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President: Mr. Raymond SCHEYVEN (Belgium).

AGENDA ITEM 14

Allegations regarding infringements of trade union rights (E/4610, E/4613, E/4646)

1. The PRESIDENT invited the Council to consider item 14 of its agenda.

2. Mr. SCHREIBER (Director, Division of Human Rights) introduced the documents which were before the Council and recalled the procedure for the consideration of allegations regarding infringements of trade union rights. That procedure was based on Economic and Social Council resolution 277 (X), of 17 February 1960, under which, when an allegation was received concerning a country which was a member of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the Secretary-General was asked to forward it to the competent organs of the International Labour Office through its Governing Body. A large number of communications were forwarded each year under that procedure. When the allegation concerned a country which was not a member of the ILO, but which was a Member of the United Nations, the Secretary-General was requested to ask the Government accused whether it agreed to the allegation being considered by the competent organs of the International Labour Office. If the reply was in the affirmative, the procedure was the same as if the country was a member of the ILO; if not, the allegation was considered by the Economic and Social Council itself.

3. In 1966, the World Federation of Trade Unions had submitted allegations regarding the Republic of South Africa, a country which was not a member of the ILO, and the Secretary-General had therefore sought the consent of the South African Government before forwarding those allegations to the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association, through the Governing Body of the International Labour Office. Since the reply of the South African Government had been in the negative, the Council had referred the question to an ad hoc working group of experts, established under resolution 2 (XXIII) of the Commission on Human Rights, which had submitted a first report to the forty-fourth Session of the Council.^{1/} In its resolution 1302 (XLIV),

^{1/} Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 16, Document E/4459

of 28 May 1968, the Council had requested the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts, whose mandate had been renewed under resolution 2 (XXIV) of the Commission on Human Rights, to report on its findings to the forty-sixth Session of the Council. The members of the Council would find the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts in document E/4646.

4. In addition, the Secretary-General had received a communication from the General Secretary of the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees, Geneva (Switzerland), containing further allegations regarding South Africa. The Secretary-General had sought the consent of the South African Government before forwarding those allegations to the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association through the Governing Body of the International Labour Office. He had not yet received a reply to his request. That question was dealt with in the note by the Secretary-General (E/4613).

5. Lastly, the Director-General of the International Labour Office had asked the Secretary-General to transmit to the Economic and Social Council the 107th report of the Committee on Freedom of Association of the International Labour Office relating more specifically to infringements of trade union rights in Southern Rhodesia. The Committee's conclusions would be found in paragraph 52 of the report, which was contained in an annex to another note by the Secretary-General (E/4610).

6. Mr. JHA (India) said that the report before the Council (E/4646), a document which might be considered as a supplement to the report prepared by the same group of experts on the treatment of political prisoners in the Republic of South Africa,^{2/} gave a detailed picture of the deplorable situation which prevailed in the whole of southern Africa with regard to trade union rights. Infringements of those rights were, in fact, one of the many aspects of the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination practised in that part of the world.

7. In most countries, trade unionism was a powerful instrument which often contributed to the formulation of policies in different spheres, and was generally characterized by very close solidarity; unfortunately, that solidarity was completely lacking in southern Africa and there was a very clear separation between white and non-white trade unions, since the former upheld the régime in power and supported discriminatory legislation and practices.

8. The situation had been deteriorating for some time, as was shown by developments in the Trade Union Council of South Africa. That organization, which grouped together a large number of South African trade unions, had recently been obliged to

^{2/} E/CN.4/950

take a step backwards and to revert to the segregationist policy of the 1950s from which it had gradually departed under the influence of its more liberal members. He described the efforts exerted by some members of that organization to make it multiracial, the pressure exerted on them both by the Government and by other trade unions favourable to the régime, and the unjustified attacks to which they were subjected. The case of the Trade Union Council illustrated perfectly the recent development of trade unionism in South Africa.

