had made unremitting efforts to combat racism and <u>apartheid</u> by means of education, and many high-level meetings of scientists held under its auspices had issued appeals or declarations against the practices of racism. However, racism constantly reappeared in new and pseudo-intellectual guises, particularly in times of economic crisis or of difficulties between rich and poor countries. All the forces of reason were required in order to combat such manifestations. That was why the Director-General of UNESCO had decided to call a meeting of world-famous experts to examine the problem of race, with a view to formally condemning all pseudo-scientific theories about racial inequality.
- 10. In addition, UNESCO was organizing a symposium of experts, to be held in Sierra Leone in March 1981, to analyse the form and basis of individual and collective action to oppose violations of human rights. Thitherto, few studies had been devoted to the problems associated with such action or to analysing its ethical basis in the context of public international law. The proceedings of the symposium were to be published with the aim of promoting recognition of the right to resist violations of human rights.
- ll. The forthcoming United Nations international conference on senctions against South Africa would be held at UNESCO headquarters, which the Director of the United Nations Centre against Apartheid had recently visited to discuss arrangements. UNESCO would not simply be the host but would be making a substantial contribution to the proceedings.
- 12. Mr. KNIGHT (Baha'i International Community), speaking on agenda item 21(b), said that the writings of the movement's founder had contained a detailed analysis of prejudices based on race, nationality, religion, sex or class, and had described the means of eradicating them. The Baha'i International Community, comprised of members living in more than 100,000 localities in over 300 countries and territories, included almost all races, nationalities, classes, trades, income groups and literacy levels, representing over 1,600 ethnic groups and many religious backgrounds. It had co-operated whole-heartedly with the United Nations human rights programmes; through its 126 national affiliates it had constantly promoted awareness and understanding of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other United Nations instruments.
- 13. In the Baha'i Community's view, prejudice and discrimination could be eliminated only through proper education, attitudes and notivation, and if people were taught to believe in the need for a united mankind and renewal of spiritual values which alone could end the pursuit of selfish interests and the resultant oppression of others. Whilst individual groups should be proud of their own culture and language, it was essential that they should respect those of others.
- 14. Baha'i groups throughout the world endeavoured to apply the movement's principles to their daily lives. Because of the many ethnic sources represented in its community, it felt a prime obligation to safeguard every minority group within it. The movement's founder had taught that discrimination against any race violated the spirit of faith. The chief obstacle to the abolition of racism and racial discrimination was a limited understanding of human nature and the source of human happiness. The development in society of love and compassion, justice, trust and honesty would help to eliminate divisive prejudices and create an environment in which the individual's full potential could be developed.

- 15. A clear view of the progressive unfolding of a divine plan to bring about world peace and a world civilization would help mankind to strive for the elimination of prejudice throughout the world. A world society based on understanding and co-eperation, and free from national rivalries and hatred, was the Baha'i International Community's goal; the same goal was referred to in General Assembly resolution 35/34, and the Baha'i International Community was pledged to co-eperate in United Nations programmes aimed at achieving it.
- 16. Mr. TWESIGYE (Uganda) said that although democracy had only recently been restored in Uganda after many years of dictatorship, the new Government was fully committed to enhancing human rights, regaining Uganda's rightful place in the world community and supporting the Commission's endeavours to create a better world.
  - 17. His delegation supported the conclusions and recommendations contained in the documents submitted to the Cormission in connection with the agenda items under consideration and appreciated the work done by the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts and the Group of Three. Although South Africa's obnoxious pelicies had long been condermed, it was hard to say when they would end, for South Africa continued to receive economic and military support from some Western countries despite its dehumanizing system of racial division and exploitation. In South Africa 20 per cent of the population controlled the political and economic structure whilst the rights of the majority to land ownership, work and choice of domicile were restricted by laws; the majority of the population were restricted to some 13 per cent of South Africa's territory, being allowed to live elsewhere only if "economically productive" a cuphenistic description of what amounted to slave labour. It was no wonder that the black population, whose civil and political rights had been denied and whose protests against the system had been repressed violently, as at Soweto and Sharpville, had resorted to armed struggle.
