COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Forty-fourth session

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 18th MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, on Friday, 12 February 1988, at 3 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. SENE (Senegal)

CONTENTS

Violations of human rights in southern Africa: report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (continued)

The adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to colonial and racist regimes in southern Africa (continued)

Implementation of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (continued)

This record is subject to correction.

Corrections should be submitted in a memorandum and also incorporated in a copy of the record. They should be sent within one week of the date of this document to the Official Records Editing Section, room E.6108, Palais des Nations, Geneva.

Any corrections to the records of the public meetings of the Commission at this session will be consolidated in a single corrigendum, to be issued shortly after the end of the session.
CONTENTS (continued)

Study in collaboration with the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of ways and means of ensuring the implementation of United Nations resolutions bearing on apartheid, racism and racial discrimination (continued)

Implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (continued)
1. Mr. Yiangou (Cyprus) said he would speak on all four of the items under consideration. The situation in South Africa remained a burning and thorny issue, although it had been somewhat overshadowed of late. The issue dated back to the imposition of the apartheid system and the institutionalization of racial discrimination, and it would remain as long as apartheid persisted. The widespread cruel and repressive measures inflicted on the black population made the situation a potentially explosive one; hardly a sign could be discerned of any notion of respect for the person and dignity of the human being, as was shown by the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1988/8), which listed the human-rights violations in southern Africa: murders, mass and arbitrary arrests, detentions without trial, torture and ill-treatment of detainees. A particularly alarming phenomenon was the large number of children being subjected to detention, abuse and torture. The scale of the violations showed that there had been no improvement, despite repeated resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and by the Commission itself.

2. The Pretoria régime sought to hide from public opinion the dissatisfaction and growing tension in the country by imposing an extraordinarily harsh censorship on the South African and foreign press; as pointed out by one journalist, however, the idea that reality could be blanked out was a fantasy; it had not worked before and never would. The régime had seemingly abandoned even its modest efforts to "reform" apartheid; but apartheid was not a system that could be reformed and rendered humane, since its underlying doctrine was by definition inhuman. Apartheid must be completely dismantled, as swiftly as possible, since it struck at the very essence of human dignity; it must disappear from the face of the earth.
3. It seemed to his delegation that the release of Goven Mbeki, a distinguished black leader, was unfortunately an isolated measure, half-hearted and devoid of any follow-up. No other measure, legislative or administrative, which could help to create the requisite conditions for a harmonious transition to a non-racial, free and democratic society based on the principle of "one man, one vote" had yet been adopted. His delegation had in mind moves such as the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, the black leader who was the symbol of the hard struggle of the black people of South Africa, the release of other political prisoners and the start of a dialogue which would lead progressively to the total dismantling of apartheid and a smooth transition to democracy. The current policy of repression was leading nowhere, as the Pretoria régime must have realized.

4. It was encouraging, however, to note that the international community had expressed its indignation at the unacceptable state of affairs in South Africa, a country torn by the escalation of violence, by imposing sanctions against the racist régime. The sanctions were welcome; they constituted a practical step towards implementation of the many resolutions adopted in various forums against the Pretoria régime. Apart from the economic pressure which they could exert, the sanctions marked a step towards a desirable change. Something had to be done to contain the escalation of violence and avert what risked being the worst blood-bath since the Second World War.

5. The international community had a political responsibility, since apartheid was not only a violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms but also a threat to peace, security and stability in South Africa itself and in southern Africa as a whole. Attacks by South African armed forces or mercenaries against the front-line States testified to the imminent danger. In that regard, his delegation welcomed recent positive developments related to the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in front-line States, which would reduce tension and pave the way to more constructive solutions in southern Africa.

6. Cyprus had always stood side by side with the oppressed black people of South Africa in its struggle for freedom, justice and human dignity and the enjoyment of fundamental freedoms in a democratic society. It had no relations with the South African racist régime, having always scrupulously applied the relevant United Nations resolutions and supported the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against it.

7. Cyprus also supported the struggle of the people of Namibia in conjunction with the freedom fighters of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) - its sole legitimate representative - to put an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of the Territory and restore human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. His delegation hoped that international efforts based on Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) would bring about Namibia's speedy independence and restore in full its people's sovereign rights over the Territory.

8. The struggle against racism and racial discrimination still had a long way to go, and no illusions could be entertained on the subject. The progress achieved during the first Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination was indeed disappointing, but should not lead to discouragement. His delegation stressed the importance it attached to the study of ways and means
to ensure the implementation of United Nations resolutions, on whatever subject, as well as those of other international organizations. Non-implementation of such resolutions was one of the gravest problems faced by the international community: it raised doubts about the credibility of the United Nations and the other organizations. The erosion of confidence was especially serious for small and weak nations and peoples which viewed the international organizations as a shield against aggression. The issue was one of particular concern to Cyprus, which had already asked for such an item to be inscribed on the agenda of the General Assembly; his delegation hoped that the debate would enable guidelines to be drawn up with a view to solving that serious problem.

9. Mr. SECKA (Gambia) said that since the adoption, 40 years previously, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, its implementation had often been violated by fratricidal conflicts and other human tragedies in which millions of people had been the victims of brutal repression, violence and flagrant violations of their rights. Sadly, the Security Council had, in many instances, been rendered ineffective because those concerned had refused to respect its authority and give it the means to discharge its responsibility. It was therefore paradoxical that for the vast majority of nations, large and small, the United Nations remained the ultimate hope in the struggle for civil liberties and mankind's salvation against persecution.

