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President: Mr. Beyreuther

ELEVENTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE: SUBMISSION AND ADOPTION

Interpretation from German: The PRESIDENT – The first item on this morning's agenda is the eleventh report of the Selection Committee. I call on Mr. Vargas Escobar, Government delegate, Nicaragua, Chairman of the Selection Committee, to present the report.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. VARGAS ESCOBAR *(Government delegate, Nicaragua; Chairman of the Selection Committee)* – I have the honour of submitting to the Conference the eleventh report of that Committee, which is contained in *Provisional Record* No. 5J. The report deals solely with changes in the composition of the committees of the Conference.

I recommend to the Conference the adoption of this report.

Interpretation from German: The PRESIDENT – The eleventh report of the Selection Committee is now before the Conference. If there are no objections, I take it that the report is adopted?

(The report is adopted.)

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON APARTHEID: SUBMISSION AND DISCUSSION

Interpretation from German: The PRESIDENT – The second item on the agenda is the consideration of the report of the Committee on Apartheid.

I have the pleasure to invite Mr. Nkomo, Government delegate, Zimbabwe, Chairman of the Committee on Apartheid; Mr. Hernández, Employers' adviser, Philippines, Employers' Vice-Chairman; and Mr. Mercier, Workers' delegate, Canada, Workers' Vice-Chairman; as well as Mr. Vollebaek, Government adviser, Norway, Reporter, to take their seats on the rostrum.

I call on Mr. Nkomo, Chairman of the Committee, to submit the report.

Mr. NKOMO *(Government delegate, Zimbabwe; Chairman of the Committee on Apartheid)* – Allow me first to recognise the leader of SWAPO.

At the outset, allow me to thank all delegates to the Conference for their confidence in electing me as Chairman of this Session's Committee on Apartheid. It is indeed a fitting tribute to my country, Zimbabwe, a symbol to a victorious struggle against racism and a living proof that it is possible to build a democratic and non-racial society out of the ashes of racial discrimination.

The Committee has met this year against the background of increased violence and repression unleashed by the apartheid regime against the Black South African trade unions. Pretoria is now bent on promulgating, through the White minority, laws intended to cripple the trade union movement. Your Committee had occasion to listen to the testimony given by representatives of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and National Congress of Trade Unions (NACTU). In that context I wish to recall a statement by a representative of COSATU which, inter alia, stated: "Under the most difficult conditions they were able to rally over two million people. It was a clear demonstration of the determination of the people to replace the illegitimate racist apartheid regime with a non-racial democratic society. The action of the past three days had forced the Minister of Manpower to suggest negotiating with COSATU on the proposed Labour Bill. A special COSATU Executive Committee meeting was held on 8 June to decide on the Minister of Manpower's proposal. It was agreed that the Executive Committee would meet the Minister on condition that the agenda should provide that the Minister would accept the jurisdiction of the ILO as the body with the right to decide on the criteria of the proposed law."

When the President of the ANC, Mr. Oliver Tambo, appraised the President of the developments in South Africa, the Committee was exceedingly grateful that the Workers, Employers and Governments in the ILO authorised the President to send a message of solidarity with the oppressed workers of South Africa. It is our hope that the signal so conveyed would be well understood by the Botha regime.

Before this august body is the report of the Committee on Apartheid, which it has been proposed will henceforth be known as the Conference Committee on Action against Apartheid. The work of the Committee was conducted in an atmosphere of serenity and mutual understanding. It underscored the fact that apartheid had no place in civilised society and had to be eradicated. All the participants were unanimous on the imperative of eradicating apartheid and contributing to the evolution of a democratic and free South Africa. All sentiments and reservations are recorded in this report.

These were the results of our painstaking efforts, and it merely remains for me now to pay special tribute to my two Vice-Chairmen, namely Mr. Her-

nández, Employers' adviser from the Philippines, and Mr. Mercier, Workers' delegate from Canada. Further thanks go to Mr. Vollebaek, Government adviser from Norway, who was elected Reporter. It was due to their expertise, their experience and talents that my task of Chairman was made easy. I am immensely indebted to them, as indeed to all members of the Committee for the success of the Committee.

Lastly, may I commend that the Conference adopt the report by consensus.

Mr. HERNANDEZ *(Employers' adviser, Philippines; Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Apartheid)* – I wish to convey to the President my most sincere congratulations and those of the Employers' Confederation of the Philippines on his well-deserved election to the presidency of the 75th Session of the International Labour Conference and on the efficient manner in which he has ably steered the Conference deliberations.

It is with a deep sense of pride and gratification that I associate myself with Mr. Nkomo, Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare of Zimbabwe and Chairman of the Committee, in asking for the unanimous adoption by the Conference of the report and conclusions of the Committee on Apartheid. The conclusions of the Committee underscore once again the continuing commitment of the tripartite constituents of the International Labour Organisation and of all freedom-loving peoples the world over to the incessant search for appropriate, effective and urgent measures designed to dismantle and totally eliminate, at all times and at all places, apartheid and racism and any political and social system that impinges upon the principles enshrined in the Declaration of Philadelphia and promotes and exacerbates denial of human rights.

As Mrs. Corazon C. Aquino, the new leader of democracy and beloved President of the Republic of the Philippines, declared in this forum last Tuesday, "Liberty is non-negotiable"; and paraphrasing her, nothing can resist the greed and evil of apartheid except the power and pressure of the international community including – and most especially – the tripartite members of this noble and august Organisation.

The conclusions of the Committee are a response to the continuing refusal of the Government of South Africa to heed and promote the objectives set forth in the Preamble of the ILO Constitution and the Declaration of Philadelphia and represent quite appropriately an answer to that Government's so-called "total strategy".

The Committee's report is a document for freedom and democracy, for justice and equality as well as an instrument that seeks for liberty and human dignity. There is appropriate stress on the fact that the Committee specifically recommends the adoption of the Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia and the renaming of the Committee as the Conference Committee on Action against Apartheid. Needless to say the Committee's recommendations are timely and urgent in view of the disturbing developments in South Africa and the universal abhorrence for apartheid.

In commending the report and conclusions for adoption by the Conference, I must with your indulgence reiterate the reservations made during the Committee's deliberations this year and those made in last year's session of the Conference by a very small minority of employers, including those from the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Australia, the United States, France, Italy, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland in respect of certain aspects of the Declaration and the Programme of Action relating to specific measures that are not within the constitutional competence of the Organisation or within the parameters of its current policies. However, despite these reservations the Employers' group expresses its full support for the Committee's report and conclusions and reiterates its adherence to the tenets of democracy and the principles promotive of man's dignity and well-being.

May I request the Conference to lend suport to and unanimously adopt the report and conclusions of the Committee on Apartheid.

Interpretation from French: Mr. MERCIER *(Workers' delegate, Canada; Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Apartheid)* – On behalf of the Workers' group, I would like to express our satisfaction with the groups of the Committee, and our sincere thanks to Mr. Nkomo, Mr. Hernández and our Reporter. Without them, the Committee would have met with difficulties that could probably have been insurmountable. But the work we did this year will go down in the annals of the ILO.

As Vice-Chairman and spokesman for the Workers' group on the Committee on Apartheid, I would like first of all to express the hope that our work will be acknowledged by the plenary through the adoption by consensus of our Declaration, programme of action and conclusions, so that these instruments may convey a message of real solidarity with the Black majority in South Africa and Namibia, and an unambiguous message to the South African regime that half-hearted measures are now finished, that we have reached a consensus and a truly comprehensive strategy, and that apartheid has no friends left.

Our Committee has had the privilege of hearing the direct testimony of the representatives of COSATU and NACTU during its sessions. They spoke to us on the days following the third extension of the state of emergency in South Africa. They spoke to us shortly after the three days of protest staged by the Black workers against the proposed amendments of the Industrial Relations Act and the Orderly Internal Politics Bill, both of which seek to choke off the Black independent trade union movement in South Africa. Some 3 million workers belonging to these two federations participated massively in these peaceful protests; it is the only way for those who have no vote to make their voice heard. They were also protesting against the banning of 17 anti-apartheid organisations and against the restriction imposed on COSATU. These restrictions prevent COSATU from requesting the release of their leaders who are in detention, such as Moses Mayekiso, the Secretary-General of NUMSA, the trade union of metallurgists, whose trial is still in progress; from commemorating tragic events such as the disaster of the Kinross mine, in which hundreds of Black miners lost their lives; from asking for clemency for those known as the "Sharpeville Six", one of whom is a young woman trade unionist. The

Supreme Court has just rejected a request for a new trial for the Six, thus condemning them to being hanged, unless international pressure is sufficent and manages to convince the South African authorities that hanging people without the slightest proof of their guilt, but merely on grounds of collective guilt, will not go unpunished. COSATU is no longer allowed to express the point of view of the Black workers of South Africa on the role of foreign investment in their country, or even to pronounce the word "sanctions". What is more, COSATU may no longer organise meetings to debate in a democratic manner the way in which apartheid affects Black workers.

Two weeks ago, two members of the Laundry Workers' Union of NACTU were imprisoned simply because they were in possession of stickers which protested against the proposed amendment to the Industrial Relations Act. During the protests last week, at least seven workers were killed and more than 20 wounded. We are told that more than 2,000 workers were sacked. In his Report, the Director-General tells us that at the end of 1987, 322 trade unionists were imprisoned. Everyday we receive new lists of COSATU and NACTU members who have been detained.

Every three months or so the South African regime imposes increasingly restrictive limitations on the freedom of the press. With the extension of the state of emergency, these restrictions have once again been strengthened. The trade union of Black journalists, the MWASA, is the preferred target.

And what is the position of employers vis-à-vis this continuously worsening situation? The largest South African companies such as the Ango-American, which says it is a "liberal" organisation, have clearly demonstrated in the past few days that they support the proposed amendments to the Industrial Relations Act; these amendments will raise further obstacles to the implementation of internationally recognised labour standards.

It is no surprise therefore that COSATU has submitted a complaint in this connection to the Director-General of the ILO, who will transmit it, according to established procedures, to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. We can no longer doubt that the employers directly support the maintenance of apartheid and the shameless exploitation of Black workers.

During the sessions of out Committee, the representative of the CBI, that is to say of the British employers, tried to convince us that British companies invest in South Africa in order to improve the lot of Black workers and to secure for them all kinds of advantages. We had to draw his attention to the chapter in the Director-General's Report which states that only 18 companies, among the 146 which had submitted their reports under the EEC Code of Conduct, were paying their Black workers a higher wage than the bare minimum. Still worse, the lowest salaries were paid by the larges companies, such as Shell, Courtaulds and Lonhro.

Along the same lines as the CBI representative, the honourable government representative of the United States based his hopes for change in South Africa on the "economic power" of Black workers. He explained that the Administration did not share the views of Congress in this area, or approve of its efforts to tighten American economic sanctions against South Africa.

This thesis is in total contradiction with the reality of apartheid. We have before us statistics on the miserable wages paid to Black workers, and on the extent of their malnutrition and unemployment. These are the evils of apartheid which, as a matter of fact, had provoked strikes of protests in the 1970s, in other words well before the imposition of economic sanctions. It seems to me extraordinary to base any hope of change on "the economic power of the workers". Why is there this reticence relating to the effectiveness of economic sanctions against South Africa, when the United States Administration itself manifests a continuous enthusiasm for applying them elsewhere against morally bankrupt regimes? And what a contradiction between the fact that the United States, by the very will of the American people, has adopted very severe sanctions, and the fact that the Administration of that country continues to veto much more modest measures proposed by the Security Council of the United Nations!

Rest assured that the regime of South Africa would not impose such drastic restrictions on those who advocate economic sanctions if it were not convinced of the effectiveness of sanctions. We welcome Mr. Sam Nujoma. We are discussing a regime which year after year has defied the international community. Its occupation of Namibia, which was decreed illegal as far back as 1966, should be punished as provided for in the United Nations Charter, for this regime cannot be qualified by any other word than criminal. The representative of NACTU spoke to us about the profound humility of Black workers in South Africa when they look at the sacrifices that the people of the front-line States have made, and the high price they have paid for their solidarity with the Black majority in South Africa. Military aggression, the destruction of the economic and social fabric, political destabilisation – this is the daily lot of those countries.

Our Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa, as well as the Programme of Action against Apartheid, amended and updated by the Tripartite Conference in Harare and our Committee, take into account the reality of the situation. The Declaration will no longer be a Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa, but a Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid. The Workers' group hopes that this small change in the title will reflect a new reality in our commitment to combat apartheid, rather than just complaining about it.

The Workers' group launches an appeal to all the members of our Organisation to adopt by consensus this Declaration and Programme of Action, to demonstrate our collective determination to undertake this struggle, in which our weapons shall be comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions.

However, it is also our duty to give a vigorous and concerted response to the events which are now taking place in South Africa, which I repeat, are a threat to the whole future of trade union life in that country.

It is in this spirit that the Workers' group has formulated appropriate conclusions to supplement the Declaration and Programme of Action. Guided by the Director-General's statement that only concerted international pressure aimed at the most sensitive aspects of the South African Government will succeed in bringing about a peaceful dismantling of

the policy of apartheid, we have tried in our conclusions this year to identify the areas which we consider to be the most sensitive for South Africa, where concerted and specific action is required.

Apartheid is a genuine challenge for the international community. It is absolutely imperative for all of us to accept this challenge together, without any reservation, without a vote, which might give the South African regime the impression that it still has same friends left.

Yes, let us accept this challenge together. Our credibility depends on it, as does that of our Organisation.

Mr. VOLLEBAEK *(Government adviser, Norway; Reporter of the Committee on Apartheid)* – It is my honour, as Reporter of the Committee on Apartheid, to present the Committee's report, as contained in *Provisional Record* No. 19.

The report contains an account of the Committee's deliberations, as well as a proposed updating of the Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia, a proposed Programme of Action against Apartheid and conclusions relating to urgent action to be taken.

The proposed updating relates specifically to the situation in Namibia.

The Committee also proposes that the name of the Committee be changed to the Conference Committee on Action against Apartheid.

I propose that the report be adopted by this Conference.

Interpretation from German: The PRESIDENT – The general discussion on the report of the Committee on Apartheid is now open. In a few moment we shall have the honour of hearing Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), address us.

However, before giving Mr. Nujoma the floor I would like briefly to say a little about him, about his tireless struggle against apartheid and for the liberation of his country, Namibia.

As an employee of the railroads in the capital of Namibia in the fifties, Mr. Nujoma discovered for himself just how unacceptable is the oppression under which the Black workers live under the apartheid regime which prevails in occupied Namibia.

Very rapidly, he became a militant fighting for the rights not only of the railroad workers but of the population of Namibia as a whole.

Very early on, he stood out as a decisive, courageous and skilful organiser, working for the working population of his country.

His commitment and involvement in the anti-apartheid movement led to his dismissal from service, to his arrest and finally to exile.

Outside his home country, however, Mr. Nujoma continued tirelessly in his efforts to mobilise the international community to fight against the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, while the decisions taken by the General Assembly of the United Nations and decisions taken by the International Court of Justice were being flagrantly violated.

His ceaseless involvement and work led in 1960 to the formation of SWAPO, the internationally recognised liberation movement of the people of Namibia; he was elected first President of that organisation.

It is now ten years since the International Labour Conference, at its 64th Session in 1978, decided that Namibia should become a full Member of the ILO. That is why today is a specially appropriate time to listen to the words of one of the most eminent freedom fighters; someone who incarnates not only the struggle against apartheid, a concern to which the International Labour Organisation has devoted much of its time and effort for many years, but also the efforts of the people of Namibia to achieve absolute freedom and sovereignty.

These are the prerequisites which will make it possible for Namibia to take up its rights and obligations as a Member of the International Labour Organisation.

Therefore, it is a very great pleasure for me to invite Mr. Sam Nujoma to the speaker's rostrum to make his address to the participants to this Conference.

Mr. NUJOMA *(President of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO))* – Permit me to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to the chairmanship of the 75th Session of the International Labour Conference.

The decision of the delegates to elect you to this very important position testifies to the trust they have in you and in your competence, skill and experience to guide the deliberations of this august assembly. Your election is also a clear indication of the respect your great country, the German Democratic Republic, has earned among the nations of the world as a champion of democracy, peace and freedom for all the peoples of the world.

On behalf of the oppressed people of Namibia, and on my own behalf, I would like to sincerely thank the Director-General of the International Labour Office, Mr. Francis Blanchard, for having invited me to address the 75th Session of the International Labour Conference in this hall which has a unique historical significance for Namibia. As you may recall, Mr. Chairman, it was in this very same hall where members of the then League of Nations met to discuss the fate of my country, albeit without the participation or even consultation of the Namibian people, and mandated the country to the British Crown to be exercised by South Africa on behalf of Britain.