  - 18. The South African régime determinedly pursued its course of confrontation not only with the black populations in Namibia and South Africa but also with neighbouring black African States. South Africa's defence budget for 1979 had amounted to 1,857 million rand almost twice the 1975 figure. White males now faced a military draft of increasing length, and recruitment of mercenaries had reached unprecedented proportions; in Namibia alone, well over 2,000 white mercenaries were serving in the forces of apartheid. In an article in The Guardian of 29 January 1981 the experiences of a former mercenary in Angola had been recounted; the accounts of ruthless incursions had confirmed what the southern African liberation movements had long been saying without being believed.
  - 19. In September 1979, South Africa had acquired a nuclear capability and detonated a nuclear device, thereby creating an extremely dangerous situation in the region. Uganda pledged its unqualified support to the front-line States which were increasingly becoming targets of the South African war machine.
  - 20. Recently, he recalled, an abortive conference on the independence of Namibia had been held at the behest of five Western countries. People everywhere were waiting to see what those countries would do to make good their claim that they wished to end apartheid now that South Africa, which bore total responsibility for the failure of the conference, had damaged their credibility before the world. In the meantime, his country would continue to give unqualified support to SWAPO in its struggle to ensure the human rights of the Namibian people.

- 21. While the primary responsibility for liquidating <u>apartheid</u> lay with the peoples of southern Africa themselves, the international community, and particularly the western States responsible for the activities of transnational corporations, had a moral obligation to help. His country therefore welcomed the recent conference of European parliamentarians which had not only expressed alarm at the continued failure by Western countries to exert sufficient pressure to put an end to <u>apartheid</u>, but had also discussed ways of obtaining wider support for the implementation of an oil embargo against South Africa. In that connection, recent decisions by the Netherlands and Norwegian Parliaments to stop oil deliveries to South Africa were greatly appreciated. In the absence of good will on the part of South Africa, such efforts by the international community were essential in order to hasten the historically inevitable victory of the peoples of southern Africa. The racist ideology of which <u>apartheid</u> was an expression had already resulted in a bloody and costly world war and he hoped that action would be taken in time to prevent history from repeating itself.
- 22. Mr. ADENIJI (Nigeria) said that the record of human rights violations in southern Africa continued to be a depressing one. The South African apartheid régime, controlled by a secret society rather than by a political party, continued to violate all international human rights instruments; after its failure to prevent the heroic sacrifices of the people of Zimbabwe and the unselfish efforts of progressive international forces from resulting in Zimbabwe's independence, it continued to impose apartheid on illegally occupied Namibia. Apartheid was at the very heart of all human rights violations in southern Africa, and the task of eliminating it was the greatest challenge facing the Commission. Its prospects of achieving that aim were slim, however, as long as certain of its members from Western countries preferred to deal with human rights in theoretical or politically convenient terms rather than in terms of the daily suffering of 16 million black people in southern Africa. It was unfortunate that those countries, on whose economic support apartheid depended for its survival, chose to apply a double standard by protesting against human rights violations in third world countries while condoning them in southern Africa. It was clear that their financial interests outweighed their concern for human rights and that was why they supported an apartheid system which regarded Africans as no more than an expendable source of cheap labour. The well-documented evidence of increasing repression not only of adults but even of children presented in the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1429) made it clear that the apartheid system was being intensified in every area, rather than being relaxed, as the South African régime would have everyone believe. Cosmetic changes, such as the creation of ineffective and powerless white-controlled unions, or the establishment of a multiracial Presidential Council to represent non-white interests - a body from which blacks, who constituted 87 per cent of the population were excluded - fooled no one. It was clear that blacks would continue to be debarred from the political process.