10. One of the gravest threats to world peace and security was, in fact, that posed by apartheid in South Africa; it was oppressive and repugnant, a violation of the recognized conventions and norms of international law and a negation of human dignity. Although the international community was unanimous in condemning apartheid, however, it was deeply divided about a common approach to eliminate it. While the international forums debated and searched for common ground, the people of South Africa continued to labour under the same burden - apartheid. The question was how much longer the masses of South Africa were expected to wait for their hopes to be fulfilled. They could not be expected to renounce violence when they themselves were subjected to violence: summary executions, imprisonment without trial and the murder of political leaders and even of religious leaders, women and children. Since the entry into force of the state of emergency, over 30,000 cases of disappearances and detention had been recorded. The revelations and conclusions of the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1988/8) were hardly encouraging.

11. For its part, his Government strongly and unequivocally condemned the massacres and detentions as well as the persistent denial of fundamental freedoms in South Africa. It urged the international community to adopt stronger measures with a view to accelerating the process of change and putting an end to apartheid. In that regard, his delegation saw an encouraging sign in the significant steps taken by the United States Government in 1987 - and announced by the Secretary of State, Mr. George Schultz, in New York in the course of an important statement on South Africa - which could serve as a framework for future negotiations. His delegation hastened to add, however, that there could be no serious negotiations about South Africa's future without the full participation of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. The negotiations must also take into account the interests and views of the front-line States.
12. As for the so-called constitutional reforms, his delegation considered that they provided no acceptable basis for dialogue on South Africa's future; apartheid was simply not reformable and must be abolished. Nor would apartheid disappear without concerted international action - in other words, the application of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. Recent decisions taken by the European Economic Community and, more particularly, by the Nordic Countries were encouraging signs in that regard. His Government hoped that all the Member States of the United Nations would unite their efforts, in the light of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, to achieve a comprehensive solution.

13. His Government was likewise saddened by the escalating tension in Namibia, where Pretoria continued to flout the authority of the Security Council and to undermine all efforts aimed at solving the problem, including the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on the Territory's self-determination and independence. It was also disturbed by the hostile campaign waged by South Africa against the front-line States, and welcomed the assistance being provided by the developed countries to the nations thus threatened by South Africa, which would help to guarantee their territorial integrity and independence. The United Nations must continue the struggle to establish the fundamental freedoms in southern Africa and other parts of the world.

14. Mr. INGLES (Philippines) said that his Government had participated actively in drafting and implementing all international instruments relating to racism, racial discrimination and apartheid; in compliance with its international commitments, it had forbidden Philippine citizens to visit South Africa, and refused to grant visas to South African passport-holders unless they signed an affidavit dissociating themselves from their Government's policy of apartheid.

15. The apartheid policy being pursued in South Africa and Namibia constituted a serious threat not only to the peace and security of the front-line States but also to the international community as a whole, as had been recognized long ago by the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies. However, in the face of blatant South African aggression, the Security Council hesitated to adopt measures under Chapter VII of the Charter; meanwhile, oppression by the Pretoria régime was intensifying and had reached a most critical and alarming stage.

16. The interim report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1988/8) presented a picture of the worsening situation in southern Africa, including the particularly shocking practice of the arrest and detention of girls and boys under 19 years of age and of the ill-treatment inflicted on them. His delegation strongly condemned the brutal treatment of the children in South Africa, and it demanded that the Pretoria Government immediately desist from it, release the children in detention and immediately dismantle the "rehabilitation camps" or "re-education centres".

17. Despite the universal condemnation of South Africa and its virtual isolation from the rest of the world, the Pretoria Government had shown no sign of taking any steps to end its abhorrent racist policy. On the contrary, it persisted in its attacks on neighbouring African States. It might well be asked why the régime had been able to act as it had, and why the repeated...
calls by the General Assembly for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa had not materialized. Apparently there were still nations among the States Members of the United Nations which placed their profits above the purposes and principles of the Charter, or perhaps their pride was so great that they refused to admit the bankruptcy of the policy of "constructive engagement" advocated by some of them.

18. The first Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had been a great disappointment. At the start of the Second Decade, the international community must review the numerous intergovernmental conferences, resolutions, conventions and campaigns against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid. It must consider the question of why the problem continued, escalating the danger of conflict and international tension. His delegation urged the international community to join in combating racism, racial discrimination and apartheid by adopting new measures and sanctions to put an end to the racist policies of the Pretoria régime and thus prevent the slaughter of innocent women and children. Maximum international pressure was needed for the Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions. The consequences of inaction would be too horrible for the hapless peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

19. Mr. DITCHEV (Bulgaria) said that, despite the repeated statements by the international community concerning the imperative need to eliminate Pretoria's disgraceful policy of racial segregation, which had been condemned as a crime against humanity, the black population of southern Africa continued to be subjected to humiliation, violence and suppression. All of that was due to the South African racist régime's refusal to recognize the most elementary rights of the native African population and because it had set up a system of administration that perpetuated the slavery-like exploitation of a cheap labour force.

20. The facts concerning the nature of apartheid in South Africa were well known: it was a system that enabled a white minority of 5 million to dominate over 27 million black Africans by depriving them of their basic civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. In 1988 once again, the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on violations of human rights in southern Africa (E/CN.4/1988/8) contained much evidence of repression, executions, torture and ill-treatment, as well as detention of children, that constituted brutal repression.

21. There had been a number of attempts to justify the actions of the Pretoria régime and to propagate a certain image of "democratization" of the system of apartheid as a result of the implementation of some reforms in that country. However, that propaganda manoeuvre deceived no one, for it had unfortunately collided with the sad realities, including those of the imposed state of emergency in the country. Despite the information blackout imposed by Pretoria, reports filtering out of South Africa indicated the failure of that move, aimed at legalizing the elimination of the native black population from participation in political life, producing confrontations between it and other ethnic groups, and at undermining its national unity and territorial integrity. It was obvious that the white minority was enforcing the apartheid policy with the intention of subjecting Africans and other non-white groups to living conditions that would not only prevent their normal development but also help to destroy them physically.
22. His Government had repeatedly expressed the view that the persistence at
the end of the twentieth century of an institutionalized system like apartheid
could be primarily explained by the support it received from the quarters
directly favoured by it. The report of Mr. Khalifa, the Special Rapporteur,
on the adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political,
military, economic and other forms of assistance given to colonial and racist
to the continued co-operation of a number of well-known States with
South Africa. The argument that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions imposed
under Chapter VII of the Charter would worsen the already difficult situation
of the native black population and would lead to bloodshed was absurd.