This hall, therefore, has an important bearing on what has become of Namibia since then. More importantly, it was also in this hall that a historic decision was taken to admit Namibia to full membership of the ILO, thus paving the way for the special relationship which illegally occupied Namibia now enjoys with the ILO.

We value highly the membership of Namibia in the ILO and hope that our country will, in a not very distant future, take its rightful place within the entire family of the United Nations system as a free, democratic and sovereign State. Finally, but not least, I would like to express my delegation's most profound gratitude to the authorities of the Swiss Confederation for the kind and wonderful hospitality extended to my delegation since our arrival here yesterday.

It is of historic importance to the struggle of the Namibian people that I address the International Labour Conference which brings representatives of governments, employers and workers together for a

united action in furtherance of the noble cause of social justice and in the interest of workers throughout the world.

It is hardly possible to find words which can adequately express the contribution of the ILO to the promotion of the rights and betterment of the working people's living and working conditions. Since the years of Albert Thomas, the first Director of the International Labour Office, to the present day, under the able guidance of Mr. Francis Blanchard, the ILO has enormously contributed to the lot of the working people and social peace through relentless efforts to improve the social and economic well-being of those in and out of employment throughout the world.

It is in recognition of these commendable efforts that the Organisation was awarded the well-deserved Nobel Peace Prize in 1969.

In its preamble, the ILO Constitution declares that universal and lasting peace can be founded only on the basis of social justice. At Philadelphia, in 1944, the International Labour Conference adopted a Declaration, now an annex to the Constitution, which embodies an even more dynamic concept: it proclaims the right of all human beings "to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity". It further states that "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere".

But can true and lasting peace be achieved in the face of a vicious arms race which threatens the very survival of the entire human race? Can the social and economic well-being of the peoples of the world be achieved while enormous sums of money are squandered on weapons of mass destruction every day? Can one talk of true and lasting peace when millions of people, Namibians included, still languish under colonial, racial and foreign domination and are denied their basic human rights? According to some estimates, the total global expenditure on armaments now amounts to some trillion dollars, I repeat – trillion not billion dollars. But this senseless spending is occurring at a time when unemployment has reached an alarming proportion in most of the developed and developing countries.

The senseless spending is also taking place at a time when the world economy is in severe recession and developing countries are begging for development money to restructure their dwindling and ailing economies in order to meet the rising consumer demands and to provide employment to the millions of their peoples.

Since the proceeds from the sale of arms only benefit a few people, this has contributed to increasing inequality in the industrialised countries, and to exacerbating poverty and structural maladjustment in the developing world.

I do not need to dwell too much on the link between the arms race and the global economic crisis because this is not a new subject. But the fact cannot be over-emphasised that this world spends huge resources on arms and related materials at the expense of the much needed economic development in areas where development never saw the light of day.

Certainly, there are millions of peace-loving people the globe over, who believe that without disarmament there can be no meaningful development and without development there can be no peace, and without peace there can be no justice.

Our fear and repulsion for the use of force and war is primarily because of the loss of human lives which is involved in such activities. But, in the developing world, human lives are also lost every day in another kind of "war", namely the battle against poverty and underdevelopment. Yes, some people are being killed by the bullets and shells of oppressive and dictatorial regimes. But more many die because of famine and diseases. There is little hope that this kind of war will be ended without sustained economic development, and without development there can be no social justice.

The challenge being posed by this situation to the whole world is moral, political and social. The threat to world peace, security and social justice posed by the arms race cannot any longer be reconciled with the moral imperative that human life and well-being represent the highest value, which we should all try to uphold and protect. Some have argued against the connection between disarmament and the transfer of resources to the development needs of the developing world. That is to say, we have been reminded more than once that the Third World has no automatic right to claim entitlement to the financial resources that would be released from disarmament. But valid as this argument may be, what the developing countries are asking for is the solidarity of all progressive and peace-loving forces of the world to enable them to tackle the problem of development.

It is against this background that we welcome the improving relations between the world's two biggest Powers, the United States and the USSR, which has resulted in the signing of the historic agreement on the elimination of intermediate nuclear missiles, which we hope might give renewed confidence and co-operation, instead of confrontation, between East and West.

This year marks the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 10th anniversary of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 which contains the United Nations Plan for the Decolonisation of Namibia.

Many people have expected that Namibia would be free by now and, therefore, able to occupy its rightful place in the community of sovereign nations. On the contrary, Namibia remains under the yoke of apartheid, colonisalism and illegal occupation. The situation has gone from bad to worse, and the apartheid regime is busy brutalising our people and committing untold atrocities, using more than 100.000 racist troops that it has stationed in Namibia today. Among these are specially trained killer units, such as the so-called Koevoet (crowbar) units that are employed to murder innocent civilians and terrorise the Namibian population.

The South African colonial army, police and the terrorist gangs have unleashed a truly genocidal campaign against the Namibian people. Every week that passes, there are fresh reports of atrocities, as Pretoria tries in vain to contain the forward march of the Namibian people's national liberation struggle, under the leadership of SWAPO.

The South African occupation army, the police and the special terror units are conducting a reign of terror in the form of torture, physical and psychological attack and general harassment of our people, both old and young. It is difficult to believe that

human beings can go to the extent to which the South African racists in Namibia have gone to inflict suffering on other human beings. As one of Pretoria's common methods of torture, people are being burned alive over glowing charcoal fires. Others are thrown into small prison cells with wooden walls and floors in which sharp nails are driven. We have people who have had their limbs amputated, other than medically.

The occupation army now habitually drives its armoured vehicles and trucks over peasants' planted agricultural fields, destroying crops in the process. Entire villages are wiped out just because they are suspected of assisting SWAPO freedom fighters.

Schools, and even churches, have not been spared this destructive brutality. Fifteen schools have recently been bombed or set on fire and members of their staff arrested and tortured by the South African troops in Namibia. Church property is now and then targeted for bombardment.

For example, in January, February and during the last week of March and the first two weeks of April 1987, the following cases of atrocities were reported and documented: 20 people were deliberately run over and killed by South African armed vehicles while in their homes or walking by the roadside; 10 women were raped by South African soldiers; 31 men, women and children were severely beaten up by the racist forces; 4 people were tortured by roasting them over fires; 6 homes were destroyed by army vehicles; 40 people were abducted and detained; 15 peasant crop fields were destroyed by the occupation army; 20 families were robbed of all their property by South African soldiers.

More than half of the Namibian population lives under martial law and a dusk-to-dawn curfew. Any person found outside his or her house after dark runs the risk of being shot on sight. The racist soldiers and the terror gangs shoot first and ask questions afterwards, even at corpses. These are but a few examples of the atrocities which South African commits in Namibia today.

Allow me now to turn briefly to the labour and employment conditions in my country. The ruthless racial discrimination against the exploitation of Blacks, which is the official practice in both occupied Namibia and South Africa, finds its most vivid expression in the labour market where the working environment of a Black worker is most oppressive and exploitative. A Black worker has virtually no access to adequate remunerative employment opportunity. In the absence of meaningful protective labour legislation, the Black worker has no legal right to a pension, sick pay, maternity leave, etc., as happens in other, democratic, countries.

The bulk of the Namibian labour force works for the foreign economic interests which control 90 per cent of the country's economy. These foreign economic interests are engaged in a merciless exploitation of Namibia's human and natural resources through large corporations and financial institutions from Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland and other Western European countries, the United States of America, Canada, Japan and South Africa. All these foreign corporations operate on the basis and conditions laid down in the licenses issued to them by the South African occupation regime.

The very high profits these corporations are making are a result of the excessive exploitation of the Black cheap labour and natural wealth of Namibia. But while exploiting the captive African cheap labour and Namibia's natural resources, these multinational corporations are providing the racist regime with the necessary revenues to maintain its illegal and brutal occupation of Namibia.

The Black employees of the corporations are by and large accommodated in the so-called workers' compounds. Life in these compounds is horrible, to say the least. Workers are packed into overcrowded barracks with concrete structures for beds. Sanitation is either very poor or non-existent. Most of the inmates of these compounds are people who are separated from their families for the duration of their so-called contract periods. Namibian Black workers have very little or no protection at all in law against industrial injury, illness or redundancy. In most cases, workers are excluded from fringe benefits, pension opportunities and other amenities accorded to White workers. Where social provisions exist, they do not cover the contract workers. The so-called "Conditions of Employment Act", which South Africa has introduced in Namibia, through its puppets in Windhoek, to hoodwink world public opinion, has not changed the ugly reality of this situation.

The underdevelopment of Namibia continues without abatement, and the available statistics show that as much as 60 per cent of Namibia's gross national product is repatriated abroad by the transnationals as company profits before taxes. Of the remaining 40 per cent, a large part is used as operating expenses of the foreign economic interests in Namibia. Per capita income for the Whites in Namibia is approximately 3,000 rands, while the corresponding figure for Blacks is 125 rands – a ratio of 24 to 1. This, surely, is one of the most blatant examples of inequitable distribution of income in the world today.

Over the last two years there has been a resurgence of trade union activity in Namibia, resulting in a number of industrial actions. This has led to the dismissal of thousands of workers by some of the big foreign corporations in Namibia. A case in point was the dismissal of workers from their work at the Tsumeb, Otjihase and Kombat copper mines and other corporations. The workers were dismissed en masse for having demanded better pay and minor improvements in their living and working conditions. However, the mining companies, notably the Tsumeb Corporation Limited, in which Britain, South Africa and the United States have the dominant interest, decided to systematically victimise the workers. The majority of the workers dismissed are those who are union members, thus clearly showing the anti-trade union line which these foreign companies have taken.

The multinationals have for many years worked together with the colonial authorities in Namibia to suppress trade unions and to silence workers' opposition to apartheid oppression and injustices. However, as the repression of the workers has intensified over the decades, so has their commitment to abolish apartheid in Namibia.

Thus, in spite of harsh reprisals from transnational corporations and the colonial regime, the workers have in recent years succeeded in forming mass and effective trade unions, such as the Namibian Food

and Allied Union, the Mineworkers Union of Namibia, the Metal and Allied Namibia Workers, and the Namibia Public Workers Union. All these unions are affiliated to the National Union of Namibian Workers. With the formation of these trade unions, the Namibian workers are continuing their historic resistance to colonial domination, repression and exploitation.

We consider it imperative for the international community, particularly the ILO, to come to the aid of the trade unions in Namibia so that they can effectively continue to fight for the rights of our exploited and oppressed workers.

In view of the prevailing critical political, military and economic situation in Namibia, we strongly call upon the entire international community to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa for its refusal to relinquish its illegal occupation of Namibia.

In this connection, we sincerely welcome the measures taken by some countries in imposing sanctions against South Africa. We urge those which have not yet done so to follow suit.

I cannot end my speech without welcoming the updated Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia and the Programme of Action against Apartheid as presented to the Conference for adoption.

I am happy to note that for the first time both the Declaration and the Programme of Action apply equally to the situation in South Africa and Namibia.

I sincerely appeal to the distinguished delegates here assembled to adopt the Declaration and the Programme of Action by consensus. By doing so, you will send a clear signal to the racist colonial regime of South Africa that the international community is fully behind the oppressed people of Namibia and South Africa.

I also congratulate the Director-General of the ILO for the comprehensive report concerning the policy of apartheid in South Africa. I have noted that this year the report covers the situation in Namibia satisfactorily.

However, we feel that the issue of Namibia should be covered in a separate chapter in the Report.

Lastly, we sincerely thank the ILO for co-operating with SWAPO in training Namibian refugees in exile. In this regard, I have to mention specifically the vocational training centre which the ILO and the SWAPO of Namibia jointly constructed for the Namibians at Cuacra in the People's Republic of Angola. The centre is very useful to the Namibians and is a concrete testimony to the wonderful co-operation which exists between SWAPO and the ILO.

I must say that this vocational training centre is the first, because in Namibia we do not have anyone for the Africans, so therefore we thank the ILO for this invaluable contribution to the Namibian people.

In conclusion, I would like to mention that, like the rest of humanity, the Namibian people hope that the current international political atmosphere, which is characterised by dialogue and co-operation, will have positive implications for Namibia's long delayed independence. We in SWAPO, therefore, support recent proposals by Angola to find a settlement in the south-western corner of Africa, leading to the immediate independence of Namibia, security for Angola and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Let me also reaffirm, at the same time, SWAPO's support for and solidarity with the people of South Africa in their just struggle against racism for a democratic, united and non-racial South Africa.

We strongly condemn the racist South African policy of destabilisation of the independent African States in the region, particularly the People's Republic of Angola.

Similarly, SWAPO maintains the view that the question of Palestine is at the core of the conflict in the Middle East. As such, it follows that any just, durable and comprehensive solution in the area must lead to the establishment of an independent Palestine State. We therefore support the Palestinian people, led by the PLO, in their struggle to achieve this goal. We also support the Sahraoui people, led by the Polisario Front, in their fight for the independence of Western Sahara.

On behalf of SWAPO, I would like to express our sincere gratitude to all countries, national and international organisations, which have supported and continue to support our struggle for self-determination. In this connection, I would like to single out the front-line States, in particular the People's Republic of Angola, other OAU member States, the socialist countries, the Nordic countries, Holland, Italy and the member countries of the non-aligned movement.

To the White population in Namibia, I would like to reiterate SWAPO's position that the struggle we are waging is not, has not been, and never will be, directed against individual Whites. Rather, it is a struggle to end apartheid and colonialism. Above all, it is a struggle to restore the human dignity of all our people, Black and White.

Interpretation from German: The PRESIDENT – Mr. Nujoma, I thank you most sincerely for this very impressive address which you have just made before this Conference. This will help all of us to understand better your struggle against the problem of apartheid, and to use the means available to us in a better way to show our solidarity with you.

Interpretation from German: Mr. MUHR *(Workers' delegate, Federal Republic of Germany)* – The time for discussing the pros and cons of sanctions against South Africa is past. The time has now come for action. In the South African Republic, 1987 was a year in which yet again many people lost their lives in their struggle for the recognition of human rights. Thirty thousand persons in the course of one single year were detained for more than a month, as the Report before us indicates.

We are still under the shock of the decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa to refuse to reopen the trial of the condemned Sharpville Six, and this, despite the fact that statements and testimonies in the original trial were quite obviously falsified.

With the prohibition of the political activity of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the banning of 17 anti-apartheid organisations, the South African regime has destroyed the last bridges for a peaceful settlement with the Black population. However, this still does not seem to be sufficient for those in power in the southern tip of Africa. Now labour rights are to be further limited.

The changes effected by Parliament since 1987 represent a well-orchestrated attack against the Black trade union movement. Although South Afri-

can labour legislation grants trade unions the right to exist, their activities can be curtailed in a wide variety of ways. For instance trade union members who take part in a strike – and strikes are legal in South Africa – may find themselves dismissed.

In future, any collective action is going to be considered a strike. Sympathy strikes will also no longer be legal. The trade unions are to be held liable for any damage which occurs during illegal strikes and, according to the recent legislation, almost all of them will be considered illegal.

The industrial council system has been restructured; instead of a negotiating body, there will be a strike prevention and compulsory arbitration system.

We are not able to give an account of the full extent of the planned restrictions on trade union rights here; however, I think this is clear when we look back at the three days of protest last week. Millions of Black workers stayed away from work from Monday until Wednesday and, as a result, the economy was largely paralysed.

The inexorable harshness of the South African regime against the freedom movement has, so far as we know until now, cost ten persons their lives.

We bow with respect and with honour before these and all those who have died in the cause of freedom and human dignity.

We pay tribute to the millions of workers in South Africa who made this three-day general strike, the largest in the history of South Africa. Their courage obliges us to continue to give them our support in their struggle.

If the South African Government were to forbid financial support from abroad for political parties and trade unions, or if it were to take similar prohibitive measures, then we should find ways and means to continue to help the anti-apartheid movement.

We view with revulsion the White minority in South Africa which fails to recognise the signs of the times and continues to maintain its power with weapons and with violence, holding the vast majority of the population in bondage and depriving them of their freedom.

That is why we emphasise, once again, that so long as the apartheid regime shows no readiness to alter its policy of contempt for human beings and maintains its illegal occupation of Namibia, sanctions are a necessary and a legitimate tool of international politics to implement human rights and international law in South Africa.

The German Confederation of Trade Unions (DGB) has therefore renewed its call for a boycott on all goods from South Africa. Together with its member organisations, it is continuing its public information and mobilisation campaign with advertisements and posters against the apartheid regime.

We have already achieved some success. Two of the major chain stores in the Federal Republic of Germany no longer sell any goods from South Africa.

However, these are only the first of our successes. We must also try to exert our influence on those enterprises which are still operating in South Africa.

We must at least demand that they draw no further economic advantage from the application of apartheid and security and emergency measures. The right to strike and the right of staff delegates and trade union officials to be represented in disciplinary and complaint procedures must be granted by them.