9. The report of the Ad Hoc Group of Experts (E/4646) showed that, although racial discrimination was not an official policy in Southern Rhodesia (as it was in South Africa), it was equally apparent in all fields, as a result of the legislation in force. Examples of such legislation were the Land Apportionment Act, which reserved the white population (5.5 per cent of the total population) almost 38 per cent of the total land area in the most fertile areas of the Territory, thus obliging Africans who did not have any land to migrate to the towns, and the Industrial Conciliation Act, promulgated in 1959. The latter Act seemed at first sight to be fairly liberal, but in practice it had been shown to work against the interests of the African workers. For example, it did not apply to domestic or to agricultural workers, who represented 50 per cent of the total labour force. Such workers were still subject to the provisions of the Master and Servants Act, which placed them at the mercy of their white employers and left considerable latitude to the Registrar, who could refuse to register trade unions under the most varied pretexts. A trade unionist who had been accused of any crime could not belong to a trade union for seven years and a great number of people had thus been the subject of perfectly groundless accusations designed, in fact, to prevent them from engaging in union activities. The same Act also provided for differential voting rights based on the competence of the workers.

10. In some respects, as was well-known, the situation of workers in Southern Rhodesia was identical to that of the African labour force in South Africa: unequal pay (the average wages of the white worker were ten times higher than those of the non-white worker), prohibition of the right to strike, restrictions on the freedom to hold meetings and so on. Since unemployment continued to increase, the Government had promulgated the Vagrancy Act, under which Africans without work were sent to camps. Discrimination was also apparent in the field of education, which was neither compulsory nor free for Africans, a fact which retarded their progress still further, since they had to be able to read and write before obtaining the right to vote.

11. With regard to Namibia, unfortunately, very little information was available. There was an organization called the South West Africa Native Labour Association, but it was in fact an agency for "the recruitment of workers" and its practices were reminiscent of slavery. He referred members of the Council to the chapter of the report devoted to the activities of that organization (E/4646, chap. V).

12. Mr. MUKHERJEE (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions), speaking at the invitation of the

President, said that the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions attached particular importance to the question now before the Council and wished to congratulate the Ad Hoc Group of Experts on its excellent report and recommendations. It was regrettable that the Ad Hoc Group had not been able to visit the countries under investigation, as a result of which its work was far from finished. The Confederation hoped that the Ad Hoc Group's mandate would be renewed so that it could continue its efforts to find a satisfactory solution to the problems. Moreover, it was probable that the Economic and Social Council would in future have to deal with many more allegations of infringements of trade union rights in countries where, for various reasons, the ILO was not in a position to act. In that case, it would undoubtedly be the responsibility of the United Nations to consider the problems which arose, and for that purpose, as well as for specialization, it might perhaps be advisable to establish a permanent machinery to deal with those exceptional complaints. Allegations relating to infringements of trade union rights originated mainly from international trade union organizations; it might be useful if representatives of those organizations were more closely associated with the investigations carried out. Similarly, it might be advisable to continue and extend the mandate of the Ad Hoc Group so that it could study infringements of trade union rights in the Portuguese colonies in Africa, in which the majority of the population was denied not only trade union rights, but even the most elementary human rights.

13. With regard to South Africa, the International Confederation had been vigorously fighting against the system of apartheid and racial discrimination imposed on the African population. As early as 1953, it had drawn the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that the South African Government was intensifying its efforts to enslave the non-white population of the country and to deprive it of all means of protest. Ever since, the Confederation had consistently drawn the attention of world public opinion to that inhuman policy and had submitted numerous complaints against the South African Government to the International Labour Office. Time and again, it had urged the United Nations and its competent bodies to apply total economic sanctions against South Africa and to sever all diplomatic and commercial relations with that country until it abolished the apartheid system. In 1960 the Confederation, in co-operation with various international trade secretariats, had organized a massive boycott of South African goods. As a result of those active campaigns, particularly in the ILO, the South African Government had decided in 1964 to leave the ILO in order to try to escape the mounting pressure to which it was subjected. Since then, the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights had been dealing with the question, since South Africa was still a Member of the United Nations. However, although the South African Government had been condemned many times by the competent United Nations bodies for its apartheid policy, it had continued to pursue that policy and the situation had not only failed to improve, but had in fact deteriorated. New legislation had been proposed, which would increase the