23. In that respect, his delegation fully supported the conclusions and
recommendations of the Group of Three (E/CN.4/1988/32). It was regrettable
that, led by their self-interested political, economic, financial and
military-strategic motives, those countries made efforts to justify the
criminal South African régime and to neutralize its international isolation,
while those who supported apartheid were in fact accomplices in the
perpetuation of the crime. His delegation noted with satisfaction, however,
that some positive steps had been taken by certain countries; it referred, in
particular, to the comprehensive mandatory sanctions imposed by the Nordic
Countries.

24. Apartheid, as a reactionary theory based on social inequality,
exploitation and arbitrary division of people into "superior" and "inferior",
was unfortunately not limited to South Africa. The aggressive policy of the
Pretoria régime towards the front-line States, the threat posed by that policy
to peace and security in the region and the illegal occupation of Namibia gave
rise to well-founded anxiety. The seriousness of the question was proven by
the fact that in 1987 the Security Council had devoted 29 of its 49 meetings
to consideration of the aggressive acts carried out by Pretoria against its
neighbouring independent States. Nevertheless, the opinion of the
international community had in no way stopped the régime.

25. His delegation resolutely supported the heroic struggle of the Namibian
people for independence and self-determination, under the guidance of SWAPO,
its sole legitimate representative, and called for the immediate
implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) for a peaceful
solution of the Namibian question. His delegation was firmly convinced that
the only way of ending tensions in southern Africa and improving the
human-rights situation there was to abolish apartheid in South Africa. To
achieve that goal, the whole international community must mobilize its efforts
and adopt effective measures to implement the Programme of Action for the
Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. In conformity with
its position, his Government maintained no diplomatic, political, economic or
other relations with the racist South African régime, and it supported the
demand of the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the
United Nations for the adoption of comprehensive sanctions against the régime,
in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. The struggle to eliminate the
last vestiges of colonialism and all forms of racism, racial discrimination
and apartheid depended on the strict and universal observance of the
provisions of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of
Racial Discrimination and of the Convention on the Suppression and Punishment
of the Crime of Apartheid.
26. Mr. DEHLAVI (Pakistan) said that, despite the significant achievements over the past 40 years, resulting from the contribution of the United Nations and the concerted efforts of its Member States, in the struggle against racial discrimination, the continued existence of a racist minority régime in South Africa and Namibia remained an obstacle to the campaign for equality and justice in that part of the world. The apartheid system, an institutionalized form of discrimination and the official policy of the South African Government, deprived the majority of South Africa's people of their most fundamental rights and liberties. The Pretoria régime had reacted with brutal repression to the intensification of popular resistance; it had decreed a state of emergency, massacred innocent people, illegally detained men, women and children, introduced curbs on the local and foreign press and further militarized the State apparatus. The international community could not remain indifferent to all those developments.

27. In the face of the persistent attitude of the South African régime, which continued to ignore the Security Council resolutions on the question of Namibia, especially resolution 435 (1978), and applied with impunity its policies of oppression, racist domination and repeated aggression against the neighbouring States, in violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, it was incumbent upon the international community to take the necessary steps to ensure the implementation of the plan which envisaged the early independence of Namibia through elections organized under United Nations auspices.

28. True to its commitment to all peoples struggling against any form of oppression, alien domination or discrimination, and inspired by the precepts of Islam and its own history, his Government had steadfastly supported the people of South Africa and Namibia, and condemned the abominable policies of the Pretoria régime.

29. In view of the failure of the policy of "constructive engagement" advocated by some countries, his Government fully supported the recommendations of the World Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris in June 1986, calling for a programme of action to abolish apartheid without delay and establish a non-racial democratic State governed by representatives elected by universal suffrage. Although there was a growing sentiment against apartheid, and the imposition of selective sanctions against the régime by some countries was a welcome development, the most effective peaceful means was still the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions.

30. His Government also agreed with the views expressed by the Group of Three (E/CN.4/1988/32) that, in accordance with article III, paragraph (b), of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, transnational corporations operating in South Africa and Namibia must be considered accomplices in the crime of apartheid. His delegation urged all States that had not yet done so to ratify or accede to that Convention, in particular those States that had jurisdiction over transnational corporations operating in the region.

31. His delegation fully supported the Secretary-General's proposal to implement the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination; new impetus must be given to the struggle, and all States Members of the United Nations without exception must condemn the
practices of racism and racial discrimination. Until the abhorrent apartheid regime was eliminated, there could be no peace, stability and security in southern Africa. The international community, if it wished to avoid a bloodbath, must ensure the early independence of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO. It must give moral and material support to the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia and to their national liberation movements, as well as to the front-line States, whose independence and security were constantly threatened. The Commission on Human Rights, and especially those delegations which prided themselves on being upholders of rights and freedoms for all, had the responsibility to exert all possible efforts to put an end to the current situation.

32. Mr. ARTACHO (Spain) said that he must once again denounce and condemn the policy of the racist régime of South Africa, which continued to treat human rights with contempt by denying the black population under its domination the most basic rights, and by constantly flouting the most valued moral and legal principles of the United Nations.