A sign of progress is that the metalworkers trade union (IG Metall), the largest of our members in the German Confederation of Trade Unions, together with its South African brother trade unions, has drawn up a list of minimum standards for labour relations and labour conflicts. This is now being applied in the Federal German iron and steel enterprises with branches in South Africa.

South African and Federal German trade unions will jointly monitor the implementation of these principles. This is once again an example of specific economic action taken against this regime's new forms of aggression.

To this effect "minimum standards" have been drawn up on the basis of practical, day to day experience. These standards reflect not only the practical needs of young Black trade unionists but also the experiences of Federal German trade unions in their numerous past efforts to provide help and solidarity in the case of conflict.

The fact that these minimum standards are so closely matched to practical realities and that they were jointly formulated, makes these "minimum standards" a qualitatively new and special step in the long series of political inroads to change circumstances in South Africa. We would be pleased if this example were to be followed in other countries.

By grouping racial, social security and labour rights together, the White minority and in particular the employers in South Africa, have great means at their disposal to control and oppress Black workers and their unions.

Those companies, which, despite international demands for economic sanctions, continue activities in South Africa, must therefore at least declare themselves ready to draw no advantage from this undemocratic and anti-social legal system. We call upon all those concerned to respect all the resolutions taken against apartheid including those yet to be taken at this 75th Session of the International Labour Conference.

We must once and for all put an end to the situation whereby human rights are not applied to the vast majority of the population.

Mr. SUNMONU *(representative of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity)* – Permit me, on behalf of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (ORTUU), to join you in welcoming Sam Nujoma, President of Swapo, to this session of the Conference. It is the hope of all African and other freedom-loving peoples of the world that the next time, possibly next year, the Governing Body of the ILO invites President Nujoma to address the International Labour Conference it will be in his capacity as President of the Republic of Namibia.

Let me express the profound appreciation of my organisation to the Director-General, Mr. Blanchard, for the excellent way his special Report on the application of the declaration concerning the policy of apartheid in South Africa was prepared this year. It is a great improvement on last year's Report.

From the Report, the conditions under which Black trade unions operate through repressive apartheid laws is a matter of great concern to us. We praise the courage and the indomitable spirit of the leadership and members of COSATU and NACTU. As trade unionists, we cannot accept the tribal into-

nation of, and collaboration with the apartheid regime of, the Nkatha-formed United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA). The struggle for the death of apartheid in South Africa and Namibia will not be served by unions such as UWUSA

On behalf of the OATUU, I congratulate the Governing Body of the ILO for convening the Tripartite Conference on Action against Apartheid in Harare from 3 to 6 May 1988. Our congratulations also go to the Director-General and all his Officers and staff, and also to the Government and people of Zimbabwe for the successful outcome of the conference. All the delegates, observers and participants of the Harare conference are also congratulated and thanked for the draft Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia, which the Conference Committee worked upon and is presenting for the adoption of this Conference session.

We are glad to see the inclusion of Namibia in the Declaration because of the practice of apartheid in Namibia by the racist regime, as a result of its illegal and criminal occupation of Namibia, in defiance of the termination of its mandate by the United Nations, and Security Council resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia.

The new Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia being put for adoption by this Conference should be supported and adopted by all the three constituents of the ILO unanimously. We are tired of the hypocrisy of the "apostles of human rights and democracy". They call for the practice of human rights and democracy everywhere in the world, except in apartheid South Africa. We would, therefore, like Mrs. Margaret Thatcher and President Ronald Reagan to be kind enough to tell the whole world whether apartheid conforms to their definition of human rights and democracy. If their answer is no, and their alibi is that they have condemned apartheid as inhuman and a crime against humanity, then are they suggesting that apartheid should be destroyed or reformed? Then, how? It is, however, pertinent to inform these two world leaders that it is now universally acknowledged that apartheid cannot be reformed, so it must be destroyed. The world is then left with only two options to destroy apartheid, i.e. through peaceful means or violent means. The only peaceful means to destroy apartheid is through mandatory economic sanctions against the regime. It is, therefore, inconceivable that Mrs. Thatcher's conservative Government and the Reagan Administration, in spite of the overwhelming support of the people of Great Britain and the United States respectively should still adamantly and hypocritically maintain that sanctions would not work against racist South Africa. Why did their respective Governments impose sanctions against other countries like Poland, Cuba, Iran and Nicaragua? We are, however, comforted by the fact that the people of the United States, through their accredited representatives in the two houses of the United States Congress have voted for sanctions against the apartheid South African regime. As equally successfully demonstrated last Saturday at the concert organised by the British Anti-Apartheid Committee at Wembley Stadium in London to commemorate the 70th birthday of Nelson Mandela, we have no doubt that the majority of the British people hate apartheid and they want it destroyed.

I have singled out the Governments of Great Britain and the United States of America not because they are the only Governments supporting the apartheid regime but because of their hypocrisy and double standards. If we must call a spade a spade, then the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany, France, and Japan are also indirectly guilty of supporting the apartheid regime in South Africa by their refusal to apply sanctions against the odious regime. The same can be said of the employers of all these countries. We are also comforted by the fact that the workers, trade unions and other democratic organisations of the above-named countries have, by their words and actions, condemned apartheid and are fighting it on all fronts. We thank all of them for their fight against apartheid, and the moral and material support they are giving to the victims of apartheid in South Africa, Namibia and the front-line States.

We appeal to the humanity of the supporters, promoters, godfathers and godmothers of apartheid to assist the international community to bring an early and peaceful destruction to apartheid by not only adopting but also implementing the Declaration before this session of the Conference. We especially appeal to all countries of the world, particularly to the Western industrialised countries to impose immediate mandatory economic sanctions against the apartheid South African regime and isolate it politically, militarily, culturally and diplomatically. They should also take immediate steps to disinvest in South Africa, in addition to all the actions contained in the Programme of Action against Apartheid in the Declaration.

May I take this opportunity, on behalf of the OATUU, to warn Japan of the dire consequences Japanese companies face in Africa for their unethical filling of the void created by the withdrawal of United States companies from apartheid South Africa. When the day of reckoning comes, Africa will not forget such treachery.

On behalf of my organisation and millions of African workers and people, I thank the Nordic countries for their principled fight against apartheid, and their assistance to its victims inside South Africa, Namibia and the front-line States. We shall never forget. We appeal to other countries and their non-governmental organisations for similar support. We call for the unconditional independence of Namibia this year and for massive international assistance for the post-independence reconstruction and development of Namibia.

In conclusion, I call for the unanimous adoption of the Declaration and Report of the Committee on Apartheid. We shall consider any negative remark or vote or abstention as support for the practice of apartheid in South Africa and Namibia.

Mr. KAILEMBO *(representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions)* – On behalf of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, I should like to convey to this plenary session the full commitment of the 87 million workers the world over under the ICFTU umbrella to the fullest implementation of the updated Declaration concerning Action Against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia, its Programme of Action and the conclusions adopted by the Conference Committee on Apartheid.

I have listened carefully to Mr. Sam Nujoma's speech which so vividly described the situation of the Black workers in his country. He may rest assured that just as we mobilised maximum international support for the Namibian mineworkers during their strike at Tsumeb, putting maximum pressure on that company, we shall continue making every effort to maximise support for the struggle of the Black workers of Namibia in their efforts to organise for trade union and human rights for the fullest and speediest implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 435.

While we are meeting here today, the majority of Black workers of South Africa are engaged in a struggle for survival. There can be no doubt that the proposed amendments to the Labour Relations Act and the promulgation of the Orderly Internal Politics Bill are aimed at emasculating, at destroying the independent Black trade union movement in South Africa, at destroying it – because in the absence of rights, after the bannings and restrictions on anti-apartheid organisations – the independent Black trade union movement has come to represent the aspirations of the Black majority.

What do the proposed amendments to the Labour Relations Act really intend to do? They intend to introduce such an incredibly onerous procedure for the calling of a legal strike that virtually all strikes will become illegal. Already, under the existing law, some 90 per cent of the strikes in South Africa are considered illegal. Employers will be able to sue unions and their officials for damages arising out of illegal strikes, that is virtually for all strikes. Under the proposed amendments it will not be unfair labour practice for the bosses selectively to re-employ workers after a strike, thus making sure that union activists are excluded. The proposed amendments will also promote the recognition of minority unions, or racially based unions, intended to divide the workers. In the light of these proposed amendments, the Government's explanation as to the intentions of the Orderly Internal Politics Bill look particularly ominous. The Government explains as follows, and I quote: "What primarily involved is the monitoring of foreign-funding and the placing of controls on the use of funds for politically subversive or illegal activities." As practically all strikes will be illegal, it is clear that the Government intends to curtail solidarity funds reaching the independent Black trade union movement. It is intended to curtail assistance to the victims of apartheid. What is to become of the European Community's so-called "positive measures" in these circumstances?

Prior to the European Community Summit in May, a top-level ICFTU/ETUC delegation made representations to the European Community, pleading for some real sanctions measures, such as a comprehensive coal embargo – more than ever urgent because of the present situation.

In doing so, we had every confidence that we were genuinely reflecting the wishes of the majority of Black workers in South Africa. Already back in April 1985, the ICFTU adopted a comprehensive sanctions programme in its policy statement entitled "Beating Apartheid". This document draws its value from the fact that the independent Black trade union movement played a key role in its drafting. The same applies to the conclusions of the ICFTU/SATUCC Conference on "Beating Apartheid and Strengthening the Front-Line States", which was held in Lusaka in October 1986, which, among other things, led to the establishment of a monitoring unit on sanctions within the ICFTU Secretariat.

Now that it has become illegal for the independent Black trade union movement to call for such measures, the ICFTU cosiders it as its duty to propagate their message as vigorously as possible. This constitutes elementary trade union solidarity.

On 1 and 2 June the ICFTU called for a special meeting of its Co-ordinating Committee on South Africa, which brings together its affiliates from the industrialised countries, from the African region, from the international trade secretariats and from the independent Black trade union movement inside South Africa. The Co-ordinating Committee examined the most appropriate international trade union response in view of the present crisis we are facing.

It is with great satisfaction that we note that the areas identified for specific target action by the Conference Committee on Apartheid are exactly those that our Co-ordinating Committee recommended for special ICFTU campaigns. Indeed, we committed ourselves to mobilising workers for campaigns to bring about a coal embargo and to stop South Africa from gaining energy self-sufficiency. For example, for this campaign our monitoring unit has already prepared material on the Mossel Bay gas project and Kudu gas fields in Namibia, identifying those foreign companies that are co-operating in these ventures. We have also drawn up a list of those companies that are co-operating with South Africa's SASOL plants, whose management has consistently been anti-union, massively firing workers during strikes, bringing in vigilantes and police squads, and evicting workers from hostels. The NACTU-affiliated South African Chemical Workers' Union is now in its fourth month of dispute with the SASOL management. Another campaign is aimed at putting pressure on banks to stop loans and credit guarantees that promote South Africa's interests.

We have updated our list of companies with investments and interests in South Africa. And if I may summarise, the culprits are: the United Kingdom, with 374 companies; the Federal Republic of Germany, with 333 companies; the United States, with 164 companies; Japan, with 103; France, with 90; Switzerland, with 54. The list endeavours to expose, among other things, those companies that have claimed to withdraw from South Africa while in fact maintaining their interests in the Republic.

The ICFTU very much welcomed the inclusion in the updated Programme of Action of a call for pressure on the subsidiaries of South Africa's transnationals. Indeed, our monitoring unit has been doing extensive research in this field, and an IFCTU list of transnationals with their subsidiaries is now in print.

Our Co-ordinating Committee recommended that we should intensify our efforts to put greater pressure on the south-east Asian countries, some of which are heavily involved in the so-called Bantustans. Moreover, a number of transnationals operating from those countries have apparently been increasing – more particularly Japan and Taiwan – their involvement in South Africa, taking the place of those that are heading the sanctions call. We are approaching our Asian and Pacific regional organisation so that this matter is given a high profile at the forthcoming congress of that organisation, and so

that appropriate representations are made to the governments concerned.

We also very much welcome to greater emphasis on the tragic situation of the front-line States in the updated Declaration and Programme of Action. The ICFTU is endeavouring to implement as fully as possible the conclusions of our Lusaka Conference that I mentioned earlier. We sent a special ICFTU/SATUCC mission to Mozambique to see how best we could show solidarity to the trade union movement in that country in its efforts to alleviate the intolerable suffering of the population, caused by South Africa's proxy forces, permanent destabilisation, compounded by drought. As a first gesture we provided blankets for people who had nothing with which to protect themselves from the oncoming winter. Now, we are working on longer-term projects, particularly to help rehabilitate migrant workers expelled from South Africa. We are also carrying out a feasibility study, together with SATUCC, on ways and means of bringing about immediate relief to migrant workers in the whole of the southern African region and planning a longer-term strategy aimed at promoting employment creation in the supplier countries.

In conclusion, allow me to return to the current situation in South Africa – a situation of deep crisis where human lives are becoming increasingly cheap in a spiral of State and overall violence spilling well over the borders of South Africa. Very soon, another six Black people will probably be hanged. I am, of course, referring to the Sharpeville Six.

After months of campaigning, the ICFTU's World Congress, held in Melbourne in March this year, issued a strong appeal to the South African authorities for clemency for the Sharpeville Six. Just as arrangements were being made for a top-level Congress delegation to make direct representations to the South African Embassy in Canberra, we were informed that a stay of execution order had been granted. Now we learn with distress that the request for a retrial has been refused. We call for immediate tripartite action at all levels to save the lives of the Six, who appear destined to be hanged merely to allow Botha to gain a few more votes from his conservative constituents.

I thus add my voice to those who have preceded me in expressing the hope that the updated Declaration and Programme of Action, as well as the Committee's Conclusions, will be adopted by consensus and will be translated into immediate action.

The ICFTU for its part pledges to continue making every possible effort, through its Co-ordinating Committee on South Africa, to maximise all forms of assistance to the independent Black trade union movement in South Africa and Namibia and to mobilise our membership world-wide for the fullest implementation of the commitments made here and endorsed by our governing bodies.

Mr. NKADIMENG *(representative of the African National Congress)* – Allow me in the first place to congratulate the President on his election to preside over this important session of the International Labour Conference. I think we feel particularly confident in his chairmanship because we know of his untiring assistance to the other liberated countries in Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Zimbabwe. Allow me to contratulate him in the hope that since his country, and he personally, is one of those very important trenches for the liberation movement, you shall continue to render unqualified assistance to the liberation movement in South Africa and Namibia.

We bring you militant greetings from your fighting brothers and sisters in South Africa who have emerged from one of the most impressive and rousing confrontations with the apartheid regime of the bosses in the recorded history of the workers' struggles in South Africa.

This magnificent show of strength takes place against a backdrop of heavy odds in the struggle of the South African workers and people for national and social emancipation. It is a situation of deep economic and political crisis for the apartheid system.

On the economic plane, the country is plagued by a multitude of malaises. The gross domestic product (GDP) is falling with each passing year. In 1985, it declined by 1.1 per cent, showing a slight improvement of a mere 0.5 per cent in 1986. On the other hand, the population growth rate of 3 per cent per annum outpaces by far the meagre growth rate of the GDP.

The stagnation in industrial performance is due in large measure to the squandering of resources on imports of capital-generating items such as military equipment and exorbitant patents for their internal production. Large quantities also for the sanctions-busting exercise. These measures are designed to make the Pretoria regime self-sufficient on items vital for the perpetuation of the apartheid system. They are meant to cushion the effects of increased sanctions and thus increase the regime's potential for floating national and international pressures for the eradication of the criminal system of apartheid.

During his budget speech to the White Parliament earlier this year, Pretoria's Finance Minister, Barend du Plessis, admitted, however, that due to sanctions and other pressures on the regime, many projects designed to reinforce apartheid had to be abandoned. This is a clear admission by Pretoria of the effectiveness of the international action.

Eight successive years of a devastating drought, dwindling markets both internally and externally have meant a further deterioration in living standards. Wages have dropped by 20 per cent in real terms since 1986.

In the political arena, the racist regime's initiatives, the so-called reform, have grounded to a halt. In fact, all pretences of a reform have been thrown overboard. Increasingly, the regime has come to resort on more and more repression and repressive measures.

Following its declaration of a nationwide state of emergency in 1986, which is in its third continuous year as from 10 June 1988, the Pretoria racist regime has resorted to jackboot methods of governance. Not only has it unleashed its forces of repression and oppression – the army and the police – against the people, it has now come to deploy an array of forces against our people.

Within its system of national security management, it has established a network of what is called joint management centres (JMCs) covering major industrial and economic centres of the country. The JMCs are designed to pool the military and civilian efforts for the suppression of democratic popular

protests. In the trail of these JMCs, death and destruction have become the order of the day in my country. Many trade unionists, political activists, youth, women, religious and other activists are in dentention or have died at the hands of Pretoria's security forces, vigilante units and forces of its Bantustan creations with greater concentration and ferocity in the Pietermaritzburg – Pinetown – Durban Complex in Natal in recent times.