powers of the Minister of Bantu Administration and enable him to exercise dictatorial powers over the African population. The Confederation had drawn the Secretary-General's attention to that matter and had urged him to bring the strongest pressure to bear upon the South African Government to withdraw the proposed legislation, which would strip the African workers of what little security they still possessed. The Confederation wished to draw the attention of the Economic and Social Council to the matter. Until the beginning of 1966, it had had an affiliate in South Africa, the Federation of Free African Trade Unions, which had been open to all workers, without any distinction as to race. As a result of the Confederation's fight against the apartheid policy, the South African Government had adopted punitive measures against its affiliate and had brought pressure to bear on the latter with a view to its dissolution. Similarly, in February 1969, the Trade Union Council of South Africa, which until then had followed a multiracial policy, had been forced under government pressure to amend its constitution so as to exclude African trade unions from membership.

14. The Confederation believed that the United Nations, the specialized agencies, Member States and non-governmental organizations should intensify their efforts to induce the South African Government to renounce its apartheid policy, and in the meantime it was essential to devise ways and means of assisting the non-white workers in South Africa. For that reason, it fully supported the recommendation of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts that the great international trade unions should continue to support South African workers without any discrimination as to race. To that end, it hoped that the Council would consider the possibility of making funds available to those organizations from the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, one of whose aims was to provide educational facilities and assistance to the African population of that country.

15. The Confederation also supported Economic and Social Council resolution 1332 (XLIV) of 31 May 1968 requesting the Secretary-General to establish a United Nations information centre in South Africa, with a view to disseminating the aims and purposes of the United Nations; information about the ILO principles and standards concerning freedom of association and trade union rights should also be disseminated as widely as possible. It had itself pursued a world-wide propaganda campaign against the South African Government's apartheid policy and all other degrading and inhuman practices of racial discrimination and segregation. The recommendations on that subject by the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts were particularly welcome.

16. With regard to Namibia, the Confederation had always fully supported all United Nations decisions. The situation of African workers with regard to the exercise of trade union rights was even worse in Namibia than it was in South Africa. There was rampant discrimination in employment and an enormous difference existed between the wages of European and African workers; furthermore, the method of hiring native workers constituted a flagrant example

of forced labour. Thousands of workers and political leaders were languishing in prison or in slave labour camps for having dared to protest against those measures. The formation of real trade unions was forbidden; in that connexion, the Council should perhaps request the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts to prepare a charter of trade union rights for all workers in Namibia, as well as plans for its implementation in the Territory once the latter had been freed.

17. With regard to the situation in Southern Rhodesia, the Confederation had unequivocally denounced the unilateral declaration of independence and the minority régime, as well as the proposed new constitution which aimed only at perpetuating the domination of the white minority over the African majority. The United Nations and the United Kingdom Government should re-examine that problem, for the situation called for immediate intervention if the Zimbabwe people were not to be reduced to a state of bondage, in open defiance of world opinion. African workers had never enjoyed full freedom of association and trade union rights in Southern Rhodesia, and the Confederation had persistently protested against that state of affairs. The situation had continued to deteriorate since the unilateral declaration of independence. Not only were trade union rights violated, but, according to the latest information, 186 trade union leaders had been detained without trial for a number of years, despite appeals from international organizations. Their only fault was that they happened to be trade union leaders and were engaged in what was universally recognized as legitimate trade union action. The policy of the illegal régime was designed to break the morale of the African workers and to shatter their confidence in the efficacy of trade unions so that they could be exploited more fully. The legislation governing the registration of trade unions impeded their activities and recruitment. The Master and Servants Act of 1900 was still in force and was applicable to agricultural workers in particular. Other legislation adopted in recent years had had the result of limiting the rights of the African population with regard to freedom of association, freedom to hold meetings and freedom of residence. The police had unprecedented powers and could at any time interrogate union officials, visit union headquarters, confiscate union documents, and attend and interfere in union meetings. The African unions were forced to find office accommodation in clearly defined areas, which were generally far away from members' homes, and the lack of appropriate transport facilities further crippled union activity. Many other examples of that repressive policy could be cited. The Confederation shared the concern expressed in that connexion by the Security Council, and hoped that the new measures which had been decided upon would help to restore constitutional authority in Southern Rhodesia as quickly as possible.