33. Far from improving, the situation seemed to be frozen in South Africa, where, under the legal shield of the state of emergency, the hesitant attempts at reform had been interrupted. Moreover, in their concern to control a social situation that was escaping their grasp, the Pretoria authorities had intensified repression to stifle the inevitable and legitimate resistance of the black population, as could be seen from the interim report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1988/8). The sad picture painted in that document showed that the apartheid system left the people no possibility of leading a dignified life, and resulted in the violation of all rights, from the most basic right to life to the rights to freedom of expression, movement and education, including the right to citizenship and trade-union rights. All abuses were permitted, and cases of arbitrary arrest, long-term detention without trial, unpunished murders and summary executions of allegedly ordinary prisoners continued. It was particularly disturbing to note that, despite general condemnation, a very large number of minors continued to be arrested and imprisoned. In the face of that oppression, the majority was increasingly determined to precipitate the issue, even by using violence. Despite everything, the South African Government persisted in ignoring the international community's appeals and the revolt fermenting within its borders, and it still refused any negotiation allowing for a change of régime by peaceful means.

34. His delegation felt that it was essential to continue to exert pressure on the South African authorities to put an end to the shameful apartheid régime, and his Government was working towards that end, in collaboration with the other countries members of the European Economic Community. His Government had thus helped apply the restrictive measures adopted in 1985 and 1986 by the Community and the plan of activities for victims of apartheid in South Africa and the front-line countries. His Government was convinced, however, of the need to avoid the total isolation of Pretoria, which would have very serious consequences for the non-whites community in the short term. It supported any effort to establish the conditions in South Africa conducive to a fruitful dialogue between the racial groups, a dialogue currently being blocked by the apartheid régime.
35. The pernicious political system of apartheid also threatened a further destabilization of southern Africa for, on the pretext of defending its vital interests, the South African Government had launched military attacks on its neighbouring countries, each of which had been strongly condemned by the Spanish Government, which also condemned the persistent rejection of any negotiated solution, beginning with the interdependence plan for Namibia proposed in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

36. His Government reaffirmed its attachment to the defence of the freedoms inherent in every human being irrespective of his colour, and again called for the release of Nelson Mandela, described by His Majesty the King of Spain - who, like Mandela, was a recipient of the Simón Bolívar Prize, as a symbol of the pain and the desire for freedom and justice of an immense part of mankind.

37. Mrs. CASCO (Nicaragua) said that the régime of terror imposed by the white minority in South Africa was an absolute and unprecedented violation of human rights. Over the last three years, the international community had witnessed a renewed outbreak of repression against the black majority in South Africa and the people of Namibia, whose territory South Africa had illegally occupied; it had seen the determination of those peoples to free themselves by any means and at any price. Her delegation strongly condemned the systematic and universal repression practised by the security forces and other police units on a people which was simply claiming its legitimate rights to freedom and dignity.

38. In 1987, tens of thousands of South African patriots had died, merely because they had demanded the freedom to exercise their rights and protested against the apartheid system, which the United Nations had declared a crime against humanity. Her delegation condemned the ill-treatment of young people and children, who constituted 40 per cent of those arrested in recent months. Youth, like history, was an enemy of the South African régime because it stood for change, which the régime wished to prevent at all costs.

39. No-one could ignore the horrors of the apartheid régime any longer; there were increasing calls for immediate and effective measures to put an end to that abhorrent system, which was a threat to peace, particularly in Africa. Despite the repeated appeals of the General Assembly and the Security Council, demanding the abolition of apartheid and urging States to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa and take steps to isolate the country in the political, economic, military and cultural fields, South Africa still enjoyed a privileged relationship with certain countries. As recently as 1985, more than 90 per cent of the foreign investment capital in South Africa had originated from five Western countries, which were thus accomplices in the continued suffering of the people of South Africa and Namibia. The "constructive engagement" policy must be abandoned in favour of the comprehensive and mandatory sanctions called for by the international community and various United Nations bodies. In its report on the implementation of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (E/CN.4/1988/32), the Group of Three had also called for sanctions and had emphasized the active part played by certain States and transnational corporations in keeping the racist South African régime in power. As stated in article III, paragraph (b), of the Convention, those States and corporations should be considered accomplices in the crime of apartheid. Her delegation shared the view that apartheid was a form of genocide, to which the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity should, therefore, apply.
40. The argument by certain countries that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions would harm the South African people spoke volumes concerning their real economic interests in southern Africa. Comprehensive trade sanctions were the only ones which would be effective, since military sanctions could be circumvented in various ways. Despite the will of the international community, South Africa's allies continued to invest large sums in that country and in Namibia, which made it possible for industrial development to continue in the military, chemical, aeronautical and information technology sectors, and thus reinforced the régime's apparatus of repression.

41. The international community should denounce the obvious inconsistency of those countries which declared themselves opponents of the apartheid régime and defenders of human rights, while profiting from the régime and citing an alleged unwillingness to worsen the plight of the black population as a pretext for not imposing sanctions. That inconsistency had been evident in the statement by the United States representative, who had expressed concern about the adverse effects of economic pressure on the population. No such scruples had prevented the President of the United States of America from imposing a trade embargo on the Nicaraguan people in 1980 in the name of national necessity, nor had it prevented him from pressurizing the international financial institutions to cease all financial aid to Nicaragua.

42. While the Security Council was impeded from adopting mandatory sanctions against South Africa, that country continued to launch destructive attacks on its neighbours, destroying their vital infrastructures and subjecting them to merciless oppression. There was no doubt that collaboration with South Africa was the main obstacle preventing the exercise of the inalienable rights of the South African and Namibian peoples and the establishment of peace and stability in southern Africa. Her delegation hoped that the self-professed defenders of freedom and democracy would eventually see that the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions was essential for the elimination of the apartheid system. Her delegation reaffirmed its solidarity with the people of Namibia, led by SWAPO.