Economic development and political progress in the region of southern Africa are subjected to intolerable strain and destabilisation by Pretoria. Rebellion is fomented and outright aggression is launched against the countries of the subcontinent.

The militancy and resilience in struggle by workers and other sections of the popuplation of South Africa should be understood within this context of extreme repression by the racist regime with the collusion of the employers. It is a clear demonstration of the determination to do away with the state of emergency, the Labour Relations Amendment Bill, the Fund-Raising Bill, the murder and detention of trade union leaders and workers, the impending execution of three members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). It is a determination to do away once and for all with this threat to peace and security in the region and rid the world of the crime of apartheid.

We feel very honoured, therefore to join you in the deliberations of this august body today, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), as in previous gatherings such as the recent joint ILO/OATUU (Organisation of African Trade Union Unity) meeting in Harare. We of the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the ANC are convinced that the results of this present consultation will further greatly contribute to the speedy demise of the abominable system of apartheid. This crisis which the racist regime is in leaves no other way out.

Let me further state, comrades, brothers and sisters, that despite the unrelenting resistance of the people of South Africa and Namibia and the efforts of the international community, the apartheid system continues to exist. Indeed, with each passing day, the situation in southern Africa continues to deteriorate. This demands urgent action by the peoples of the world to hasten the end of the apartheid system as a necessary condition and prerequisite for the transformation of our country into a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

We appeal to this meeting to warn the employers not to compound further the situation prevailing inside our country.

We appeal to this world body to reaffirm and implement the Programme of Action adopted at the Arusha conference: "Peoples of the world against apartheid for a democratic South Africa". The struggle for national liberation and social emancipation of the people of South Africa and Namibia requires your continued support.

We appeal to this meeting for continued assistance to SACTU and the entire democratic trade union movement in South Africa; for the further isolation of the regime and implementation of mandatory economic sactions; to demand the stay of execution of the three NUM members on the death row; to demand the unconditional release of Oscar Mpetha and all detained trade union leaders and workers; the release of Nelson Mandela on his 70th birthday and all other political prisoners; send letters of protest to employers and their organisations on their stand against COSATU and the workers of South Africa.

Before concluding, may I also associate myself with those who spoke before me to urge for acceptance of this updated Declaration against apartheid by consensus.

Once more, allow me to wish this session success in its deliberations.

A luta continua! Victory is certain! An injury to one is an injury to all!

Interpretation from German: The PRESIDENT – I have approximately 45 speakers on my list at the present moment and I would therefor like to suggest that speakers limit themselves to seven to ten minutes. We could then proceed rapidly and smoothly and complete our agenda for today.

Mr. MOSAKA *(representative of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania)* – On behalf of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, my delegation wishes to join previous speakers in congratulating the President on his election to the presidency of the 75th Session of the International Labour Conference. His long record and experience in the labour and social fields befit his choice to guide the deliberations of this Conference. We are confident that under his leadership this Session will come to a fruitful conclusion.

Included in the Director-General's Report this year is the subject of human rights. This year also marks the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Today's plenary sitting is devoted to a subject that is incongruent with human rights, namely apartheid, which negates the pronoucements of this Declaration.

This plenary sitting also coincides with the day on which the regime in South Africa, 12 years ago, unleashed violence against the Black students demonstrating peacefully against inferior education. There exists in South Africa, therefore, a gross violation and disregard of freedom and justice.

In discussing apartheid in South Africa, it is imperative to go to the origins of the system, which became institutionalised in 1948 when the Nationalist Party came to power. We contend that the problem of apartheid did not begin in 1948. We hold that at the root of the problem is the landlessness of the majority population. We were dispossessed of our land three centuries ago. This dispossession was brought about violently. In 1913 the dispossession was formalised by a law in the White Parliament.

The problem, therefore, is not just an attitude of mind of the minority to the majority; the problem is a denial of economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights which form the basic premise of the International Bill of Human Rights.

The ILO, pursuant to these ideals, provides a forum where governments, employers and workers enter into discussion on issues related to these basic rights under the various rules.

South Africa found that the standards agreed upon in the ILO were not in harmony with its discriminatory practices, and therefore did not feel accommodated.

The regime, through its Parliament, to which 80 per cent of the population has no access, passes laws

that systematically deny the Black majority advancement.

This Parliament is currently sitting and could pass laws that will severely restrict trade union activity, and the Government will be forced to cut the activities of the trade union organisation.

A new labour relations amendment Act has been tabled which will withdraw the provisions of the 1981 Act, which came into force after a long struggle by the Black workers for recognition of the Black independent trade union.

The regime is resisting granting the Black worker even the limited benefits accruing under the 1981 Act. The Black workers registered their repugnance of this latest move through the three-day national protest from 6 to 8 June. The regime is also planning further curbs on trade unions and their overall organisation through the Orderly Internal Politics Bill, which will restrict internal assistance to these bodies.

The system of apartheid has been indicted as an affront to mankind. Consequently, it cannot be reformed but must be eradicated and a system guaranteeing fundamental human rights must be established, a system that will guarantee individual rights and not group rights. To realise this objective, the people of South Africa will resort to all the forms of struggle at its disposal.

The international community has accepted that apartheid must be ended, and is expected to strive for its termination. In this regard, sanctions have been identified as one measure to complement the internal efforts of the oppressed people.

However, we see that economic expediency has tended to outweigh moral necessity in applying sanctions. We know that the measures that could help to bring about the end of this system are within the jurisdiction of all those who subscribe to peace and social justice. However, arguments against disengagement from South Africa allow for ambivalence with regard to the transnationals doing business there.

We are therefore indebted to the ILO for providing us with assistance in recognition of the just cause for which we are striving. We are also grateful to the Members of the ILO who have responded positively to the requirements of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa. We hope that the Declaration will be translated into action.

Injustice is injustice; it cannot be conveniently ignored, but should be fought wherever it exists.

The regime has denied justice to the majority of people of the land through the denial of basic rights. It follows therefore that an unjust system cannot be justly applied.

We wish to commend the Director-General for the Special Report on apartheid, which relentlessly exposes the injustices perpetrated by this regime.

We wish to thank the ILO and all those who called for the lives of the Sharpeville six to be spared. Only this week these patriots have again been refused a retrial. We request everyone to pursue the campaign to save them. The Sharpeville six have asked for justice and not for mercy.

Our profound gratitude goes to the people of the front-line States, which continue to be subjected to wanton aggression by the South African regime.

We are also grateful to the Nordic countries for taking action against South Africa and aiding the victims of this system.

Our unqualified support and solidarity are extended to the workers and people of Palestine who are engaged in a legitimate struggle for self-determination.

Finally, I am confident that the report of the Committee on Apartheid, the Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia, and the Programme of Action against Apartheid will be unanimously adopted by this Conference.

Interpretation from Japanese: Mr. TANAKA *(Workers' delegate, Japan)* – I should like, at the outset, to congratulate the Committee for the splendid updated Declaration, and also wish to pay my profound respects to Mr. Mercier, the spokesman, and the Worker members of the Committee.

I have been most moved by the speech made by Mr. Nujoma, the President of SWAPO.

My conscience has been deeply stirred to work against apartheid.

I rise to speak as a member of the Japanese trade unions, to state that we are opposed to apartheid and that the Japanese trade unions are doing everything possible to eradicate this evil regime.

I strongly appeal for the proposed Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia to be adopted at this Conference, with the consensus of all its members, as was the case at the last Tripartite Conference at Harare.

The proposed Declaration urges the Committee to continue to monitor with increased vigour action against apartheid, and I believe that this is the most important and essential measure that the ILO can take at this time.

The main theme of this Conference is *Human rights – A common responsibility*. I believe that apartheid constitutes the most blatant denial of human rights and example of discrimination. It is indeed, as has been said, modern slavery.

I am enraged at the way that our Black worker colleagues of South Africa, because of apartheid, are discriminated against by the Whites and obliged to lead a hard and painful life. I feel deeply angered and indignant at the way so many Black workers of South Africa, fighting to eradicate this evil law, are murdered, or arrested without legal trial and imprisoned for long periods.

Economic sanctions against South Africa have been proposed as one of the measures to eliminate apartheid. I believe that the consistent and thorough implementation of economic sanctions by all countries is one of the most important tasks before us. Unfortunately, I have to admit that my country continues to trade with South Africa, that every year the volume of trade is increasing, and the number of enterprises engaged in business there is also increasing. I am greatly concerned about this.

The Japanese workers and trade unions are completely opposed to apartheid; we have been working under the policy of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and, in consultation with the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity, have been engaged in various actions against apartheid. We have organised rallies to which the members of ICFTU and OATUU have been invited. We have invited them to attend our conventions, and asked them to participate with us in demonstrations. We have organised fund-raising campaigns on a number of occasions. We have also addressed protests to the

South African Consulate in Japan, and have dispatched a number of protest telegrams to the Government of South Africa. In addition, we have appealed to the Government of Japan and to the economic organisations of my country to seize every opportunity to take action against apartheid, including trade restrictions. At every opportunity we have made make representations, consulted them and put forward proposals.

Therefore, I believe that the proposal contained in the new Declaration that separate reports should be made to the ILO on the individual actions and activities of governments, workers and employers, to clarify what has been done by whom, when and what still has to be done, is extremely important for taking effective sanctions against the system.

We, the Japanese workers, pledge that we will fight, with renewed determination, to eliminate apartheid, together with our brothers and sisters of ICFTU and OATUU.

In concluding my statement, I urge once again that the draft Declaration be adopted unanimously by the Conference.

Interpretation from Chinese: Mr. FANG *(Workers' delegate, China)* – We have carefully gone through the report of the Committee on Apartheid and the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia as well as the Programme of Action against Apartheid as amended. We think they are very good documents and agree with the report, the Declaration and the Programme of Action as amended.

More than 20 years have passed since the International Labour Conference adopted the Declaration in 1964. However, the South African authorities have not in the least changed their position in pursuing the criminal policy of apartheid. On the contrary, they have been intensifying their atrocious and repressive measures against the just struggles waged by people of various circles in South Africa against the apartheid system. They have not only refused to release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, but also detained without trial tens of thousands of people, as well as arrested, kidnapped, tortured and murdered large numbers of trade union leaders and activists since the declaration of the state of emergency in 1986. In February this year, COSATU, the largest trade union organsisation in South Africa, and 17 other mass organisations were prohibited from carrying out any political activities. At the same time, in defiance of the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations, the South African authorities have been continuing their illegal occupation of Namibia and intensifying their colonial rule over Namibia, making use of it as a base to invade other southern African countries. Moreover, they have time and again launched aggressions and subversions against the neighbouring countries in a vain attempt to threaten them to give up their support to the just struggles waged by the people of South Africa and Namibia. However, all these perverse acts of the South African authorities have met with severe condemnations and strong opposition from people and countries who care for justice all over the world.

We are very glad to see that the people of South Africa and of the southern African countries have been further united in their persistent struggle against South African racism and that the struggle of the Namibian people for independence has been surging forward, putting the South African authorities in an ever more isolated position.

The Chinese workers and trade unions have all along strongly condemned and been firmly opposed to the racist policy pursued by the South African authorities and their atrocious repression of the workers and people in South Africa. We resolutely support the South African workers and people in their just struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination and for racial equality and fundamental rights. We resolutely support the Namibian people in their just struggle for national independence. We pay tribute to the front-line States for their enormous contributions to the liberation causes of the people of southern Africa. We have noted with satisfaction that the Tripartite Conference on Action against Apartheid sponsored by the International Labour Organisation in Harare has registered positive results. We call upon the International Labour Organisation to continue to adopt effective measures to implement the Declaration and the Programme of Action against Apartheid, adopted by the Conference, in a comprehensive way. We hold that greater pressure should be exerted on the South African authorities in the political, economic and all other possible fields, including comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, as a means to force them to give up the system of apartheid.

We are fully convinced that, with the support of the people of Africa and all countries in the world which uphold justice, the final victory will surely belong to the South African people and the Namibian people who have a glorious tradition of militancy.

Mr. MORTON *(Workers' delegate, United Kingdom)* – I first congratulate the President on his election to preside over this 75th Session of the International Labour Conference, a momentous session, not least because of the Report now before the Conference.

On behalf of the workers of the United Kingdom I support and commend the Report and the conclusions of the Committee and the revised Declaration.

The TUC, with 9 million members, is by far the largest democratic representative organisation in my country. It has been deeply involved in the struggle against apartheid for many years. Our involvement in that struggle has led us consistently to support and advocate mandatory economic sanctions and the severance of relations – including cultural relations – with South Africa. We, the organised workers in Britain have been reinforced in our beliefs by such spontaneous and informal demonstrations as the Mandela concert last week as well as by the expressions of support from many voluntary organisations in our country.

Now, there is of course no doubt about the legal and constitutional right of our Government, the United Kingdom Government, to express its views on the matter of action or indeed inaction against apartheid, both in this Conference and elsewhere. But there is a serious question about the degree to which they represent the views of the ordinary people of Britain on this matter.

What is even more doubtful is how long their views about the efficiency of polite persuasion can logically be sustained. The special Report of the Director-General makes it absolutely clear that such

approaches have fallen – and will continue to fall – on deaf ears. Increased repression and inhumanity has been the response to these friendly overtures. Those who say that there is no evidence that economic sanctions will succeed ignore the clear evidence that diplomatic exchanges in the absence of such sanctions are *not* succeeding. Similarly, those who suggest that Black economic power may eventually break down the structure of apartheid appear to disregard the evident fact that the whole repressive structure of the South African State is designed and applied to the ruthless preservation of that evil regime. Without external intervention neither such limited economic power as will be permitted to the oppressed people nor any considerations of justice will produce a *peaceful* transition in that country.

It is these considerations, not a desire for confrontation for its own sake, that cause us – the overwhelming majority of the Committee – to submit these conclusions and this programme of necessary action.

We appeal to those who would rely on peaceful persuasion to be persuaded themselves and to join wholeheartedly in this great international effort. Let them do so openly and, as requested by the Committee, undertake to give individual replies on the implementation of the measures stipulated in the updated Declaration and Programme of Action.

If governments will not join in this humanitarian action then let them – at the very least – comply with the Programme to this extent – let them lift all impediments preventing or inhibiting trade unions from taking action against apartheid. Let them ensure that their own people are free to express themselves in action and then be prepared to learn from the result.

British workers, through the TUC, will continue to give all possible support and assistance to their brothers and sisters in South Africa. We have continued at home, as we do here, to urge the British Government to support United Nations mandatory economic sanctions and to apply more vigorously the measures it has adopted.

Our member unions in Britain extend all possible support to independent trade unions in South Africa and appoach British companies with South African subsidiaries in dispute with those unions.

We sent financial relief to workers involved in strikes and generally seek to give fraternal support to fellow trade unionists.

The TUC has produced a cinema advertisement film promoting the consumer boycott of South African goods and publishes other materials for this purpose.

We welcome this revised and updated Declaration and Programme of Action. We shall intensify our efforts to implement the Programme in all its detail.

Like others, we should prefer this report to be adopted without any division; but if there is to be one we shall stand proudly with what we are sure will be the overwhelming majority and what we are certain is the moral majority of this Conference.

Mrs. FRYBORTOVA *(representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions)* – On behalf of the World Federation of Trade Unions, representing in its ranks 214 million workers from all over the world, I should like to express the support of our organisation for the conclusions of the Committee on Apartheid in respect of the Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia and assure you, true to our long-standing commitments, that our Federation and all its affiliated organisations will contribute in every possible manner towards follow-up action.

The implementation of the Declaration and the Programme of Action against Apartheid certainly will be an important instrument of the people in southern Africa, particularly of the workers and trade unions, in their struggle for human and trade union rights in South Africa and Namibia.

Only this week, on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa, the World Federation of Trade Unions took appropriate initiatives to intensify its solidarity actions for the just struggle of the workers and people in South Africa and Namibia for their inalienable rights and freedoms.

Concerning the latest decision of the South African High Court, the WFTU has reiterated its total condemnation of the death sentences passed on the "Sharpeville Six", in gross violation of law and justice, in a telegram of protest to P.W. Botha, head of the apartheid regime.

The WFTU therefore once again joins the worldwide demand by organisations and governments for the cancellation of the decision to carry out the execution of these innocent persons, and calls for their unconditional release.

The international community cannot turn a blind eye and a deaf ear when thousands of workers and people are harassed, detained, tortured and killed in cold blood.

The WFTU is deeply concerned at the worsening of the situation in South Africa and its continuance and worsening of the human suffering resulting from the apartheid system of the Pretoria regime and its new extension of the state of emergency to cover the entire country.

Especially, concerning the tragic and inhuman situation of the South African and Namibian workers, the WFTU underlines the fact, as stated in the conclusions of the Committee, that the policy of apartheid remains the most serious and persistent challenge to the principles of equality that are defended by the ILO.