18. The problems of South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia were primarily political and no solution would be complete and satisfactory unless a political formula was found. In the meantime, the United Nations should do everything possible to provide the African workers with all the assistance they needed in order to lessen their suffering and prepare them to participate fully in the affairs of

their country when it became independent. The Confederation would continue to give them all the assistance it could. Lastly, it appealed once more to all Governments to apply rigorously all the measures and sanctions which the United Nations had decided to take against the reactionary Governments which continued to deny fundamental human rights to the African population of the region.

19. Mr. BARTON (World Federation of Trade Unions), speaking at the President's invitation, said that the main purpose of the legislation adopted by the South African Government was to control the supply of African labour, which was considered as a commodity whose price was fixed by the buyer, i.e., the employer. Through the pass laws and job reservations, the authorities controlled the mobility of African workers and maintained in the "Reserves" a vast reservoir of labour living in such lamentable conditions that many Africans were willing to accept any kind of work in industry, in the mines or even on the farms when they were allowed to do so. The system was also designed to discourage the formation of trade unions. No African worker could be employed unless he possessed a document endorsed by his previous employer; that made it possible to intimidate any worker who might wish to organize or join a branch of a trade union. If there were still any doubts as to whether the apartheid régime was designed not to ensure "separate development", as the Government claimed, but to ensure a supply of cheap labour, all remaining illusions would be dispelled by reading the circular issued by the Department of Bantu Administration on 12 December 1967.

20. The purpose of the job reservation system was to prevent African and Coloured workers from taking skilled jobs. It was true that the system was being applied less and less strictly; however, that was not because the régime was becoming more liberal but because, despite all its efforts to encourage immigration, the country was short of white workers. In any event, the employment of Africans in skilled jobs was retarded by the discriminatory system of education and vocational training. For example, only 0.1 per cent of the economically active African population had obtained a secondary school leaving certificate. Immigration was therefore essential in order to keep apartheid going. Consequently, it was particularly important to publicize information on apartheid as widely as possible, especially in countries where the South African Government was trying to recruit skilled workers. The more the latter were made aware of the true situation in South Africa—and in Southern Rhodesia—the less they would be inclined to support those countries by working there.

21. The situation with regard to trade unions in South Africa was extremely disturbing. The South African Confederation of Labour was a right-wing organization which unreservedly supported the Nationalist Party and its policy of apartheid. It claimed 120,000 members and was completely opposed to any effort to organize African, Coloured or Indian workers. The second main trade union body, the Trade Union Council of South Africa, was less extreme. It should not be forgotten, however, that it had been founded in 1955 for the express purpose

of excluding African unions. It had been forced to change its policy several times, but ultimately it had reverted to its initial position under pressure from the Government and certain racist unions. It was deplorable that neither of the two organizations had fought for the right of Africans to organize trade unions and to protect their interests. All they had done was to maintain the privileged status of white workers and, in the case of Trade Union Council, to try to improve its image abroad. The Trade Union Council had opposed political action by African workers against apartheid, and, indeed, none of its leaders had ever been prosecuted or imprisoned under the apartheid legislation.

22. The World Federation of Trade Unions had given constant and whole-hearted support to the struggle of African workers against the system of apartheid. In 1960, it had taken the initiative in forming a World Trade Union Committee for solidarity with the workers and peoples of South Africa, the purpose of which was to co-ordinate the support of trade unions throughout the world, particularly in the provision of training facilities for trade unionists and in publicizing the system of apartheid. In 1968, the Committee had extended its activity to Southern Rhodesia and to the Territories under Portuguese rule. The fifth International Conference of Miners, held at Berlin in December 1968, had drawn the attention of the Governments of Malawi, Lesotho and Botswana to the inhuman treatment suffered by their citizens in the South African mines and had urged them not to permit their citizens to be recruited for labour in the mines. Namibia had, of course, been a major source of labour for the recruiting staff of the South African mines, which were operated in a manner considered illegal in most countries. Among those recruited, for example, were persons accused of being idle, dissolute or disorderly, who were handed over to the recruiting agents by the police. All attempts to organize the workers in Namibia had been ruthlessly crushed by the South African authorities. The apartheid legislation of South Africa was in fact now being applied in Namibia, and if the South West African Affairs Bill was adopted, the Legislative Assembly of South West Africa would be stripped of its authority in African affairs and labour matters, which would pass to the President of the Republic of South Africa. In 1963, there had been only four trade unions registered in South West Africa, and all their members had been white. Attempts to form African trade unions had been broken up by the police. The obstacles to trade union activities in South West Africa were thus even greater than in South Africa itself.