- 23. The South African Government had been able to defy the world community because of the economic, political, military and cultural support it received from foreign Governments and transnational corporations. Despite the Security Council arms embargo, some Governments continued to provide South Africa with the military equipment which emboldened it to violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the front-line States in raids which killed and maimed many innocent Africans. Perhaps most serious of all was the fact that some countries were supplying the equipment which would help provide a nuclear weapon capability to a régime which had become an international outcast and was capable of any irrational act, including the use of nuclear weapons, to protect its criminal policy of apartheid.

- 24. Apartheid also extended to Namibia, and he urged the Commission to take a separate decision on that Territory, particularly in the light of the failure of the recent conference which had been held at Geneva to work out plans for Namibia's accession to independence. SWAPO had agreed to attend that conference against the background of Security Council resolutions calling for free elections in Namibia, but South Africa had then doomed it to failure by its refusal to co-operate, despite SWAPO's constructive approach to the negotiations. Even South Africa's five Western supporters, which had promoted the conference, had been taken aback by South Africa's intransigence. South Africa's tactic was perfectly clear. Conscious of the continued support it enjoyed from other countries, it hoped to block self-determination for Namibia indefinitely.
- 25. It was regrettable that not one Western country had ratified or acceded to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. He appealed to those countries which professed their support for human rights to take the necessary steps to accede to that Convention. His own Government would continue to support all sanctions, including an oil embargo, against South Africa and all supporters of apartheid, and to do everything possible to free the peoples of southern Africa from their bondage. That resition had been reaffirmed by the President of Nigeria at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.
- 26. Mr. SALAH-BEY (Algeria) said that the situation in southern Africa, like that in Palestine and the occupied Arab territories, was marked by violence, terror and disregard for the most elementary human rights. In South Africa, the detentions, discriminatory measures and massacres practised by a white minority representing only one-fifth of the population should be viewed not only as atrocities against the entire black population, but as a sustained provocation to the international community. The repeated condemnations of the policy of apartheid by the highest international bodies demonstrated the universal revulsion felt for a régime so arrogant as to extend institutionalized racism to the illegally occupied Territory of Namibia.
- 27. The exploitation of black labour, mass arrests, bannings, arbitrary detentions, torture, murders, mysterious disappearances and organized massacres had not declined since the tragedy of Soweto, in which some 1,000 African anti-apartheid demonstrators had lost their lives. Confined in bantustans, the black population represented nothing more than a source of cheap labour to the landowners, who held 500,000 hectares of the best land.
- 28. The South African régime clearly intended to perpetuate its domination of the black African majority. Even while it was being condemned on moral grounds in various forums, South Africa continued to adopt an attitude of arrogance and to commit further provocations, thus posing a serious threat to peace in the region.
- 29. In addition to illegally occupying Namibia, the South African régime was intensifying its policy of aggression against the front-line States. Following its acts of aggression against Angola, and the atrocities committed in that country, the Pretoria régime had attacked Mozambique. The raid carried out against a camp for South African refugees, in the village of Matola, had followed the attack on the Maputo area, which had taken place just when an international commission of inquiry into the crimes of the racist régime was meeting in Luanda. However, that would certainly not be the last time that South Africa acted in defiance of the international community.

- 30. Each year, the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on violations of human rights in southern Africa became more voluminous. The conclusions contained in the current report were substantiated by irrefutable facts and tangible evidence. It was futile to believe in a change of policy by the South African régime, at a time when the number of persons sentenced to death was increasing daily; when detainees were continuing to be subjected to cruel and degrading treatment; when repression, bantustanization and exploitation of black labour were on the rise; when acts of aggression against neighbouring countries were becoming more frequent; and when the forces occupying Namibia were being strengthened.