43. Mr. POLO (Togo) said that, once again, the Commission had been called upon to consider the human-rights situation in South Africa, where the régime in power had increased its oppression and repression of the black majority. There had been an increase in attacks on human life and physical integrity, arbitrary detention and detention without trial, torture and ill-treatment of detainees and the number of persons condemned to death and executed, as exemplified by the interim report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa (E/CN.4/1988/8). The participants in the International Conference on Children, Repression and the Law, held at Harare in September 1987, had stated their indignation at the way in which the South African régime had chosen children as its preferred target while, in its resolution 42/124, the General Assembly had demanded the immediate closure of the so-called "rehabilitation camps" or "re-education centres".

44. At the same time, there had been various attacks on members of organizations which opposed apartheid, and South African troops had made many raids into neighbouring States, particularly Angola.
45. Moreover, 27 years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and 21 years after the General Assembly's decision to put an end to South Africa's mandate over Namibia, the Government of South Africa continued to occupy the territory illegally and to act in such a way that the human-rights situation there had deteriorated considerably during 1987.

46. No one could remain unmoved by such a grim state of affairs and continue to tolerate the apartheid régime. The President of his country had stated that Togo could not accept the situation of injustice and oppression in the region, where a régime which was unworthy of mankind and the times kept itself in power by means of unprecedented violence against people whose only crime was the colour of their skin. In view of the arrogance of the racist régime of Pretoria, which was a threat to international peace and security, the entire world should increase its pressure on South Africa; in accordance with General Assembly resolutions and the heartfelt aspirations of the people concerned, the Security Council must adopt the comprehensive and mandatory sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

47. It was clear that the arrogance of the South African authorities and their utter contempt for the United Nations sprang from the constant support which they received from certain Powers. In his updated report on assistance to the racist régime of South Africa (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1987/8/Rev.1/Add.1 - Part I), the Special Rapporteur, Mr. Khalifa, had emphasized that all assistance given to the current régime had an adverse effect on the fundamental rights of the non-white population of South Africa and would make it more difficult to eradicate apartheid. It was encouraging to note that a growing number of banks and transnational corporations had decided, in the course of the previous year to oppose the apartheid policy more actively and more openly, by reducing their investments in South Africa. The United States Congress and the Nordic Countries, among others, had undertaken some courageous initiatives in that area. His Government hoped that the trend would continue, since economic pressure was the only thing which could bring down the apartheid régime and save the region from a bloody conflict.

48. The international community must also diversify its pressure on South Africa: in that respect, there were grounds for satisfaction in the activities of the Group of Three which, since 1973, had been monitoring the implementation of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. The Group of Three drew the attention of national and international institutions to the need to increase public awareness by denouncing the crimes committed by the racist régime of South Africa and to disseminate information on the Convention and its implementation. It was also essential to implement fully the plan of activities for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and encourage States to contribute generously to the Trust Fund for the Programme of Action for the Decade.

49. All States, peoples and individuals must work together to face up to the challenge of eradicating racial discrimination and apartheid. The credibility of the United Nations was at stake.
50. Mr. TAYLHARDAT (Venezuela) said that the priority attention accorded by the Commission to the situation of human rights in southern Africa bore witness to the international community's indignation at the abominable policy practised by Pretoria. His Government reaffirmed its categorical condemnation of the abhorrent apartheid system and its support for the efforts of the international community to eradicate that policy and all its consequences: repression and intimidation of opponents, continuation of the state of emergency, arbitrary detention, torture, murders, acts of aggression against neighboring States, Bantustanization and the illegal occupation of Namibia. However, instead of achieving the desired results, the national and multilateral measures taken to date had been rendered ineffective by the support which the racist régime of South Africa continued to receive from outside. The South African Government had actually increased its repression of the black population with the complicity of the many transnational corporations which, with the support of certain Governments, continued to operate in South Africa or maintain trade relations with it, deriving substantial profits therefrom.

51. His Government reaffirmed its solidarity with all those countries which, by means of General Assembly resolution 42/23 A, adopted by the General Assembly at its most recent session, had once more demanded that the Pretoria régime end its repression, lift the state of emergency and release all political prisoners, beginning with Nelson Mandela and Zephania Mothopeng, trade-union leaders and all those whose only crime had been to demand the right to live in dignity. The Pretoria régime should likewise lift the ban on political organizations, particularly the ANC and the PAC, in order to allow the people to exercise its right of association and membership of political parties, allow exiled political leaders to return to the country, put an end to the policy of Bantustanization, abolish apartheid and cease its acts of aggression against neighboring States. However, since everyone knew that none of those demands would be met and that the Pretoria Government would continue to ignore General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, the international community had no option but to adopt the comprehensive and mandatory sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. The Security Council must, therefore, assume its full responsibilities, without resorting to the subterfuge of the veto, and impose forthwith the measures set out in Chapter VII against the South African Government. The time had come for those permanent members of the Security Council who had opposed sanctions to review their position and enable the Council to put an end to the grave threat to international peace and security posed by the policies of Pretoria. In his updated report on assistance to South Africa (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1987/8/Rev.1/Add.1 - Part I, para. 36), Mr. Khalifa, the Special Rapporteur, had stated that sanctions against South Africa would involve sacrifices by other States, as well as hardships for the oppressed people of South Africa, but that the cost was very small compared to the cost of existing human suffering and the dangerous consequences of a widening conflict.

52. In conclusion, his delegation shared the view of the Group of Three that the most peaceful means available to the international community to put an end to the system of apartheid was to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime in South Africa.
53. Mr. ABDULLAH (Observer for Ghana) said that the apartheid system denied one of the basic rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted 40 years previously, and other international instruments - namely, the sacred right of all peoples to determine their own destiny. Despite the international outcry, the South African régime continued its abhorrent policy of apartheid, whose manifestations had been examined in detail by the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa in its interim report (E/CN.4/1988/8), which was before the Commission.