The WFTU reiterates that the policies and practices of apartheid pursued by the Pretoria racist regime, which are the root cause of the grave and deteriorating situation in South Africa and Namibia and in southern Africa as a whole, constitute a serious threat to international peace and security.

The WFTU strongly condemns the racist Pretoria regime for its repeated attacks against the front-line States, and its recruiting, training, financing, directing and infiltrating of bandits and mercenaries, for the purpose of destabilising the independent neighbouring countries, actions which have caused a high toll in economic loss and human suffering.

In connection with the realisation of the Programme of Action against Apartheid, the WFTU is concerned about the operations of transnational corporations doing business in South Africa and Namibia. It is a fact that theses TNCs, which have formally announced disinvestment from South Africa and Namibia, still maintain a large presence there by various subterfuges. There is no convincing evidence that the TNCs' declarations in any way helped to weaken the apartheid regime. The collusion between

TNCs and the racist regime continues. Therefore, the WFTU reiterates its demand that actions of TNCs operating in South Africa and Namibia should come under the United Nations definition of the crime of apartheid and that legal action should be taken against them.

The Pretoria regime has recently decided to ban the political activity of 18 anti-apartheid organisations, including the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Furthermore, the racist regime has promulgated the Amendment Bill to the Labour Relations Act, which is designed to shackle the strength of the trade union movement. These new provisions will not only contravene ILO standards but could, in effect, paralyse the Black trade union movement. In this respect, the WFTU learned with great concern that a number of employers in South Africa have threatened to undertake action against COSATU, its affiliates and members who participated in the country-wide protest of the trade union movement from 6 to 8 June 1988 against these measures of the Pretoria regime. Such is the challenge issued by the apartheid regime and its collaborators to all people in South Africa advocating freedom and justice.

In conclusion, I should like to assure all of you here in this plenary session that the 214 million workers who belong to the WFTU will take a very active part in all measures contributing to eliminate apartheid. This, we feel, is our obligation. Therefore, let us unanimously demonstrate our unity in the struggle against apartheid not only in supporting but particularly in implementing the conclusions of the Committee on Apartheid and especially the Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia and thereby contribute to the establishment of a free, democratic unfragmented and non-racial South Africa and an independent Namibia.

Mr. ZOUPANOS *(Chief, External Relations and Inter-Agency Affairs of the United Nations, on behalf of the Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid)* – I take the floor as representative to this Conference of the United Nations and its Centre against Apartheid, to salute the presence at, and the participation in, this Conference of Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Liberation Organisation. We pay tribute to his fighting spirit and to his leadership in the struggle for the liberation of his country.

I have been requested to deliver a statement by the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid of the United Nations, Mr. Joseph Garba, and the statement reads as follows.

Mr. President,

Allow me to congratulate you on your election and the guidance you have provided, along with your colleagues in the Bureau, to the work of the Conference. I also take the opportunity to express the high esteem in which we hold Mr. Blanchard, the Director-General of the International Labour Office and Secretary-General of this Conference, and our appreciation for his contribution to the international campaign against apartheid.

Your work today assumes special significance. Recent developments in South Africa show that the apartheid regime is determined to continue its undeclared war against the people of South Africa and the region. Also, they show that South Africa will continue to defy the international consensus against it in the belief that apartheid can be maintained with impunity.

History, however, indicated that no government can rule eternally without the consent of all its people. The end of apartheid is historically inevitable. The question before us is whether or not the unanimous rejection of apartheid can be transformed into concerted and effective international action against the regime. It is in this context that the work of the International Labour Organisation becomes an important component of the international campaign against apartheid.

In adopting, as expected, the conclusions and recommendations of your Committee, including in particular the proposed Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid, you are giving concrete support to the Black workers of South Africa, those courageous men and women who confront the regime and the employers at the point where it hurts best – at the workplace.

Your Conference has been privileged to hear the testimony given by the representatives of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Congress of Trade Unions. Through their voices you have heard of the victories and disappointments of the Black workers of South Africa. You have seen their courage and determination to fight against the regime's attempts to shackle the Black labour movement and all other forms of political resistance. You have heard their views regarding the assistance they need from the International Labour Organisation, particularly at this juncture. The representatives of COSATU and NACTU have clearly stated that apartheid is of global concern and that international support of their struggle is now more imperative than ever. They have reiterated that only effective – and more importantly – enforceable action by the international community against South Africa will help in the demise of apartheid. And they have no illusions about the pain international action like sanctions will bring them.

Understanding this need to isolate the regime and in so doing support the liberation struggle in South Africa, the General Assembly of the United Nations has repeatedly called for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Short of the adoption of these sanctions, it has called for the application of co-ordinated and strictly monitored measures. The General Assembly has recognised the need to target the loopholes among the sanctions taken by individual States so far. It has recognised the need to urge States to strengthen these measures, close the loopholes and strictly monitor the implementation of their sanctions.

The Special Committee against Apartheid has welcomed the selective measures adopted by different States which, it must be stressed, vary in their strength and, therefore, in their effectiveness. These measures, though, constitute the growing international consensus against the regime. But as the representatives of the Black labour movement of South Africa have said, increased support to their struggle is now needed. And only a firm and effective response by the international community, that is, sanctions, will help them bring about peaceful change in their country. In South Africa today, the writing is on the wall. No stone shall stand on top of the other till eternity. Let us hope that the actions of the International Labour Organisation and the United Nations can help the Black workers of South Africa realise their ultimate goal: the complete elimination of apartheid, and the building af a democratic, united and non-racial society, at peace with itself, with its neighbours, and with the world.

(The Conference adjourned at 1 p.m.)

Twenty-seventh sitting

Thursday, 16 June 1988, 3.15 p.m.

Presidents: Mr. Aitken, Mr. Adiko, Mr. Tsujino, Mr. Beyreuther

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON APARTHEID: DISCUSSION *(concl.)* AND ADOPTION

The PRESIDENT (Mr. AITKEN) – We will now resume our discussion on apartheid.

Mr. MUKHERJEE *(Workers' adviser, India)* – First of all, on behalf of the working class of my country I express my heartiest congratulations to the President and to the entire working class of the world through this august gathering. Indeed, it is a great privilege to be with you all, at this international forum. As a delegate of the Indian Workers' group from the Indian National Trade Union Congress, the largest trade union organisation of India, it is a great honour for me to address you here in this historic place.

My subject is the right of the trade union movement in general and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

Because of shortage of time I have no desire to enter into an in depth analysis of the problem. I shall just refer to certain basic and important characteristics of the subject.

The ILO is playing a vital role in promoting the solidarity of workers by encouraging and strengthening the democratic trade unions and advocating their rights in various international governmental and non-governmental forums. But still, it is a blot on the entire civilised world that the apartheid policy of the White minority Government in South Africa, which denies the majority population basic human rights and freedoms, is being tolerated.

It is also appalling that, despite world-wide condemnation of the blatant discriminatory policies of the South African Government, some affluent countries in the West, while loudly claiming to be crusaders for freedom and human rights, talk of "constructive engagement" in a bid to cover their economic and trade links with the White regime, which has loosed a reign of unabashed violence on the majority Black population struggling for freedom in their own country.

My organisation, the INTUC, is a signatory to the resolution passed by the 71st Session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva, calling for comprehensive and effective economic sanctions against South Africa in order to force an end to its apartheid policy.

Let this august house call on the workers and their movements the world over to demonstrate their solidarity with the people of South Africa by forcing the governments in their respective countries to refrain from having any type of relations with the racist regime.

Now, I want to suggest some action by the United Nations, by the governments, by the employers' organisations, by the trade unions the world over, and by the ILO.

First, government action through the United Nations: to adopt comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter; to co-operate by all possible means in the implementation of United Nations resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia.

Second, government action: to sever political, military, cultural, sporting and diplomatic relations with the South African Government, in so far as such relations with South Africa are maintained; to stop trade and commercial relations with, and to prohibit new public and private investment in South Africa, as well as the export of nuclear and other technology to the South African Government. In addition, to prohibit loans, trade credits and gold exchanges by the banks to and with South Africa; to discourage the emigration of their nationals and the promotion of tourism to South Africa, by such means as banning advertising and cutting air and sea links with South Africa; to give material and moral support to the liberation movements, to the independent Black trade union movements and to popular movements struggling for the establishment of human rights in South Africa and Namibia; to lift all impediments preventing trade unions from participating in solidarity action with the workers engaged in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Third, action by employers' organisations: to ensure that their members do not maintain trade, commercial or financial relations with the minority South African Government; to try to transfer the investments to other African countries, especially the front-line and SADCC States; to refuse to co-operate with the South African authorities in the implementation of apartheid legislation and to make a firm commitment to the abolition of apartheid.

Fourth, action by trade unions the world over: to give financial and moral support to the Black independent trade union movement inside South Africa; to organise consumer boycotts in order to promote sanctions against the South African Government; to co-ordinate trade union action against apartheid in accordance with the Declaration adopted by the International Conference of Trade Union on Sanctions and other Actions against the Apartheid Regime in South Africa, held in Geneva in 1983.

Fifth, ILO action: to give further impetus to implementation of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid and the Programme of Action; to increase activities in the fields of vocational training, assistance to migrant workers, improvements in infrastructures and in other fields of benefit to workers of South Africa; to ensure a wider dissemination of public information throughout all member States, by all possible means, concerning atrocities being perpetrated by the apartheid South African regime within South Africa and Namibia, as well as front-line and neighbouring States, as a means of countering the news blackout imposed by the South African Government under its oppressive emergency and-overcoming the silence of the mass media.

I am proud to mention that under the leadership of our beloved Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, India has pledged Rs. 500 million to the African fund over three years. India has helped Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and liberation movements with supply of articles of daily use and consumer durables worth Rs. 15 million to Angola and Rs. 15 million to SWAPO.

Lastly, I assure you that the Indian working class, which considers the valiant struggle of the South Africa's liberation movement as its own, will in every possible manner strengthen the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the African National Congress in their determination to put a permanent end to apartheid as well as to achieve the release of all brave fighters.

I want to finish my speech with the part of Indian "Rigvede" philosophy, which will be proper here: "May our aim be common, our assembly common, Common the minds and the thoughts of these united.

A common purpose do I lay before you, and worship with our common oblation. Common be our aim and our hearts united, Our minds be one so that all may happily live together."

Mr. MALVIYA *(Deputy Minister for Labour, India)* – May I first of all congratulate the Chairman and members of the Committee on Apartheid for the high quality of their report placed before us. On behalf of the delegation of India I would like to express our support for the set of conclusions adopted by the Committee on Apartheid. We also fully endorse the proposed Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia and the Programme of Action against Apartheid annexed to it, which have been amended and updated by the Tripartite Conference on Action against Apartheid held in Harare early last month, and hope that these would be adopted unanimously by the plenary session of this Conference.

South Africa is a place where racism and racial discrimination is the deliberate and acknowledged official policy of the State; where Blacks have no rights or freedoms, no voice in the management of their affairs and are denied their human dignity. They are disenfranchised in their own land and deprived of their proper means of subsistence. Nowhere in the world is racism more virulently manifested and institutionalised than in the apartheid system of South Africa; an abhorrent system created to perpetuate the hold of the Whites over the South African majority of Blacks and Coloured people. As the late Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, so clearly stated while addressing the Lower House of the Indian Parliament 30 years ago; and I quote "In South Africa, it is the deliberate, acknowledged and loudly proclaimed policy of the Government itself to maintain this segregation and racial discrimination. This makes the South African case unique in the world. It is a policy which obviously no person and no country which believes in the United Nations Charter can ever compromise, because it uproots almost everything the modern world stands for and considers worth while, whether it is our ideas of democracy or of human dignity."

India's own commitment to the struggle against apartheid, extending over many decades is well known. We have been privileged to play a special and leading role in support of the long and valiant struggle of the Black majority in South Africa for human dignity and freedom. India was also the first country to impose sanctions against South Africa and I would like to confirm again that our application of diplomatic and economic sanctions against the Pretoria regime and our boycott in this respect is complete.

India strongly condemns the evil of apartheid and regards all modifications of it as completely unacceptable, for apartheid has to go and it has to go in its entirety. In this context, we call upon all governments, employers' and workers' organisations which have not so far done so to join in imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against apartheid. Clearly, the international community must act cohesively to ensure that such sanctions become a reality. As my Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi said, it is futile to hope that co-operation in any manner with the regime will give anyone leverage or influence, so as to change things for the better.

Comprehensive and mandatory sanctions constitute the only peaceful means to compel the South African regime to dismantle apartheid. The half-a-dozen or so governments supporting South Africa should realise that any delay in action to end apartheid in South Africa would only lead to more bloodshed, perhaps on an unprecedented scale. If peaceful change does not take place in southern Africa, bloodshed and the grossest suffering would be inevitable. It is the duty of the international community to see that this does not happen.

I would like to commend the Director-General of the ILO for the high quality of his Special Report on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa which has also for the first time analysed the situation in Namibia. The new evidence of the continuing deterioration of the situation of the Black majority in southern Africa causes us deep concern. It is clear that the perverse system of apartheid is responsible for the expanding turbulence in the labour field in South Africa. The Pretoria regime continues to trample trade union rights, harass and imprison trade union leaders, ban trade union organisations, and generally use brute force to smother any kind of protest. Hardly a day passes without our learning of fresh acts of repression and torture, and of deaths arising out of the violence spread by the South African regime. In complete defiance of world public opinion, the Pretoria regime has undertaken new acts of repression. ANC activists have been killed; regional destabilisation activities undertaken including raids into neighbouring states. In February 1988 regulations were promulgated by the Pretoria regime banning political

activity by 17 leading anti-apartheid organisations and by COSATU. My Government condemns outright such acts of the Pretoria regime which, through them, seeks to perpetuate the evils of racism.

It was because of India's abiding commitment to the elimination of apartheid that we were entrusted by the non-aligned countries at the Harare Non-Aligned Summit to chair the AFRICA Fund which was set up to channel urgently needed assistance to the frontlines States. Pledges and contributions to the AFRICA Fund already exceed a quarter billion US dollars in cash or in kind and have come from as many as 46 countries, including those outside the Non-Aligned Movement. This includes a pledged contribution from the Indian Government of approximately US$40 million to the AFRICA Fund. In addition, funds have also been raised by way of public contributions from individuals, workers' and employers' organisations in India. I take this opportunity to appeal to governments, employers' and workers' organisations, non-governmental bodies and individuals to make every possible contribution to the AFRICA Fund so as to ensure the early realisation of its noble objectives.

Today we were privileged to be addressed by Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO. He outlined the extremely grave and difficult situation facing the Namibian people. India condemns outright South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and is entirely with the oppressed people of Namibia and their sole legitimate representative, SWAPO, in their just struggle for independence.

In conclusion, I would like to restate our conviction that the abhorrent system of apartheid is doomed to collapse. As the late Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, so eloquently stated, and I quote: "The idea of freedom cannot be stamped out. Some spark will persist to burst into flame, somewhere, some time, to light the way and illumine hearts and ultimately lead to success. Neither colour nor caste nor sex makes one person superior or inferior. No matter what laws South Africa devises for itself, history cannot be denied, nor will the inexorable march of the future be halted. Apartheid cannot survive".

Mr. SARKAR *(Workers' delegate, Bangladesh)* – We join the previous speakers in congratulating the President on his election to this distinguished position. I also congratulate the Vice-Presidents of this Conference. I place my trust in their abilities to conduct the affairs of this Conference in the right direction.

The Director-General has highlighted the issues on human rights in his Report. He also referred to them in the Special Report on Apartheid and the report on the situation of workers of the occupied Arab territories. These issues are directly connected with the unsatisfactory state of affairs prevailing in different countries. But the situation in the occupied Arab territories as well as in South Africa and Namibia calls for fitting attention from this tripartite body.

As will be recalled, the question of human rights in the occupied Arab territories, including Palestine, is being discussed in various forums of the United Nations system. In spite of the priority attached to this issue by the interntional community, tangible changes have yet to occur in this connection for human beings in general, and workers in particular, who have been subjected to atrocities and tribulations. I would urge this august body to take steps to ameliorate the sufferings of the people in the occupied Arab territories and to protect the rights and interests of workers there. Measures should be taken to ensure education and training for Arab workers, equal opportunities of employment and equal remuneration for equal work. Measures should also be taken to prevent arbitrary dismissals and the inhuman treatment that is meted out to them.

I have no words to condemn this policy of apartheid. It is a policy which enables the racist regime not only to deny fundamental human rights to Black people in South Africa but to perpetuate discrimination in matters of education, training, employment and services, among others. The baneful effects of this policy is found in the denial of civil rights that are recognised throughout the world. South Africa has now the notoriety of being isolated from the community of nations, the majority of which have no social, political and economic relations with it.