- 31. At the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, 18 resolutions had been adopted on the question of apartheid, the most significant of them calling for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. overwhelming majority, the international community had condemned military and nuclear co-operation with South Africa and had called on Governments to prohibit all co-operation with South Africa by the transnational corporations under their jurisdiction. Those urgent appeals clearly showed that the international community was aware that the policy of aggression of the racist régime continued to benefit from the complicity and support of a number of Western countries which found in it an extension of their own interests and those of their transmationals. Foreign capital provided unconditional support to the racist régime, as evidenced by the hundreds of multinational banking and industrial concerns of developed countries which were established in South Africa, representing investments worth Pretoria's acts of aggression were carried out with weapons billions of dollars. and equipment provided by a number of countries; moreover, multinational corporations, through bank loans, investments and the transfer of technology, were intent on strengthening the military arsenal of South Africa. establishment in South Africa of a nuclear military complex was a glaring example of such policies. Such co-operation was sometimes carried out quite openly. The French newspaper Le Figaro, of 11 February 1981, had reported a South African official as stating that all countries, while pointing the finger at South Africa, were nevertheless happy to co-operate secretly with the régime. connection, one Vestern European and one African country had been mentioned.
- 32. Referring to remarks made earlier by the representative of Portugal, he said that the crimes of the Shah of Iran, Idi Amin and Somoza may not have been brought to the attention of the Commission at the time by means of the procedures which governed its work. The systematic and institutionalized violation of human rights in South Africa, on the other hand, had been brought to its attention clearly and in great detail. The pressing duty of the Commission was to define specific measures for the imposition of sanctions by the international community as a whole against South Africa. In that connection, he welcomed the General Assembly's decision to hold, in co-operation with OAU, an international conference on sanctions against South Africa. The Commission should consider the contribution which it could make to that conference.
- 33. His delegation wished the mandate of the Special Rapporteur, appointed by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, to prepare a list of banks, transnational corporations and other organizations

assisting the racist régimes in southern Africa to be extended, so that the Commission would continue to receive an updated list at each session. In addition, such assistance should be vigorously condemned and should be discontinued by the countries concerned, since it was contrary to United Nations decisions and to universal morality.

- 34. He was convinced that the Commission, basing itself on the objective evidence collected by the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts, would adopt the decisions warranted by the crimes perpetrated by the racist régime of South Africa.
- 35. Mr. PISSAS (Cyprus) said that human rights were not only the basis of a decent and prosperous life for individuals, but also the cornerstone of co-operation among States and of peaceful co-existence. However, in spite of numerous resolutions and declarations, and uprisings against colonial régimes resulting in the establishment of many newly independent States, racial discrimination, apartheid and the denial of human rights and freedoms and of national independence still persisted in Africa.
- 36. The policy of apartheid constituted a grave threat to peaceful relations between ethnic groups throughout the world. In its resolution 3411 (XXX), the General Assembly had made a number of recommendations to Governments to assist them in taking the necessary measures to concert international efforts for the speedy eradication of apartheid in South Africa. It was disappointing, therefore, to note that the efforts made by the United Nations to put an end to the policy of apartheid in South Africa and to hold elections in Namibia under United Nations supervision had yielded no results. The South African Government had persisted in its repressive measures against all those, mostly blacks, who had sought to eliminate apartheid, had defied international law and international opinion and had systematically refused to apply the principles of the Charter of the United Nations or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- 37. Acceptance and ratification of international human rights instruments should always be followed up by national legislation guaranteeing every citizen full enjoyment of all fundamental human rights, due process of law and effective remedies against any illegal or improper act or omission on the part of any authority. Cyprus had fully endorsed fundamental human rights and liberties in In particular, article 6 of that instrument prohibited any its Constitution. organ, authority or person exercising executive power or administrative functions from discriminating against any person because of his membership of a given community, while article 28 guaranteed all persons equal protection and treatment under the law and equal enjoyment of all rights and liberties, without discrimination on any grounds whatsoever. In accordance with article 169 of the Constitution, the Cypriot Parliament had ratified the two International Covenants on Human Rights and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which had thus become part of its municipal law, with superior force over it.