54. Unfortunately, the action taken by the international community to eliminate apartheid had not matched the gravity of the situation. Certain influential States had minimized the brutality of the apartheid régime, while the so-called "state of emergency" law forbidding press coverage of apartheid made it impossible to know what was really happening. In some cases, however, the media had taken risks in order to report the atrocities of the racist régime, and they must not relax their efforts.

55. The media had also increased the international community's awareness of the apartheid-like practices of Israel in the occupied Arab territories. That inhuman situation must not continue; his delegation welcomed the initiative by the Commission to address a letter to the Israeli authorities, expressing its abhorrence of the atrocities inflicted on the Palestinian people in their own country. Such an initiative should contribute to the efforts to convene an international peace conference under the auspices of the Security Council, in which all the interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, should take part.

56. Apartheid was currently as active as in the era of Sharpeville and Soweto. Segregation still continued, deaths among detainees and those in police custody were a common occurrence, along with arrests under the obnoxious Internal Security Act and the detention of children. The majority African population was denied its right to association and its fundamental right to determine its own destiny by a small minority of racists. The cancer of apartheid must be eliminated in accordance with the provisions of the many resolutions and conventions which called for its suppression and punishment. In order to achieve that aim, the international community must take practical steps and impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions on the apartheid régime with the same determination that it had shown in the fight against nazism. His delegation would associate itself with any efforts by the Commission or any other party to achieve that aim, and it hoped that the front-line States would receive the assistance they required.

57. Mr. WALDEN (Observer for Israel) said that his Government's unequivocal opposition to the apartheid policy had been expressed on numerous occasions in the United Nations and elsewhere. On 18 March 1987, the Israeli Cabinet had established a standing committee of experts to examine Israel's attitude to South Africa and submit recommendations. On 16 September 1987, his Government had decided, on the basis of the Committee's report, to adopt certain measures against South Africa. No new investment in South Africa would be authorized unless it had been approved, on an exceptional basis, by a committee consisting of the Ministry of Finance, the Bank of Israel and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His Government would forbid the granting of Government loans, the sale and transfer of oil and oil products to South Africa and the transfer of krugerrands. The measures in question were similar to those adopted by the States members of the European Community. The import quotas
for iron and steel would be frozen at their existing level. Cultural relations between South Africa and Israel would reflect Israel's basic condemnation of the apartheid régime, and the sporting links between the two countries would be determined by the decisions of international sporting federations. The Ministry of Tourism and other official bodies would not actively support the promotion of tourism to South Africa. No new agreements would be signed in the scientific field. Israeli civil servants would not visit South Africa unless they were authorized by an inter-ministerial committee including a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His Government would establish a fund to allow members of the black and Coloured communities of South Africa to take advantage of training programmes in Israel. All necessary steps would be taken to prevent Israel becoming a transit zone for goods and services destined for, or coming from, South Africa in an attempt to circumvent sanctions imposed by a third party.

58. The relevant United Nations bodies had approved his Government's decision, which had been brought to the attention of the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in a letter dated 2 October 1987 (receipt of which, incidentally, had not yet been acknowledged).

59. In addition, the Histadrut - the General Federation of Labour in Israel - had set up a special committee to direct its anti-apartheid campaign and had announced that the industrial companies it owned would not enter into new contracts with South Africa. The Histadrut committee also planned to strengthen its ties with black trade-union leaders, to support the activities of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and to act directly against apartheid by means of protests and public-information activities. The Histadrut regularly invited black students from South Africa and Namibia to participate in the activities of the Afro-Asian Institute and organized workshops and seminars for them. For example, in April 1986, the Afro-Asian Institute had conducted a seminar for black community leaders in South Africa. The seminar had examined the role of popular organizations in community and nation-building and the ways in which South Africa might benefit from Israel's experience in that field. From November 1986 to December 1987, further seminars had been devoted to various aspects of the same problem, and it had been decided that the programme should be continued and expanded in the future. The Afro-Asian Institute had also been invited to organize seminars and study programmes in South Africa, in collaboration with black community organizations; such activities had been organized in Soweto, Johannesburg, Cape Town and northern Transvaal and had been most successful. Similar programmes were to be organized in the future.

60. By co-operating actively with the black community in South Africa and restricting its links with the régime, Israel had joined many other States which were seeking to bring the South African Government to abandon its apartheid policy. Israel, of all countries, could bear witness to the terrible consequences of doctrines based on racism. The idea that any group of human beings was inferior, or should be subjected to racial discrimination, was completely contrary to the tenets of Judaism and its religious, spiritual and historical experience. The Book of Genesis stated that all men, without distinction, were created in the divine image, and the Jewish people, more than any other, knew the suffering caused by racial persecution. For that reason, Israel had always repudiated such practices. It was to be hoped that the current efforts would lead to a dialogue between all those concerned and a solution that would satisfy the legitimate aspirations of all.
Mr. AFANDE (Observer for Kenya) said that, in its interim report (E/CN.4/1988/8), the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa had again provided the Commission with first-hand information regarding the repression of the black people of South Africa and Namibia by the Pretoria régime. The United Nations Charter called for respect by all States of fundamental human rights. Consequently, the General Assembly, the Commission on Human Rights and other bodies, including church organizations, had repeatedly condemned the persistent violation of the human rights of the black population of South Africa by the Pretoria régime.

The report indicated that the régime's repressive acts were becoming more sophisticated, but also that it was attempting, by means of propaganda, to divert international attention from the conditions existing in South Africa and Namibia. The black population was still deprived of its fundamental political, social and economic rights, and its human and material resources were still being exploited by force. Those inhuman practices were the cause of political tension and social conflict in the whole region, with potential consequences for international peace and security. Over the past 12 months, dozens of persons had been killed and many more injured, and the racist régime had stepped up its terror to combat the demands of the black population for democracy, equality and justice. Of the 32 political prisoners sentenced to death and referred to in the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts, two had been executed on 6 November 1987 despite appeals by the Commission, the Group of Experts and the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The repressive acts of the Pretoria régime extended to children, who were subject to detention, torture and other forms of persecution. The state of affairs could be compared only with that existing during the Nazi era. The Pretoria régime had also kidnapped political activists in neighbouring countries, including Swaziland and Lesotho.