23. In Southern Rhodesia, the emergency regulations and other so-called security legislation had to all intents and purposes superseded trade union legislation. It should not be forgotten, however, that the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1959, the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act of 1960, the original Emergency Powers Act of 1960 and other discriminatory legislation had been enacted before the unilateral declaration of independence. In that connexion, the note by the Secretary-General (E/4610), which contained in its annex a communication from the ILO on the violation of trade union rights in Southern Rhodesia and supplemented the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group

of Experts (E/4646), was most interesting. All the evidence collected by the Working Group and by the ILO confirmed the fact that in the Republic of South Africa, in Namibia and in Southern Rhodesia trade unions for African workers were subjected to terrible oppression. It was, of course, primarily a political problem and not simply a question of trade union rights. The World Federation believed that the United Nations should take action to solve the problem of southern Africa as a whole, including the Territories under Portuguese rule. It was undeniable, for example, that the effectiveness of the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia was being impaired by the aid which the latter received from Portugal and South Africa, quite apart from that of other countries which were not complying with the General Assembly's resolutions.

24. Nevertheless, it was important to restore trade union rights, if only because those régimes were entirely dependent on African labour and on their relations with a few countries where the trade union movement had considerable strength. Maximum publicity for violations of trade union rights in southern Africa might therefore help to stimulate the movement in such countries against the support given by their Governments to the racist régimes. For that reason, the World Federation whole-heartedly endorsed the proposal of the Ad Hoc Working Group (see E/4646 para. 150), to circulate the information in its report as widely as possible, particularly in trade unions; such publicity might also help to discourage immigration by white workers to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. In addition, it was in favour of extending the Working Group's mandate so as to enable it to continue its investigations into the violations of trade union rights in South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. The ILO might also be invited to undertake a more detailed investigation into the situation in the Territories under Portuguese rule.

25. In conclusion, he wished to point out that the problem was not simply one of trade union rights but rather of an attempt to subordinate African labour to the needs of the racist régimes and of international capital, which derived considerable profit from the supply of cheap labour. The Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had already given ample evidence of the role of foreign capital in maintaining the racist régimes in southern Africa. By contrast, he drew attention to the example provided by the Swedish Government, whose actions had recently prompted a Swedish company to sell all its factories in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. That example might well be followed by other Governments. The arguments advanced against application of the General Assembly decisions were well known, but they lost much of their validity in the face of the terrible clash which was sure to come in southern Africa unless support for the dictatorial régimes in that area was withdrawn immediately. The World Federation of Trade Unions would co-operate with trade unions of every persuasion in supporting the African workers and peoples in their fight for trade

union and human rights, for independence and for the end of colonial rule.

26. Mr. CALOVSKI (Yugoslavia) said it was most regrettable that the efforts which the United Nations had made since its earliest days in combating theid and racial discrimination had not yet been successful. Now the Council was once again considering the question of violations of trade union rights in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the Territories under Portuguese administration. The report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/4646) was most dismaying, and the Council should do everything in its power to put an end to such violations.

27. His delegation wished to pay a tribute to the important contribution which the ILO had made in dealing with the problem under discussion. It reserved the right to refer to the question again when the Council considered the draft resolution that was to be introduced at its next meeting.