Isolation has not, however, brought sanity into the body politic of South Africa. Rather, the racist regime has taken measures to prevent the Black people of South Africa from receiving their due. Discrimination has led the majority to a state of despair. However, the world community, through the ILO, has instituted programmes to remedy the grievances of the Black people, on the one hand, and as a demonstration of solidarity with them, on the other.

On behalf of the workers of the world, as well as of Bangladesh, I denounce the policies and programmes of Israel and Africa and express solidarity with the oppressed people. May I state here that all the social partners in Bangladesh, namely the Government, employers and workers are working in unison to advance the cause of Palestinian and Black workers. The workforce in Bangladesh is determined to work hand in hand with the Palestinian and Black workers.

The workers of Bangladesh are very happy to asscociate themselves with ILO activities designed to help the workers both in the occupied Arab territories and in South Africa. The workers have persuaded our Government, under the benevolent and dynamic leadership of President Hossain Mahammad Ershad, to associate itself with other member States in the ILO, the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) and the Non-Aligned Movement in adopting measures to try to force the racist regime to accept the realities of life. The organisation of workers, as it has in the past, pledges itself to work hand in hand with the workers of the world in the field of technical cooperation sponsored by the ILO for workers in the occupied Arab territories, South Africa and Namibia.

With these words, I conclude my statement. I thank the President for giving me the floor and thank the delegations of friendly countries for giving me a patient hearing.

Interpretation from Arabic: Mr. ABDULGHANI *(representative of the Palestine Liberation Organisation)* – It is a great pleasure for me to be addressing this august assembly during this special meeting devoted to discussion of the Report of the Committee

on Apartheid. Allow me, first of all, to congratulate the President most sincerely for having guided the work of this session so ably and with such wisdom and competence.

I am also very grateful to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Nkomo, Minister of Labour, Zimbabwe; thanks to his wisdom and leadership, the Committee has been able to present its Report on Apartheid to this session. At the same time, I should like to greet our dear invited guest, Brother Nujoma, President of SWAPO. I wish him and his fellow African fighters every success in their constant and uninterrupted struggle for freedom, independence and the elimination of the abominable policy of apartheid which runs counter to all humanitarian principles, values and ideals.

We have read very carefully the Report submitted by the Director-General on the application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa. In that Report the Director-General set out the recent developments in the area of labour and social matters in that region of the world. Although laudable efforts have been made in preparing this Report, and although it represents an improvement compared with previous Reports, it has not attained the desired level and has not emphasised the most sensitive points. Because the Report did not call things by their proper names, the Working Party of the Committee on Apartheid was obliged to make a number of recommendations; in particular, it requested the Director-General to prepare a report on the application or non-application by governments, employers' and workers' organisations of certain ILO decisions, in order to expose the hypocrisy of certain parties which address fine-sounding words to our African brothers and then stab them in the back by supporting the apartheid regime and collaborating with that regime economically, politically, socially and militarily. We are referring in particular to the hypocritical policies practised by the Zionist entity, the United States, the United Kingdom and other countries with which you are only too familiar. I should also like to highlight the conclusions reached by the special group on the financial and banking facilities accorded to the ILO, particularly the conclusion encouraging the Director-General to diversify and spread the ILO's deposits among the banks and financial institutions.

While appreciating the considerable efforts that have been made in this area and the delicacy of this situation, we feel, from these conclusions, that the international organisations, and more specifically the ILO, had to remain prisoners of the big financial corporations and had to continue with their financial operations and investments in South Africa and Namibia. This, in our opinion, is a very important and very serious situation, which must be corrected, and an end must be put to it as quickly as possible.

The Director-general has highlighted the policy of repression practised by the Pretoria regime against the people of South Africa, and in particular the state of emergency, the military laws, the arrests, the deportations, the demolition of houses, and the raping of women and children. To all that must be added the censorship imposed on the newspapers and the mass media. These are the same methods and the same practices as those imposed by the Israeli entity against the Palestinian workers. Furthermore, these practices have become more numerous and have intensified during the courageous uprising of our people. This is not strange when we realise that this Israeli entity is throwing fighters out of helicopters, burying people alive, gouging their eyes out and breaking their limbs so as to handicap them for life. In fact, Zionism and apartheid are two inseparable manifestations of the same evil, as was borne out by the United Nations General Assembly resolution adopted in 1975 which considered Zionism as a form of racism.

As the fighters of South Africa and Namibia rot in prison, with the great Nelson Mandela at their head, there are hundreds of thousands of Palestinian nationalist and trade union fighters who are also rotting in Israeli prisons with Shahir Saad and his six comrades who are members of the People's Committee of the General Confederation of Workers in the West Bank at their head. As South Africa persecutes African fighters, so the Zionist Mossad also hunts down the leaders of the PLO to assassinate them. Their most recent crime has been the assassination of the fighter Abu Jihad. We are certain that all this is drawing to its end, and our African brothers are realising that their victory rests in the joint action they can take and in the strikes they can organise, and which have recently expanded to involve more than 3 million workers. It is the same for the Palestinian workers who are refusing to work in Israeli institutions and companies, in response to the instructions given by the leadership of the uprising, under the aegis of the PLO.

You have certainly heard of the Bantustans in southern Africa but I don't believe you will have heard of Bantustans in occupied Palestine. Whatever the degree of injustice, unfairness and poverty in which these African Bantustans exist, if their inhabitants want to plant a tree they are not required to obtain prior authorisation. The populations of the Bantustans do not need authorisation to manage their water resources, as is the case in our villages as a result of the "kindnesses" of the Israeli occupation. I wouldn't wish to press too far the comparison between the two racist regimes of South Africa and Palestine in terms of the usurping of land, confiscation, groundless arrests, arms and nuclear co-operation, but I think I should stress what has been said by the Soviet newspaper *Red Star* and the French magazine *Le Point* to the effect that trading in death is the cornerstone of the Israeli economy and that Israel is the main exporter of arms to South Africa. Israel has just exported long-range 155-mm. guns to South Africa.

I should like to follow your own example and stop the comparisons there. I should, however, like to say that we give vigorous support to the proposed Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia and to the Programme of Action against apartheid submitted by the Committee on Apartheid. We appeal for mandatory sanctions to be imposed and for all the parties which do not comply to be denounced. Adequate funds must also be made available to implement these recommendations, even if those funds have to be obtained at the expense of other programmes, given that nothing is dearer than human life in its freedom and dignity.

We in the PLO are ready to share our resources with our struggling brothers in the African National Congress, and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania

and with SWAPO, just as the children of the revolution of the stones in Palestine have, through their uprising, compelled the Israeli enemy to recall more than 150 experts in repression and espionage who had been loaned by the Zionist entity to the apartheid regime. We shall, therefore, continue our solidarity with our brothers on the African continent; we shall support them with all our hearts so that together we may raise the banner of victory against our common enemies, namely the apartheid regime and the Zionist entity.

Mr. MASHASI *(Workers' delegate, United Republic of Tanzania)* – First of all, allow me to pay tribute to Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, who addressed us this morning and to reassure him of the support of the workers of the United Republic of Tanzania to the struggling workers and people of Namibia.

This day has a special significance. It marks the twelfth anniversary of the Soweto massacre, a day when more than 170 unarmed protesters, mostly school-children, were killed by the ruthless South African forces. Let us pay homage to the martyrs of freedom by showing our determination to eradicate apartheid.

We are considering for the second time updating the Declaration which was originally adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1964. At that time, the international community realised that apartheid was an evil to mankind and that its elimination was of concern to us all. Indeed, apartheid was showing indications that it was not only a dirty system but that it would become a threat to world peace.

It is now 24 years since the Declaration was adopted. The world has since witnessed not only enormous persecution of the Black people in South Africa itself, but also abhorrent actions of the regime, ranging from direct raiding of the neighbouring front-line States to destabilisation of the States by terror, using its proxy armies of MNR in Mozambique and UNITA in Angola. It is strangling the economies of the front-line States, especially by making it difficult for the neighbouring landlocked States to have access to harbours for their exports and imports.

The regime has remained stubborn with regard to the illegal occupation of Namibia. It has taken the cursing world for a humble toothless bulldog, if I may use the phrase of a Zambian diplomat.

The proposals contained in the updated Declaration and the Programme of Action against Apartheid seek to reject this abusive status. The ILO, as the champion of human rights, cannot pretend that it does not have the right to apply what it considers to be the most effective means to eradicate apartheid.

We have been hearing from some quarters that the ILO is not competent to recommend mandatory economic sanctions. The International Labour Conference has identified a problem and it is free to prescribe a solution to the problem. It would be hypocritical on the part of delegates to this Conference to say that we know the solution and that it is within the capability of the Members of this Organisation, but that we are unable to put it into practice.

Representatives of some member States and some employers' members have declared that they are opposed to the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions because, in their opinion, the measures will harm more the people we are undertaking to defend. This, to me, is tantamount to an insult to the intelligence not only of the oppressed people in South Africa and Namibia and of the front-line States, but also of the entire world.

All the forces representing the oppressed masses in South Africa and Namibia have pointed out that their people are prepared to suffer the consequences of mandatory economic sanctions, for they know that there can be no greater suffering than the one they are experiencing now. The front-line States have said the same.

We are all sure that with mandatory economic sanctions the apartheid regime cannot survive for long. It is my view, and indeed that of the workers of the United Republic of Tanzania, whom I represent, that those who are opposing mandatory economic sanctions, those who are opposing absolute isolation of the South African regime, are in alliance with the regime. They are the pillars of the regime. We are appealing to them to join hands with the international community to help precipitate the eradication of apartheid.

The workers of the United Republic of Tanzania consider themselves a party to the struggle. We shall not retreat until victory is attained.

In conclusion, may I take this opportunity to pay tribute once again to the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and to the workers of South Africa in general for the success of a three-day general protest which the world witnessed early this month. We are proud of their heroic struggle.

I commend the proposed Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia and the Programme of Action against Apartheid for adoption.

Human rights are a common responsibility.

Interpretation from Arabic: Mr. BOZO *(Minister of Social Affairs and Labour, Syrian Arab Republic)* – I have the honour once again to address this august assembly on behalf of the workers, employers and the Government of Syria to discuss the subject of apartheid.

I should like to start by congratulating Mr. Sam Nujoma, who was our honoured guest this morning, wishing him and the African people in Namibia and South Africa success against the Pretoria regime.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my friend, Minister Knomo of Zimbabwe, for his wise chairmanship of the Committee on Apartheid, which finished its work with great success thanks to his wisdom and competence.

The ILO, using its tripartite structure, has undertaken great efforts in combating apartheid in South Africa and Namibia. We are all hopeful that the Programme of Action of our Committee will mobilise the political will to eradicate this abhorrent regime and eliminate apartheid.

We in the Arab world looked forward to the results of this Committee with great interest, hoping for progress in the field of labour and human rights which will alleviate the suffering of the African masses and enable them to continue their struggle until they achieve their legitimate aspirations of freedom and equality.

The work of the Committee on Apartheid coincides with the 40th anniversary of the Universal Dec-

laration of Human Rights; it also coincides with the convening of the Harare Conference, which reached a number of very promising and satisfactory decisions. Despite the fact that we have some reservations, we urge those concerned to work wholeheartedly to eliminate the apartheid regime.

All persons, no matter their creed, race or colour, are created by God and have the right to dignity. This is proclaimed by all religions.

I take the floor today to express the complete endorsement by the Arab delegations of the results of the Committee's work.

As you know, our solidarity with the African peoples and movements is a matter of principle; it goes back in history to the independence of Arab peoples. The Arab League in its earliest resolutions confirmed this solidarity and our faith in the just struggle of peoples for freedom and equality. Therefore we shall never accept the hypocritical policies of those who publicly condemn the Pretoria regime while secretly continuing to collaborate with it. The Arab stance is solid and steadfast. It is based on our religion, which considers all men equal. Without going into the details of what the Arab countries will do to help their brothers in South Africa and the legitimate liberation movements in their heroic struggle against apartheid to secure their right to self-determination, I affirm that we shall give them our full support. What the Arab countries are doing at all levels stems from their conviction that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions must be imposed on the apartheid regime. This is the moral duty of all peoples. We shall continue on this path. We must all work together to put an end to this racist regime which oppresses the African masses.

The Arab people are most sensitive to the sufferings of the Black population of South Africa. After 40 years, our brothers and sisters in Palestine and other occupied Arab territories are still experiencing the same sufferings as those of the African people, both the victims of two racist entities, in South Africa and Namibia and in Palestine. Both are deprived of their most basic human rights, and are subject to the same practices: oppression, terrorism, military force, deportation and other inhumane practices.

The long list of crimes and aggressions against these peoples includes the policy of settlements, the arming of the settlers, the arrest of trade unionists, etc. Of course, both regimes stem from the same source: racism. This ideology runs counter to basic human rights. These two peoples have no other choice but to struggle against the racist regimes.

The Arab group, including governments, employers and workers, strongly supports the Declaration and the condemnation of apartheid, as well as the Programme of Action against the policy of apartheid as presented by the Committee on Apartheid. We would have preferred that these documents had called for mandatory sanctions against the racist regime in occupied Palestine, which maintains military, nuclear, economic and trade relations with the Pretoria regime, despite the international community's condemnation. These relations provide mutual support to these two abhorrent regimes and further the oppression of their victims.

Ms. RUGE *(Government delegate, Norway)* – In order to comply with the President's request for brevity I will present here a short version of my prepared intervention. On this occasion I have the honour to speak on behalf of the Nordic countries, that is, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and my own country, Norway.

Today, we commemorate Soweto Day, remembering all those who were killed and wounded in Soweto in 1976. Both the uprising in Soweto and the other unrest that we have seen in South Africa over the years are clear indications of the suffering and frustrations of the majority of the people in that country. The situation for the Black majority in South Africa and Namibia today is worse than ever. We face a situation where international action against apartheid and support for the victims of apartheid are more important than ever.

The ILO must continue to strengthen its efforts in this field. The Nordic countries therefore welcome the updating of the Declaration on Apartheid, and we endorse the draft Declaration that was prepared by the tripartite conference in Harare last month and adopted by the Committee on Apartheid at this Conference. We strongly urge governments, workers and employers of the world to take the Declaration seriously and implement the Programme of Action.

We would also like to welcome the Director-General's Special Report. This Report countains valuable information that is most useful in our deliberations.

South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia is a source of serious tension in all of southern Africa, and according to the view of the Nordic countries it is therefore most appropriate that the situation in Namibia is dealt with in the updated Declaration. The future of Namibia is linked to the abolition of apartheid in South Africa, and our assistance to Namibia should be seen in that context.

The Nordic countries condemn all forms of racial discrimination, especially South Africa's policy of apartheid and continual aggression against its neighbouring States. International solidarity with and support for the Front-Line States in the face of South Africa's aggression have become increasingly important.

Our countries are convinced that international measures against South Africa are necessary to abolish apartheid. Positive measures, not the least in the form of economic assistance to Front-Line States and to victims of apartheid, are also important. However, they cannot be a substitute for restrictive measures like an economic boycott of South Africa. The Nordic countries have on numerous occasions urged the United Nations Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. The absence of such sanctions should, however, not be used as a pretext for failing to act against apartheid. That is why all the Nordic countries have adopted national laws and measures on economic boycott against South Africa. We are of course aware that a Nordic economic boycott by itself cannot put significant pressure to bear on South Africa. However, we do hope that our measures can inspire other countries to follow suit.

South Africa's policy of destabilisation has created a situation of war in neighbouring countries and forced a large number of people from these countries to leave their homes. In order to look into what the international community can do to alleviate some of the burdens caused by this situation for the refugees and for their host countries, Norway has undertaken

to host a conference in Oslo on 22 to 24 August this year in co-operation with the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and the United Nations Development Programme. We hope that the conference will give a new impetus to raising the consciousness of the international community to the plight of the people in the region.

Time is running out for peaceful solutions to the problems of South Africa and Namibia. If apartheid is not abolished soon the whole region of southern Africa may explode in a violent upheaval. It is time for all nations to prove that their rejection of the apartheid system is genuine by introducing restrictive measures against South Africa and by increasing their assistance to other countries in the region. Hence, let us all join in taking effective action against apartheid.

In spite of their overall support for the Declaration the Nordic countries are not in a position to sever diplomatic relations with South Africa, and there is no legal foundation on which the Nordic governments could comply with the recommendation that contracts be denied to firms and enterprises having commercial relations with South Africa.

Mr. ELIAV *(Government delegate, Israel)* – My delegation has studied with great interest the report of the Committee on Apartheid, a unique body of the ILO established to deal with the unique situation. The Government of Israel has always been on record as condemning unequivocally the policy of apartheid carried out in South Africa. Any policy based on the false doctrine that human beings can be distinguished from one another on the basis of colour or alleged racial differences or that any so-called race can claim superiority to any other is totally contrary to the Jewish doctrine of the equality of human beings expressed in the Bible and enshrined in Israel's Declaration of Independence. Indeed, it would be unthinkable that a Jewish State, after the appalling suffering undergone by the Jewish people in the name of such revolting doctrines, should in any way take a different stand. It is our firm wish that apartheid and the evil philosophy underlying it should disappear from the face of the earth.