The Commission must firmly condemn the apartheid system which the General Assembly had denounced as a crime against humanity. His Government considered itself to be morally bound to do its utmost to put an end to that abhorrent system. At its forty-second session, the General Assembly had yet again condemned the policy of apartheid, demanded a stay of execution of political prisoners and captured freedom fighters and called for the application of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and Additional Protocol I of 1977.

Kenya remained deeply concerned about the explosive situation in southern Africa, and his delegation urged the Commission to take bolder steps, at its current session, to ensure that the rights of the black people were safeguarded. His Government would continue to support the black people of South Africa in their struggle against the Pretoria régime. South Africa must cease its illegal occupation of Namibia in order to allow the Territory to exercise its right to self-determination in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). South Africa's allies must recognize the imperative necessity of not allowing the Pretoria régime to continue using Namibia as a spring-board for destabilizing the neighbouring States. In its resolution 566 (1985), the Security Council had condemned South Africa for installing a so-called interim Government, and the Commission would be failing in its duties if it did not reaffirm the sovereignty of Namibia and the illegality of the South African occupation of the Territory, as well as Pretoria's plans to separate the Caprivi Strip from the rest of Namibia.
65. His delegation considered that the only way peace could be achieved in Namibia was by implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) and it also called for implementation of Security Council resolution 602 (1987) so that South Africa would stop using Namibia to attack its neighbours.

66. Kenya thus reaffirmed its solidarity with the international community in demanding the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and all other political detainees as well as the cessation of the detention of children; the immediate lifting of the state of emergency and other repressive measures; the lifting of the ban on the liberation movements operating both inside and outside South Africa and the cessation of kidnappings and assassinations of political activists; the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions; the immediate cessation of all acts of aggression by South Africa against the people of Namibia; the immediate independence of Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978); and the immediate and complete dismantling of apartheid.

67. Mr. LEBAKINE (Observer for the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the stage had been reached that there was hardly anyone who would deny the inhuman and criminal nature of racism. The struggle against the various forms of racial discrimination had taken on a broad dimension, but grave problems persisted, in particular the practice of apartheid, which had been characterized as a crime against humanity. At its most recent sessions, the Commission had examined the situation in southern Africa and had reaffirmed its solidarity with the struggle of the front-line States. It was not enough any longer to voice condemnations, however, it was essential to adopt concerted, concrete and updated measures to replace the racist slavery, that an entire people must endure, by a free and multiracial democratic society. Such measures must be based upon the comprehensive and mandatory sanctions to be imposed under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, the sole way of resolving the problem by peaceful means. Opposing such a solution would trigger an explosion of racial conflict in South Africa.

68. His delegation considered that the limited sanctions adopted by a number of countries constituted a positive step, but it regretted the continued co-operation with the Pretoria régime, which was evidenced by the updated list provided by Mr. Khalifa, the Special Rapporteur, of the banks, transnational corporations and other organizations that gave assistance to the racist régime of South Africa (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1987/8/Rev.1/Add.1).

69. His delegation also regretted that certain States had decided not to take part in the common enterprise of the plan of activities for 1990-1993 within the framework of the Second Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, one such activity being the list drawn up by Mr. Khalifa of assistance given to Pretoria. The report deserved wide distribution.

70. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic also called for respect for and ratification of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, as recommended by the Group of Three, whose conclusions should be examined by the Commission.
71. Lastly, if concrete results were to be obtained in the struggle against racism, States must participate in the efforts which the international community had agreed to make in that direction and must prohibit all activity of a racist nature on their territory.

72. Mr. ROA KOURI (Observer for Cuba) said he regretted that the international community had had such little success in its struggle against the apartheid regime, the crimes of which were set out in detail in the report of the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and in the Interim Report of the Ad hoc Working Group of Experts on southern Africa. The imprisonment of children, whose crime was simply to have demanded the release of their parents, was particularly abhorrent. His Government also denounced the savage repression of freedom-fighters, above all of the ANC and SWAPO and expressed the solidarity of the Cuban people with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia in their heroic struggle for liberty, equality, independence and human dignity.

73. His Government gave high priority to the liberation of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa, the elimination of racism and colonialism in Namibia and South Africa, the creation of conditions that would enable the black majority to take control of its destiny in peace, justice and equality by exercising its right to sovereignty over its national riches, which were currently being pillaged by the racist minority and by transnational corporations from a small group of States supporting apartheid.

74. The programme submitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations by the President of the People's Republic of Angola several years previously was designed to find a peaceful solution to the conflict of southern Africa, under which Namibia would gain its independence through the application of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the independence and security of Angola and the peace and stability of the region would be guaranteed. That programme served as a basis for the talks between representatives of the United States and Angola, who had been joined by representatives of Cuba at the latest meeting, to examine ways and means of withdrawing internationalist forces once the conditions posed by the People's Republic of Angola had been met. As things stood, those forces were contributing, at Angola's request, to the defence of that country's independence and territorial integrity against the aggressive attacks carried out by South Africa as part of its destabilization campaign.

75. The Commission must demand that an end be put to the brutal repression of the black population, that the South African authorities negotiate with the representatives of the people, namely the ANC, that Nelson Mandela and all other detained patriots be unconditionally released and that apartheid in all its forms be abolished.

76. It was a well-known fact that the Fascist régime of Pretoria could not survive without the economic, political and military assistance of the Government of the United States and certain of its closest allies, whose companies were cheerfully participating in the pillage of the natural resources of South Africa and Namibia. That collaboration under the so-called policy of "constructive engagement" made it possible to finance the
attacks carried out against the front-line States by counterrevolutionary
gangs and racist troops. The international community had not failed to
denounce the military collaboration, including that in the nuclear field,
between the United States and South Africa and the latter's alliance with
Israel.