28. Mr. NASINOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) stressed the importance of the information contained in the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts and of the data supplied by the International Labour Organisation and by the representatives of the two international trade union organizations who had just spoken. His delegation had been deeply impressed by the statement made by the Indian representative, who had been a member of the Working Group and could, in a sense, be regarded as its representative.

29. He wished to emphasize the basic role played by trade unions in the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms and pointed out that in the USSR they made a very significant contribution to economic, scientific and cultural activities and to improving the general level of human life.

30. His delegation indignantly condemned all the infringements of trade union rights committed by the racist minority régimes, in southern Africa and protested against the illegal prosecution of trade unionists. It also wished to express its appreciation to the non-governmental trade union organizations, in particular the World Federation of Trade Unions, for having drawn the attention of the ILO, and later of the United Nations, to the serious question of infringements of trade union rights. He expressed his delegation's satisfaction with the excellent work done by the Working Group. It unreservedly endorsed the conclusions and recommendations contained in the latter's report (E/4646, chap. VII).

31. The criminal policies of apartheid being applied by the white minority with regard to the indigenous population in southern Africa were of primary concern to the trade union movement, since those policies prevented the formation and functioning of trade unions. It was deplorable that the South African Government remained deaf to the appeals of the General Assembly, in particular its resolution 2440 (XXIII) of 19 December 1968, which called upon it to abolish the laws—which were in fact illegal—designed to implement the policies of apartheid, especially the Suppression of Communism Act, which was regarded by the Working Group as designed to prevent any trade union activity in defiance of the various covenants and conventions

relating to human rights and, in particular, to trade union rights.

32. The Government of South Africa denied African workers the right to form or join trade unions. They were subjected to permanent and inhuman exploitation and forced labour, not to say slavery, and their living conditions were similar to those in concentration camps. In that part of the world, the most elementary rights of the indigenous population were being deliberately trampled underfoot. Even children were made to work, and African workers received only a fraction of the wages paid to white workers for the same work.

33. In Namibia, the situation was just as deplorable. Trade unions were virtually non-existent, and there were laws prohibiting the formation of organizations of any kind.

34. In Southern Rhodesia, repressive laws deprived African workers of the right of association, and trade unionists were automatically imprisoned or exiled to remote areas.

35. His delegation supported, in that connexion, the recommendations made by the ILO (see E/4610, annex, para. 52) for the restoration of trade union rights in Southern Rhodesia. It also supported unreservedly all proposals to condemn the racist régimes in southern Africa, which were doing everything in their power to impede the exercise of trade union rights in that part of the world. As the representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions had rightly pointed out, such violations of human rights in general and of trade union rights in particular were possible only because of the substantial support and assistance which the racist régimes received from all the countries that maintained diplomatic, economic or other relations with them. Without that support, the struggle to ensure the observance of human and trade union rights would be over much more quickly.

36. Mr. DIALLO (Upper Volta) stressed the importance of the item under consideration and the need to find ways of effectively combating an odious fascist régime which remained in existence because of the economic and moral support it was receiving from certain Powers—support which enabled it to defy with the most extraordinary arrogance all the decisions taken by the United Nations in the matter.

37. It was regrettable that a number of delegations seemed to be losing interest in the item. The problem was certainly not a new one, but it should nevertheless be given the proper time and attention. There was much to be done in that connexion, and the hypocrisy displayed by some delegations must give way to a frank exchange of views in keeping with the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

38. Mr. OLDS (United States of America) said he wished to assure the members of the Council that his delegation was fully aware of the importance of the item. The abuses which had been noted in the field of trade union rights involved a genuine debasing of human dignity. He had not spoken so far because he had been wondering what kind of action the Council would take in the light of the activities undertaken by various United Nations bodies and by the specialized

agencies, particularly the ILO. He reserved the right to speak again when the Council had before it a draft resolution or a definite recommendation calling for a decision.

39. Mr. BERRO (Uruguay) recalled that his delegation had raised its voice many times in various United Nations bodies against all types of violations of human rights, especially racism, apartheid and colonialism. In particular, as a member of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, his delegation had had an opportunity to study very closely all the problems relating to colonialism which continued to exist in southern Africa, and particularly those relating to racism and apartheid. In the General Assembly, his delegation had stated its position in unequivocal terms^{3/} when, for the first time, the United Nations had decided to apply economic sanctions against the Government of the Republic of South Africa—sanctions which had, unfortunately, so far failed to produce the anticipated results.