- 38. The Republic of Cyprus had always condemned the abhorrent policy of <u>apartheid</u>, in all its manifestations, before all the appropriate organs of the United Nations. Despite its limited resources, his Government contributed to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the Trust Fund for Publicity against <u>Apartheid</u>, the Trust Fund for Namibia, the United Nations Institute for Namibia and the Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. The mass media in Cyprus gave wide publicity to all United Nations resolutions and conferences on racism

and racial discrimination and <u>apartheid</u> and to the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. His Government would do everything possible to implement the Programme laid down in General Assembly resolution 34/24, in particular, the provisions of paragraph 18 of that Programme. His delegation welcomed the decision to hold a seminar to study the formulation of effective measures to prevent transnational corporations and other established interests from collaborating with any racist régimes.

- 39. The final eradication of all forms of racism and racial discrimination and apartheid would not, however, be achieved with seminars and resolutions alone. The Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts had repeatedly referred to the urgency of sanctions. Would the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter remain inactive? How could the international community help Namibia? How long would SWAPO fight Would the sanctions against those who violated the Charter and defied the relevant United Nations resolutions remain a dead letter? How and when would the reactionary régimes which disregarded world public opinion be obliged to respect the Charter and fulfil their obligations to humanity? Those questions were put not only by the people of Namibia and other parts of Africa but by all persons throughout the world who were indignant at the continued flagrant defiance of the United Nations and its organs. His delegations therefore raised its voice on behalf of all the victims of racial discrimination and apartheid to stress the urgent need for practical and drastic measures. Effective measures and the appropriate machinery would not only stop violations of human rights in southern Africa and help to eradicate racial discrimination and apartheid; they would also constitute a firm barrier to other violators who defied the resolutions of the United Nations and disregarded the principles of international law.
- 40. Mr. MATELJAK (Yugoslavia) said that in spite of all the efforts of the United Nations and the international community, the minority racist régime in South Africa was continuing to pursue its policy of apartheid, which constituted not only the most horrifying form of violation of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms but also a crime against humanity and a serious threat to international peace and security. Some of the ugly features of that policy, described in detail in the latest report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1429), included brutal repression, mass arrests, large-scale removals of populations, detention without trial, torture and murder of political prisoners, harassment of African trade union leaders and intensified bantustanization.
- 41. Furthermore, the South African racists did not confine their activities to South Africa: defying all decisions of the United Nations, they were not only continuing their illegal occupation of Namibia but were pursuing their policy of apartheid in that Territory as well. Through its efforts to facilitate the accession to power of the so-called democratic Turnhalle Alliance, South Africa showed clearly that it wanted to convert Namibia into a sort of bantustan which would remain permanently under its military and administrative control. That explained why the South African delegation had been so unco-operative at the recent Geneva talks on Namibia, an attitude which had led to the failure of the talks.
- 42. In those circumstances, the United Nations and the entire international community had no alternative but to intensify their pressure on South Africa inter alia, by imposing sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter in order to enable the Namibian people, headed by SWAPO, fully to exercise its inalienable rights to self-determination and independence.

- 43. In its futile efforts to reverse the course of history, the Pretoria régime was trying to internationalize its conflict with the oppressed peoples of southern Africa by committing almost daily acts of aggression against the neighbouring States of Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana. At the same time, according to the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group, South African militarists were training anti-Government rebel forces against some of those neighbouring States, a policy which not only endangered the sovereignty and independence of those States, but also constituted a threat to peace and security in Africa and the world.
- 44. It was regrettable that certain Member States continued to co-operate with the racist régime in Pretoria, thus enabling it to remain in power and to pursue its policy of apartheid. The report by Mr. Khalifa (E/CN.4/Sub.2/425) showed clearly the harmful consequences of such co-operation for the peoples of southern Africa and for the cause of human rights in general. There was no doubt that at the core of the problem lay the economic and strategic interests of certain international circles seeking to make huge profits at the expense of the African workers. More than 2,000 transnational corporations were currently operating in the financial and industrial sectors of South Africa. The activities of those corporations, as well as foreign investments, constituted the main driving force behind the growth of the South African economy and encouraged continuation of the policy of apartheid. It should be noted that in South Africa 80 per cent of the population received only 21 per cent of total personal earnings.