77. To hear certain speakers in the Commission, however, it would seem that
the black majority was suffering because, oddly enough, it was unable to
assimilate the extraordinary advantages that the plunderers of diamonds, gold,
coal and other natural resources were leaning over backwards to offer them.

78. Other speakers clearly wanted to make the members of the Commission
forget not only the past but also the present. While emphasizing alleged
democratic traditions which, as in Plato's Symposium, were the preserve of the
"chosen few", they spread death in Nicaragua, used their right of veto to
prevent the United Nations Security Council from imposing the international
will upon the racist and exclusivist régimes of South Africa and Israel,
hatched assassination plots against foreign leaders, subjected peoples to
deprivation and misery through the foreign debt of the developing countries
and claimed to set themselves up as the judges and policemen of the planet.

79. Such hypocrisy should come as no surprise to the Commission. The
Indians in the United States, restricted to "reservations", robbed of their
lands, and with a life expectancy that did not exceed 45 years, the millions
of blacks confined to urban ghettos, the chicanos, the Puerto Ricans, and many
others who did not meet the definition of "white Anglo-Saxon Protestant" could
testify to the "similar policies and practices of racial segregation and
discrimination" they had to endure in violation of the International

80. It was also necessary to step up the pressure so that the
Security Council would impose upon the South African régime the mandatory
sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, the only
peaceful way of compelling Pretoria to respect the will of the international
community.

81. His delegation supported the work of the "Group of Three" and paid
tribute to those, like Nelson Mandela in South Africa, the SWAPO combatants
in Namibia, the anonymous heroes of Palestine, the disciples of
Martin Luther King, Jean Pelletier and Albizu Campos in the United States
of America and Puerto Rico, and the men and women of Angola, Mozambique,
the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe, who faced
racist and Fascist barbarism daily and confronted the exploiters of the
people on both sides of the Atlantic. Their victory would soon be heard
around the world.

82. Mrs. GAMIL (Observer for Egypt) said that her delegation felt obliged to
speak on the current agenda items because of the deterioration in the
situation in South Africa and the continuation of the illegal occupation of
Namibia, the more so since Egypt could not forget that it, too, had known the
horrors of colonialism. The African Charter of Human and People's Rights was
a good illustration of the link uniting the cause of human rights and that of
the rights of peoples.
83. The Commission had before it numerous documents describing the efforts made by the international organizations to alleviate the situation of the South African people. While paying tribute to those efforts, her delegation considered that they should not constitute the last attempt to find a solution. The remedy was, in fact, putting an end to the policy of racial discrimination practised in South Africa and recognizing the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence. Unfortunately, as could be seen from all the documents submitted to the Commission, the racist régime had no intention of discontinuing its policy and its violations of human rights and only comprehensive and mandatory sanctions could force it to do so, because South Africa would not survive long under such conditions. Her Government welcomed the positive change in the approach of certain Western countries which, through their course of action, were helping to isolate the racist régime and accelerate its collapse.

84. Her Government condemned the policy of terrorism and oppression under which the non-white population had suffered so much, the illegal occupation of Namibia and the attempts to destabilize neighbouring States, which constituted a grave threat to international peace and security. It reaffirmed the need to grant immediate independence to Namibia in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It denounced the policy of linking against all logic the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, convinced as it was that the right to independence of a people could not in any way be subordinated to the situation prevailing in a third country or be the subject of bargaining.

85. The attention of the international community should, moreover, be drawn to the close connections existing between the activities of the transnational corporations and the continuation of the shameful measures adopted by the racist régime. Those corporations were pillaging the natural resources of southern Africa, using all the opportunities offered by the region to gain as much as possible and supporting the apartheid régime. There were many resolutions which stressed that aspect of the situation, in particular General Assembly resolution 41/103. In a word, co-operating with the racist régime, especially in the political, economic and military fields, was tantamount to encouraging and reinforcing its apartheid policy.

86. That was why it was important to examine the part played by corporations that made themselves accomplices to the crime of apartheid. Her delegation would therefore support the proposal that the Special Rapporteur should continue his study of the adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the racist and colonialist régime of South Africa. It shared the conclusions reached by Mr. Khalifa in his updated report (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1987/8/Rev.1 and Add.1) that the purpose of imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions upon South Africa would be not to paralyse its economy but to convince it to change course in order to avoid a deterioration of the situation.

87. The embargo upon weapons could not be effective in the absence of sanctions to put an end to all trade relations and to "freeze" the transfer of capital and investments. Her Government protested against all forms of co-operation with South Africa, particularly nuclear collaboration, which might well reinforce its capability to develop particularly dangerous weapons.
88. Her Government took a firm and resolute stance by the side of those struggling to ensure respect for human rights and the natural right to liberty and equality. It supported the fight of the Namibians, under the leadership of SWAPO the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, to attain complete independence. In view of the threats and aggression to which the front-line States had been subject, it called upon the international community to give those States assistance. It had already had the occasion to urge such international organizations as the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity to assume their responsibilities towards the peoples of southern Africa so that they could live in free and independent dignity. It hoped that the African Commission of Human Rights, elected at the twenty-third session of the African Conference of Heads of State and Government, would implement the African Charter.

89. In the same spirit, Egypt had acceded to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and supported all resolutions adopted by the United Nations bodies and other international organizations on the question of apartheid. It was high time that the international community implemented the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and invited all States that had not yet done so to become parties to, and to implement in practice, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

90. The South African authorities must accept the principle of direct negotiations without pre-conditions with the leaders of the non-white community with a view to ensuring peace and security in the region. Oppression could not endure forever against the aspirations of peoples, which were eternal.

The meeting rose at 6. p.m.