40. The infringements of trade union rights that were denounced in the documents before the Council were also flagrant violations of fundamental human rights and assumed a particularly inhuman form in southern Africa. There had been enough rhetoric. The time had come to take action and to find an effective means of ensuring respect for trade union freedom throughout the world. That freedom had, he noted, long since been provided for in the Constitution of his country. It was inconceivable that it should still be possible in the present day to imprison trade unionists and determine wages on the basis of race. Furthermore, quite apart from the human problem involved, to regard work as merely a commodity was prejudicial to those countries which observed the recognized standards of working conditions and wages, since it resulted in unfair competition.

41. His delegation reserved the right to speak again when a draft resolution was submitted to the Council and stressed the need for the United Nations to take truly positive action, which was doubly necessary if the Organization was to dispel scepticism as to the effectiveness of its efforts.

42. Miss MARTINEZ (Jamaica) said that the question under consideration was of great interest to her Government because in Jamaica trade unionism had preceded almost all political activity and had opened the way to independence, which might otherwise have been delayed much longer. For that reason her delegation could not be indifferent to infringements of trade union rights and was particularly concerned about the present deplorable state of those rights in southern Africa. Moreover, it regarded such infringements as merely one aspect of the hateful policy of apartheid pursued by the ruling minority régimes in that region—a policy against which her delegation had spoken numerous times in various United Nations bodies. She pointed out that even before gaining independence, and hence before being admitted to the United Nations, Jamaica had requested and received from the ad-

^{3/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 1671st meeting, paras. 41-51.

ministering Power authorization to break off trade relations with South Africa.

43. In the various organs of the United Nations, her delegation had always endeavoured to find the most effective means by which the international community could combat the policy being pursued in South Africa and had always maintained that as much information as possible on the subject should be gathered and disseminated in order to alert world public opinion. It had therefore fully supported the establishment of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts and was prepared to encourage any new initiatives along those lines, although it recognized that, unfortunately, very few results had been achieved thus far.

44. The trade union movement constituted a vast world family whose origins went back much further than those of the United Nations. For that reason, she could not but agree with the representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions that it would be extremely useful to bring all the available information on infringements of trade union rights in South Africa to the attention of trade union members throughout the world, particularly in the countries which gained a great deal economically from their relations with the South African régime.

45. Lastly, the United Nations would do well to appeal for the co-operation of international workers' organizations everywhere which were devoted to the fundamental freedoms and active in combating discrimination.

46. She congratulated the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on the excellent, highly objective and detailed report it had submitted to the Council, and she reserved the right to speak again when the Council considered the draft resolution which would be introduced at the next meeting.

47. Mr. WALDRON-RAMSEY (United Republic of Tanzania) said that he also wished to congratulate the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on the excellent report which it had submitted to the Council in conformity with its terms of reference. The report was very objective and detailed and showed no political bias. He was surprised that the United States representative was waiting for a specific proposal before stating his position. The fact was that the Council, in accordance with normal practice, had before it a number of documents on the item under discussion and was called upon to consider them. Those documents themselves contained conclusions and recommendations and gave delegations a basis for discussion which was more than adequate for a concrete and positive treatment of the question of allegations regarding infringements of trade union rights.

48. He had listened with great interest to the various statements, particularly those made by representatives of trade union organizations. In view of the close solidarity which traditionally characterized the world trade union movement, those organizations were the first to be concerned about infringements of trade union rights, and the Council would profit greatly by giving the closest attention to the statements of their representatives.

49. His delegation endorsed the very reasonable conclusions and recommendations of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/4646, chap. VII) which were based on incontrovertible evidence.

50. In conclusion, he observed that the Council should not concentrate its attention on the draft resolution to be submitted at its next meeting, which would necessarily deal with only some of the aspects of the problem mentioned in the report, but should give detailed consideration to the report itself.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.