This policy has been expressed on many occasions in different forms and the most recent steps regarding this policy were taken by the Government of Israel on 18 September 1987, namely: the prohibition of new investments in South Africa, any exceptions to be approved by a committee composed of the Minister of Finance, the Bank of Israel and the Minister of Foreign Affairs; the prohibition of government loans, and of the sale and transfer of oil and oil products and of the import of Kruger rands; the freezing of iron and steel imports at their level at that time; the reduction of cultural contacts between the two countries to a level that reflects Israel's negative attitude towards apartheid; sport events, if any, to be subject to the decisions of international sports associations; the Minister of Tourism and other tourist authorities to refrain from promoting tourism to South Africa; no scientific agreement to be signed any more; government officials no longer to visit South Africa without authorisation by an interministerial committee; and the establishment of a fund to assist in the implementation of training programmes in Israel in educational, social and cultural fields for members of the Black and Coloured community of South Africa. Finally, all possible measures to be adopted to prevent Israeli territory from serving as a transit area for the movement of goods and services between South Africa and other countries with a view to circumventing sanctions imposed by a third country. Israel's commercial ties with South Africa are, in fact, extremely limited and are decreasing even more.

In a list published by the ICFTU on 13 May of the leading 1,200 countries that trade with South Africa, Israeli companies are very low down on the list. Furthermore, Israel has taken positive measures to foster good relations with the Black community of South Africa. The Afro-Asian Institute of the General Federation of Labour, the Histadrut, has played a major role in this respect. In April 1986 it conducted its first workshop seminar specifically designed for the leaders of the Black community in South Africa. Twenty people took part, all of them longstanding fighters against apartheid. The theme of the seminar was the role of the people's organisations in community and nation building. The results achieved were examined, their relevance to present-day South Africa discussed and proposals based on these discussions put forward. A second seminar was held from November to December 1986 on the subject of the role of trade unions in community and nation building. The third, in April 1987, on women's and people's organisations in community and nation building, and the fourth in November-December 1987 on the role of people's organisations in community and nation building. Furthermore, the Institute has also conducted such activities in South Africa itself: in August 1987 in Soweto, Cape Town and Northern Transvaal. The Institute's team was warmly welcomed and established contacts with a very large number of men and women across a broad spectrum.

Israel has thus demonstrated both its condemnation of the policy of apartheid practised by the South African Government and its wish to foster good relations with the Black population there. No baseless accusations against us made in a spirit of hatred and venom like those just a few minutes ago can change the facts, and these polemics only deflect attention from the issue at hand.

Let us hope that these and similar policies adopted by other countries will end in the termination of the regime of apartheid and the introduction of a system based on human equality and dignity.

Interpretation from German: Mr. MARTINEK *(Government delegate, Austria)* – The Austrian Government delegation approves the report of the Committee on Apartheid. This corresponds to the Austrian Government's Policy of rejecting apartheid. We are following the situation in southern Africa with considerable attention and concern. The problems of that region within the International Labour Conference are of course of great interest to us above all the problems concerning workers and employers, which cannot be solved as long as the unjust system of apartheid continues to exist. There are serious violations of human rights. However, the Austrian Government delegation must stress it cannot agree to all the items in the report of the Committee on Apartheid.

We feel that the conclusions of this Conference are perhaps not a matter for our Organisation, but rather for the Security Council of the United Nations.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. BOTVINOV *(Workers' Adviser, USSR)* – For the past quarter of a century the question of the situation in South Africa has been at the centre of attention at our Conference every year without fail. This is unfortunately not because it has become a habit, but because it is a necessary and most melancholy reaction to the ever deteriorating situation in the South African subregion, which the racist regime in Pretoria has turned into a chronic nucleus of oppression of the African population and a serious threat to peace and international security.

This session of the Conference takes on particular importance against this background. As we know, after a careful analysis of the situation in Africa, which had become extremely explosive, and of the trend of Botha's policies, the 73rd Session last year recommended that the ILO Declaration and Programme of Action against Apartheid be reviewed and supplemented, in view of the considerable contribution of our Organisation to the struggle for the elimination of the shameful system of apartheid in South Africa, with its basis of hatred for mankind, and to putting a stop to Pretoria's aggressive attitude against the Front-line and neighbouring States.

The events of last year, which provided endless evidence of the further worsening of the situation in southern Africa, only underlined the necessity for our Organisation to take long overdue additional and effective measures in this direction. A rich source of information of the dramatic situation unfolding in that country is the well-balanced and substantial 24th Special Report submitted to our Conference by the Director-General. More evidence is provided by the events at the beginning of this year, including the introduction in February of the bans and restrictions by the Pretoria regime on 17 mass democratic organisations in South Africa, the wave of terrorist acts against ANC representatives in Africa and Europe and the acts of open armed aggression by South African forces against Angola, Botswana and Mozambique. The latest example was the recently held three-day strike, unparalleled in scale, of African workers in South Africa who, under the very difficult conditions of the state of emergency, struck in protest at the pending draconian anti-trade union bill in that country. The challenge has been made and time will not wait.

In the opinion of our delegation, the tripartite Conference of the ILO which was held in Harare in May against apartheid accomplished positive results. It submitted for approval proposals for revising the texts of the ILO Declaration on Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia and the Programme of Action against Apartheid. The undoubted merit of these documents is the extension of their range to cover Namibia, the consolidation and expansion of aid and co-operation to front-line and neighbouring countries and stricter measures against the racist Pretoria regime, so as to achieve abolition of the apartheid system by peaceful means and avoid the incipient explosion of violence with tragic consequences. The key element at the present stage of the struggle against apartheid is, we are convinced, the introduction and the application of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist regime in South Africa, namely the measures being asked for primarily by the victims of apartheid themselves: the oppressed majority of the population of South Africa and the neighbouring countries which have achieved independence.

On behalf of the delegation of workers of the USSR, we urge all participants to the present tripartite Conference, to support unanimously the report of the Committee on Apartheid and thereby approve the revised texts of the Declaration of the ILO and the Programme of Action against Apartheid, rather than putting forward trumped up excuses and objections.

But, of course, even more important than approving these documents will be the scrupulous, conscientious implementation of their provisions by all member States of the ILO. And in this connection we fully support the proposal in the report of the Committee on Apartheid to improve the control system of the ILO. We trust that the Governing Body of the ILO will adopt the recommendation of the Committee in order to enable our Organisation and all its members to make an active contribution to the struggle of the world community for the speedy elimination of the apartheid regime in southern Africa.

(Mr. Adiko takes the Chair.)

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. GABUARDI IBARRA *(Government adviser, Nicaragua)* – On behalf of the Nicaraguan Government, I thank your for this opportunity to express the feelings of my country in connection with the dramatic effects of apartheid upon the life of the populations of South Africa and Namibia.

We should also like to extend a greeting from this rostrum to our colleague, Mr. Sam Nujoma and his noble cause.

Mankind and the community of nations have been waging a long struggle to do away with this racist policy, which is an affront to the entire human race.

The Reports submitted to the Conference on the development of this harsh reality suffered by the workers and peoples of Namibia and South Africa, clearly show the sacrifices and sufferings meted out to them.

Nothing can justify attitudes which claim to remodel the Pretoria regime or put it into different form. The only possible acceptable moral approach to apartheid is its complete eradication.

The Nicaraguan Government in the spirit of the principles set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, joins all those who condemn this criminal regime and fully supports the adoption of much more radical sanctions against South Africa.

Finally, we express our full support for the declaration on the subject as drafted by the Committee on Apartheid.

Interpretation from Spanish: Mr. TORREZ GAMEZ *(Workers' delegate, Nicaragua)* – Our delegation would like to greet from this platform our comrade, Sam Nujoma, and his noble cause.

On behalf of the workers of Nicaragua, we express our whole-hearted condemnation of the odious regime of apartheid.

The workers of South Africa and Namibia are heroically resisting the oppression of a criminal social

and political system which is flouting all the principles of humanity.

Racial discrimination is a shame in the history of mankind. It has left deep scars that will not easily be erased from our consciences.

Nicaragua, therefore, would like to support the Report of the Committee on Apartheid, and we urge all the other delegations to do likewise. There is no moral justification for coexistence with the Pretoria regime. Those who advocate a simple restructuring of relations are placing their political and economic interests ahead of the need to take effective measures to eliminate that system.

The workers of Nicaragua express their full and unreserved solidarity with the workers of Namibia. We are convinced that the injustice and immortality of apartheid will soon disappear from the face of the earth.

Interpretation from German: Mr. LAMPRECHT *(Workers' adviser, German Democratic Republic)* – All the previous Special Reports of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid have clearly shown that my Organisation and my country have done everything in order to implement the action decided upon by the International Labour Organisation against apartheid.

The Committee on Apartheid has provided us with documents which respond to the new demands made upon us by the struggle against apartheid. We support the updated Declaration as well as the Programme of Action against Apartheid.

Facts have clearly shown us – and this has also been stressed by the discussion – that apartheid, which is an anachronism in our century, cannot be reformed but must be eliminated. We therefore firmly support any measures designed to step up sanctions and other actions against apartheid. For this reason, we also welcome the setting up of a permanent monitoring group to follow up and monitor the application of sanctions and to point out any violations.

We also welcome the fact that the Director-General will report about this subject every year.

On behalf of my Organisation, I can assure you that we will apply this Declaration to the letter and continue giving our solid support to the actions of the South African trade unions.

We are aware that there are still certain groups which want to convince us that all boycott measures and other sanctions will only have an adverse effect on the Black population. Practice, however, has shown that this policy derives super-profits from the sweat and blood of the Black population and leads to the stabilisation and continuation of the apartheid policy. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) has published an extremely interesting and informative booklet, on this subject: *Investment in apartheid.* It gives the names and addresses of 1,267 transnational corporations and their branch offices which work in co-operation with the apartheid regime or which have settled in South Africa; and this in spite of all the United Nations sanctions and all the efforts made by the International Labour Organisation to eliminate apartheid.

However, every day longer than apartheid lasts is tantamount to the denial of human dignity in one's own country, the denial of the right to existence, the violation of all democratic trade union rights and freedoms and the practice of terror and violence against the majority of the population.

Every additional day of apartheid implies arbitrary arrests, torture, even murder; it also means unsuccessful efforts to paralyse the action of democratic organisations, particularly that of COSATU; it also means that international law is trampled underfoot.

This situation requires the urgent co-operation of all democratic forces in the world against apartheid. Trade unions alone – and there are practically 400 million organised workers in the world – today constitute a powerful force which can do a great deal to support the struggle of South African trade unions.

I should like from this rostrum to assure the trade unionists of South Africa and all those struggling against apartheid in Namibia and in South Africa of the full support of my organisation, the Free German Trade Union Federation, in their fight for a free, united, democratic and non-racist South Africa and for a free Namibia.

Mr. O'FARRELL *(Workers' adviser, United States)* – As the Committee on Apartheid of the 75th Session of the International Labour Conference began its deliberations on the updating of the Programme of Action against Apartheid and its review of the Special Report of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa, momentous events were occurring in that country.

On 6, 7 and 8 June, more than a million workers exercised their right to protest in the equitable, economic, political and social system in South Africa by refusing to go to work. In the time-honoured tradition of workers everywhere in the world, the workers of South Africa, denied the ballot box; denied the right of political expression, denied social equality solely because of the colour of their skin, and about to have their few hard-won and grudgingly acknowledged trade union rights eviscerated by an amendment to the Labour Relations Act, voted with their feet. More than 90 per cent of the workforce in the major industrial areas of South Africa cast their votes against the enactment of legislation by the White minority that would further impede the Black trade unions in their peaceful pursuit of equality.

Speaker after speaker here has related all the problems facing the people of South Africa in their struggle. There is no need for me to repeat them. Speaker after speaker have pointed out the things being done in their own countries and by their own organisations to support the struggle of the people in South Africa for freedom. Speaker after speaker have lamented the fact that there has been no progress towards eliminating apartheid and that things seem to be worse now than when we met here one year ago.

I, for one, would like to present a different view of the events of the past year. The Special Report of the Director-General shows us that Black trade union membership in 1986 was estimated to be more than 1,150,000, an increase of more than 26 per cent over 1985 and, for the first time, more than half of the total trade union membership.

The Report also tells us that the number of strikes in South Africa increased by more than 600 per cent between 1979 and 1986, while the number of workers involved in these strikes increased by almost 1,000

per cent in the same period. In 1987 the National Union of Mineworkers conducted a legal strike that kept more than 340,000 miners off the job for three weeks and represented a major feat of organisation that should be seen as an indication of the process made by Black trade unions.

The Labour Relations Amendment Bill currently being considered by the South African Parliament is evidence of the success of the efforts of the Black trade union organisers over the past ten years. If there had been no progress in the fields of organising, collective bargaining, dispute resolution and other legitimate trade union activity, and if the trade unions had not successfully demonstrated their increasing ability to work in concert to achieve their legitimate objectives, then were would be no need for the Government to undertake to change the rules and tilt the game in favour of the employers and the Government, and against the workers. Violence and intimidation are not suffficient for the Government of South Africa. Police-state measures cannot contain the workers and therefore other so-called legal measures have to be found to deter the march of the workers towards equality. While the Amendment Bill itself is repressive and must be fought by any means available to South African workers and their unions, we should not lose sight of the fact that events leading to such a proposal by the Government should be viewed as a positive reflection of the spirit and the determination of the oppressed workers of South Africa, and their success. The enactment of the Amendment Bill will be a set-back in the progress of the trade union movement but it will not be fatal to their cause, nor will it deter South African workers or their supporters around the world in their continued opposition to the apartheid system.

In the words of the Director-General in his Special Report "The past year saw both consolidation and growth of the trade union movement, with the two major federations laying the foundations for even larger membership and stronger structures, developments which occurred in circumstances of great difficulty and represent a considerable achievement. In addition, the emerging unions themselves, through their democratic internal processes and in the absence of Black rights and political parties, are providing their members with the experience of democratic practices which they see as a major factor in the struggle for both improved working conditions and a just and equitable political system. The actions of the ILO in stating its intent to assist in this struggle and the actions of constituent members of the ILO in bringing the intent of the Organisation to fruition in their respective areas must be of inestimable value to those in South Africa who carry on the struggle day by day. That is why the Workers' delegation of the United States of America honours the progress made to date by the workers of South Africa, reaffirms its support of them in their struggle and urges the unanimous adoption of the revised Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid that is before us today.

Interpretation from French: Mr. RYCHLY *(Workers' adviser, Czechoslovakia)* – Within the general context of the International Labour Conference which is dealing specifically with questions of respect for human rights, our annual session devoted to the situation in South Africa and the entire southern region of the continent is very important.

Forty years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, there is throughout the world no more striking example of the brutal violation of human rights than that of South Africa.

The racist regime of South Africa continues to tyrannise its population and that of Namibia, and commits aggressions and attacks against sovereign neighbouring States.

The Government of South Africa has just been shown the tremendous will of the patriotic and democratic forces which have mobilised the African workers to organise their resistance action. A significant part is played in this by the trade unions, which have become the most important basis for the struggle of the workers for change.

The resistance movement in South Africa is also growing, thanks to increasing international solidarity with the just struggle of the South Africa and Namibian peoples. However, international solidarity cannot be really effective if the appeals launched by the international community do not bring about a reaction by certain governments and certain countries which profit handsomely from the existence of apartheid to consolidate their position of supremacy in the region and take advantage of the situation to maintain tension there, thus jeopardising constructive achievements throughout the world which humanity welcomes with hope.

We share the ideas contained in the special report of the Director-General of the ILO, that is that only international pressure upon the South African Government can lead to the liquidation of apartheid.

On behalf of all Czechoslovakian trade unionists we reiterate the following demands: all economic sanctions directed against South Africa should be applied consistently and made mandatory; the measures against the activities of the democratic mass organisations in South Africa should be immediately revoked; all the trade unionists, patriots and political prisoners detained in South Africa should be immediately released; the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation, the WFTU and other international organisations concerning the solution of the situation in South Africa and the settlement of the situation in Namibia should be implemented without delay.

We therefore support the new documents which have come from the Harare Conference and encourage their implementation. We reiterate our appeal for united action by all parts of the international trade union movement and other progressive and democratic forces to support the just struggle of the South African and Namibian peoples aimed at the final liquidation of apartheid and the establishment of lasting peace and security in the region.

Interpretation from German: Mr. HERTEL *(Government delegate, German Democratic Republic)* – In 1964, the International Labour Conference adopted the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa. Today, 24 years later, we are being called upon to adapt this Declaration to new requirements for the second time and to bring the Programme of Action in line with the the latest developments.