- 45. The latest developments in southern Africa showed that the African peoples in that region were intensifying their resistance to the policy of <u>apartheid</u>. According to the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group, all sections of African society in South Africa and Namibia, through various forms of action, including guerrilla activities, were stepping up their struggle against the racist régime in South Africa in order to exercise their inalienable rights to self-determination, independence and human dignity.
- 46. It was the duty of the United Nations and the entire world community to extend all necessary assistance to those peoples in their struggle. It was clear that the time had come when mere condemnation of colonialism and racism in southern Africa was no longer sufficient and when concrete intensified action was required. Such action should include increased moral, political, material and military assistance to the liberation movements in the region, namely SWAPO, the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania; effective implementation of all the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts contained in the documents submitted to the current session by the Group; effective implementation of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination; further universalization and more consistent implementation of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, which had regrettably been ratified by only a little more than one-third of the Members of the United Nations: and effective measures to bring about the complete international, political, economic and military isolation of the South African racist régime. It was particularly important that countries which maintained relations with South Africa should join the United Nations in its efforts to put an end to the policy of apartheid and, instead of only paying lip service to the struggle against that policy, should take effective measures to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions.

- 47. In accordance with the positions taken by the non-aligned countries on the question of apartheid and colonialism in southern Africa, his Government had been providing, within the limit of its possibilities, all-out support to the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa. It maintained close relations with the liberation movements of that region recognized by CAU and participated in all international activities aimed at the elimination of apartheid and colonialism in southern Africa. It had ratified and implemented consistently the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. In that connection, his Government attached great importance and would give due consideration to the study prepared by the Ad Hoc Working Group on the question of implementation of the Convention and on the establishment of an international tribunal, as envisaged by the Convention.
- 48. In conclusion, he stressed the importance of the work performed by the Group and expressed the view that its mandate should be extended. One of its tasks in the coming year should be to prepare a study on the obstacles which had prevented the more complete implementation of its recommendations and had caused the failure of United Nations efforts to put an end to the policy of apartheid in South Africa and to hold elections in Namibia under United Nations supervision.
- 49. Mrs. GU YIJIE (Observer for China) said that the question of violations of human rights in southern Africa had for many years been of grave concern to the United Nations and to the international community. The peoples of southern Africa had been engaged in a protracted struggle against colonialism and racism. Her delegation welcomed the accession to independence of Zimbabwe after a heroic struggle lasting almost a century. That victory would provide much encouragement to the peoples of southern Africa in their struggles for national liberation.
- 50. The reactionary régime of South Africa was continuing to pursue its policy of apartheid and to take repressive measures against opponents of that policy. Its methods included political repression, detention without trial, mass removals of populations, and torture of political prisoners and detainees. In Namibia, the Government of South Africa had concocted a so-called "internal solution" with a view to legalizing its puppet régime in the Territory. It had consistently refused to implement the United Nations resolutions aimed at resolving the problem and achieving peace. In that connection, she noted that a meeting held recently at Geneva on the subject of Namibia had failed because of numerous obstacles created by the South African authorities.
- 51. At its thirty-fifth session, the General Assembly had strongly condemned the policies of <u>apartheid</u>, racism and racial discrimination practised in southern Africa and expressed the view that the convening of a second world conference during the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination would make a useful and constructive contribution to the attainment of the objectives of the Decade. In her delegation's opinion, such a conference would help to mobilize world public opinion further in support of the struggles of the peoples in southern Africa.
- 52. Her Government strongly supported the just struggle of the peoples in southern Africa and condemned the South African racists for their policy of apartheid. It maintained no diplomatic, political or economic relations with the racist South African régime and believed that the United Nations should take practical and effective measures, including sanctions, in order to make it abandon its racist policies and respect human rights.