On the one hand, this bears witness to the sad fact that the world has not yet succeeded in eradicating this dreadful situation. As a result of its hopeless situation, the regime of apartheid is becoming in-

creasingly aggressive against its own people and those of neighbouring States.

On the other hand, the updating of the Declaration, is an expression of the growing conviction, both within and outside South Africa, that only concerted action and relentless international pressure on the Government of South Africa, can force it to abandon its policy of segregation.

The system of apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be completely demolished. It is therefore only logical that in the updated Declaration and Programme of Action, particular stress is laid on the promotion of comprehensive sanctions against the racist regime, based on Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. My Government, which has no relationship at all with the racists, supports firm sanctions as the only effective, peaceful means of obliging the regime to change its policy.

The call by the independent Black trade unions of South Africa for sanctions, refutes the claim constantly put forward by certain groups that sanctions will harm first and foremost those who are already oppressed. Behind this statement, of course, we know there are interests of international monopolies who fear a threat to important sources of profit for them. The projected setting up of an independent group of experts to monitor the maintenance of sanctions is an important forward step towards the worldwide promotion of comprehensive and binding measures. All overt and covert collaboration with the racists will only prolong the suffering of the people in South Africa.

My Government is very happy to see the extension of the Declaration and the Programme of Action to Namibia and the front-line States. The ILO will now be in a position to commit itself even further in its support of the people of Namibia under the recognised leadership of SWAPO, which is struggling for a free and democratic Namibia. Our Organisation could make an important contribution towards preparing the people of that region for the day when they will be taking the responsibility for their future into their own hands.

It is a great joy for us that the President of SWAPO, Sam Nujoma, was able to be with us. We have had a close relationship of many years' standing with him, as attested by the number of regular meetings he has had with the highest representatives of the German Democratic Republic, which are all documented.

His talk this morning gave us a graphic picture of the situation in Namibia, and also of the struggle of his people for independence.

My country will continue to support the people of Namibia even more in the future, and it is unreservedly in favour of the full application of the United Nations Security Council resolution 435/78, and the other relevant United Nations resolutions on the settlement of the Namibian question.

The racists, with state-controlled terrorist actions, are trying to undermine the front-line States in their justified struggle to support their brothers in South Africa, and are also trying to destabilise the governments of these States. Pressure and terror tactics used by the regime, both inside and outside the country, constitute an additional heavy burden for the population of that area. The recent ILO Tripartite Conference on Action against Apartheid in Harare showed the determination of these States to step up their efforts even more in their struggle against apartheid. The German Democratic Republic fully supports these States.

South Africa represents not only a danger to peace and security in the region. The international agreements recently signed with regard to disarmament and the solution of regional conflicts, as well as manifold activities to do away with other centres of tension and conflict, show clearly that a peaceful settlement of problems is also possible in South Africa.

Finally, may I pledge the full support of my Government to the new Declaration and the Programme of Action, as well as to all the other accompanying urgent measures that are needed. They constitute an excellent foundation for the ILO's further commitment to combat apartheid. It is the duty of all of us to breathe life into these documents.

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. BORCHTCHEVSKY *(Government delegate, USSR)* – Today, we are approving the Report of the Committee on Apartheid. Each page of this report time and again calls for a decisive struggle to eliminate this monstrous legacy of the past, this criminal practice which has been elevated by the racist regime of South Africa to the rank of State policy.

The Soviet Union fully supports the aims of the new Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia and the Programme of Action. Their adoption will unquestionably enter the history of the International Labour Organisation as an important event. The real situation in South Africa and Namibia, the specific facts listed in the Special Report of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa, the acts of brigandage perpetrated by the South African racists with respect to the front-line States looks particularly ugly against the backcloth of the main theme of this session which is the common responsibility of the international community for human rights.

The Pretoria regime stubbornly continues resisting the demand to put an end to the policy it is carrying out, resorts to its favourite method of terror and repression against those fighting for the rights of the indigenous population. Some particularly striking facts concerning this emerged very clearly from this morning's statement by Mr. Sam Nujoma.

Looking at the crime of racism and understanding their complete incompatibility with a civilised way of operating, the question arises will-nilly as to where are the sources of the vitality of apartheid? Why does it continue to exist despite practically universal condemnation? It seems that the adoption of a new Declaration and Programme and Action is a good occasion for all of us once again to ask this question of ourselves, and to give an honest and truthful answer. It is no secret that condemning apartheid in words does not always tally, in some countries and in certain business circles, with practical policy. Therein precisely lies one of the main reasons, if not the main reason, for Pretoria's defiant contempt for the views of the international community, as well as the absence of real progress in solving the problem of southern Africa, which has now become a destabilising factor on a global scale.

The basic position of the Soviet Union in respect of the conflict in southern Africa is wellknown. Our

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frica and Namibia, headed by the ANC and
SWAPO, and we give aid and support to the front-
line States to repel aggression from Pretoria.

The tripartite ILO Conference is Harare and the consideration of the problem of apartheid at this session of the International Labour Conference fully correspond to the aims and tasks of the Organisation's Constitution and the Declaration of Philadelphia. Our task is to do our utmost actually to put into practice those decisions and recommendations which will be approved by this session and to act in the struggle against apartheid in a concerted and decisive manner.

As before, the Soviet Union will strictly and firmly support the front-line States, come out in defence of their sovereignty and territorial integrity and grant them all-round aid. A real expression of this aid is our co-operation with the AFRICA Fund. The USSR's total contribution to this Fund has reached more than US$100 million.

In conclusion, we should like to emphasise the need to speed up the solution of the problem being considered here today. The realities of the world today require new political thinking, and the Soviet Union is urgently and actively calling for this. Mankind can no longer reconcile itself with apartheid. With our joint efforts, apartheid and the problems it gives rise to must be eliminated. This would then be a major step towards the creation of a system of international peace and security corresponding to all objective interests.

Interpretation from Arabic: Mr. DJEMAM *(representative of the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions)* – I would like first of all, on behalf of the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions, to extend to our brothers struggling for freedom in South Africa and Namibia our greetings and appreciation for their heroic struggle. We would also like to emphasise our support to them and to their struggle to obtain their legitimate and natural rights, recognised by the international communtiy for all people and emphasised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights whose anniversary we are now celebrating.

The Report of the Director-General of the ILO to this session shows that the situation in South Africa and Namibia has not changed since last year. In fact, it has become worse; the Black population is still subjected to the laws and oppression of the apartheid regime, and continues to be under the rule of Martial Law, which was extended by the Pretoria regime for another year. It is deeply regrettable to see, at the end of the twentieth century, that there are people who deny freedom to others who are different in colour from them. These people have become inhuman and have to be treated as such.

The existence of such a regime is a challenge to the moral principles of mankind. The Arab workers have studied the reports of the international organisations and have followed with great interest the proceedings of the Harare Conference and the events that have taken place in South Africa and Namibia. We are concerned to see the workers in this region suffer the same fate as their brothers in Palestine and in the occupied Arab territories who endure oppression and terror, exile and expulsion and the denial of their legitimate rights. The whole world is a witness to this, which is perpetuated through the support of certain Powers that claim to be democratic and concerned for the progress of the human race. The present situation requires us to take immediate steps within the ILO, as it is deteriorating day by day and the oppressive laws are mercilessly enforced.

The racist regime continues its aggression against neighbouring countries. Governments and companies should impose an economic boycott on the regime. If such a boycott is put into force, it will lead to the fall of this odious regime, which could not survive without the assistance of a number of countries, and of imperialism and Zionism and without the assistance given to it by multinational corporations. The people of Namibia and South Africa are thus deprived of their legitimate rights as the racist regime is supported by those who believe that it is in their strategic and economic interests to do so, justifying their behaviour by pretending that they are helping to improve the situation of the Black people. Do they not know that the wage of a Black worker is no more than a tenth of the wage of a White worker? Are they not aware of the circumstances and conditions of life of the Black people? Do they not know about the practices and the oppression engaged in by the racist regime?

Experience has shown that there is no solution to this question other than to eliminate this racist regime by force. The peaceful solutions advocated by some have not led to concrete results. On the contrary, the regime is continuing its oppressive practices.

It is the duty of peace-loving people, together with the workers and the ILO, to extend all possible moral, material and technical assistance to the workers and trade unions in South Africa and Namibia in order to be able to face the situation, so that they will be able to assume their responsibilities once they obtain their freedom and independence. In fact, the ILO has an important role to play in awakening world opinion so as to bring pressure to bear on the countries that co-operate with this regime. The workers also have a vital role to play that will lead to radical changes in their positions and attitudes.

We reiterate once again that we have to establish social justice to enable all peoples to exercise their rights, to be able to live in dignity and their right to realise self-determination.

Long live the struggle of the people of Namibia and South Africa!

Miss RADIC *(Government adviser, Yugoslavia)* – The current 75th Session of the International Labour Conference is about to conclude an important task in updating the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa and the Programme of Action contained in its Annex.

By the adoption of these two documents and, in particular, by the adoption of the conclusions of the renamed ILO Conference Committee on Action against Apartheid at its present session, the International Labour Conference will round up the work

that has also been done by the Governing Body Committee on Discrimination and the Tripartite Conference on Action against Apartheid held in Harare last May. Thus, the International Labour Organisation will make a further contribution to the international struggle against Pretoria's policy of apartheid in South Africa and its illegal occupation of Namibia.

Ever since the problem of racism in South Africa was raised in the United Nations some 40 years ago, and following the illegal occupation of Namibia later on, the Government and people of Yugoslavia have given full political, moral and humanitarian support and assistance to the oppressed people and liberation movement fighters in those countries.

In the 1960s, a law was passed in Yugoslavia banning any kind of relations or co-operation with the racist Pretoria regime. In the United Nations, my country supports every action aiming at implementating the United Nations Plan for Namibia adopted by the Security Council, as well as actions aiming at the abolition of apartheid, including comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist South Africa regime.

Yugoslavia will continue its policy of support for the just struggle of the freedom fighters of SWAPO, whose President, Mr. Sam Nujoma, addressed this Conference today. In his speech, he gave us a horrifying picture of the long sufferings of his people under the occupation of South Africa.

In conclusion, I wish to express our full support for the changes introduced in the Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia and the Programme of Action against Apartheid and, in particular, our support for the conclusions of the Conference Committee on Action against Apartheid at the present session.

We endorse the hopes that these documents will be adopted by consensus. Thus, the ILO would make a further contribution to the struggle against apartheid and the illegal occupation of Namibia and enrich the overall activities of the international community in marking the 40th anniversary of the adoption in 1948 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Interpretation from Chinese: Mr. LI *(Government delegate, China)* – This morning the Chinese delegation listened with great interest to the speech given by Mr. Sam Nujoma, the President of SWAPO. We wish to express our high regard and firm support of SWAPO in its just struggle.

The Chinese delegation has examined the report submitted by the Committee on Apartheid. We wish to thank the Chairman and all the members of the Committee for the great amount of work they have done and we agree with the report and conclusions submitted by the Committee.

The Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia, submitted by the Committee to the Conference for examination and deliberation, is a very important document.

Having revised and updated the Declaration of 1981, this document emphasises the need to eliminate apartheid in Namibia, the need to strengthen support for the South African people and the front-line States, and the need to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions on the South African racist regime.

In its appendix the report formulates conclusions concerning the Programme of Action against Apartheid. These meet the needs of the present struggle against apartheid.

The Chinese delegation supports the Declaration, as amended.

In the past year or so, the situation in South Africa has further deteriorated. In defiance of the widespread condemnation by the international community, the South African authorities have wantonly intensified their suppression of the resistance by the South African people.

Since the beginning of this year, the South African authorities have adopted a series of repressive measures, restricting and banning the political activities of 17 anti-apartheid organisations and COSATU, assassinating their activists and representatives of ANC abroad. They continue their military attacks and economic retaliation against the neighbouring countries. They also prohibit the international community from providing material assistance to the anti-apartheid organisations.

Undoubtedly, these acts have brutally trampled upon the basic human rights of the Blacks in South Africa and to the situation in southern Africa and to the peace and stability of the world; these acts cannot be tolerated by the international community.

The Chinese Government and people have always strongly condemned the perverse acts of the South African authorities, and have firmly supported the South African and Namibian people in their just struggle.

I wish to reaffirm here that the Chinese Government will not have any contact with the South Africa's racist regime.

Last May, I had the honour to participate, as a Government representative of China, in the Tripartite Conference on Action against Apartheid, held in Harare. That was a successful meeting.

Having been to a front-line State myself, I felt all the more strongly the profound miseries suffered by the South African Black people and the grave threat posed to the front-line countries by the South African authorities.

Today, as we commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it is time for every person and every country to reflect seriously on the untold exploitation, suppression, humiliation and suffering of Black people in South Africa and Namibia. Shouldn't we do more to help them free themselves from this barbarous and inhumane system?

I hope that the ILO and the whole international community, especially those countries which have strong influence over South Africa, will be more extensively mobilised to turn the words of the Declaration into effective actions, thus forcing the South African authorities to abandon their evil policy of apartheid and end their illegal occupation of Namibia, so that the principles and objectives embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights will be truly realised in South Africa and Namibia at an early date.

(Mr. Tsujino takes the Chair).

Interpretation from Russian: Mr. FRANDIOUK *(Government adviser, Ukrainian SSR)* – The special Report of the Director-General on the Application

of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa, and the discussion on this question at the present session of the International Labour Conference, once again focuses world attention on events in southern Africa, and the unceasing evil deeds of the apartheid regime of Pretoria.

New instances of terror against the indigenous population of South Africa, new acts of aggression of the South African racists against the front-line States and other illegal actions by the South African authorities, including those on the territory of occupied Namibia, are widely documented in the Report.

One of the latest instances of the flagrant disregard in Pretoria of the South African people's aspirations towards freedom and basic human rights is their repression of the progressive trade union movement and their ban on a political activities by a range of mass democratic organisations, including the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

The authorities in South Africa have once again demonstrated their contempt for the United Nations Charter, the International Covenants on Human Rights and the ILO Freedom of Association and protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87).

The racism in South Africa has created an explosive situation in the southern part of the African continent, which presents a true threat to international peace and security.

The international community is realising more and more that the main source nourishing this dangerous focus of tension is the direct support given to the apartheid regime by a number of Western States, their transnational companies and major international banks and financial institutions.

We feel that, in the present circumstances, only firm and concerted action by all States in the struggle against apartheid could make a start to the task of achieving a political settlement in southern Africa on the basis of a balance of interest among all the countries caught up in this regional conflict. The basis for such activities should be the urgent implementation of the relevant decisions of the United Nations and the Security Council, the granting of independence to Namibia, strict observance of the arms embargo and absolute refusal to co-operate with South Africa in the design and manufacture of nuclear arms or any other weapons of mass destruction.

With its great international prestige and importance, the International Labour Organisation makes its own contribution to activating international efforts to curb apartheid. In view of this, we should like to take note of the real progress in ILO activity in the struggle against apartheid and in providing assistance to the front-line States in southern Africa. At the same time, it cannot be ignored that the effectiveness of the decisions adopted by the ILO and the activities of this Organisation to combat the policy of apartheid in South Africa is unfortunately undermined by the fact that some member countries of the ILO and certain employer circles ignore these decisions. This is obvious from the replies they have given to the ILO's requests on these matters.

The Ukrainian SSR, following its basic policy of totally rejecting all forms and manifestations of colonialism, racism and racial discrimination, fully and steadily supports ther earliest possible abolition of apartheid in South Africa.

The Ukraine is taking an active part in United Nations activities in this direction, particularly in the work of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid and in the intergovernmental group for the monitoring of deliveries and transport of oil and oil products to South Africa. The Ukrainian SSR supports all decisions and recommendations of the United Nations and other international organisations, including the ILO, which condemn apartheid in South Africa and are aimed at its abolition, boycott and isolation.

We are in favour of taking the necessary steps to help execute United Nations action against apartheid and of the introduction of comprehensive mandatory sanctions on the basis of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We support the decision of the recent Harare Conference and hope that our Conference will make a considerable contribution to further promoting international efforts against apartheid in South Africa. We feel that the adoption by this Conference of the updated Declaration and Programme of Action of the ILO will contribute to these aims.

Interpretation from German: Mr. HILGER *(Government adviser, Federal Republic of Germany)* – Speaking on behalf of the Twelve member States of the European Community, I would like to present our views on the work and the conclusions of the Committee on Apartheid of this Conference. The consideration of the Committee's work and conclusions take place this year against the sombre background of the situation in South Africa, which has deteriorated since we discussed this matter at our Conference last year.

Before commenting on the recommendations of the Committee and the Special Report of the Director-General, I should like at the outset to reiterate briefly the position of the Twelve. Let me first of all recall the position of the Twelve with respect to the policy of racial discrimination conducted by the Government of the Republic of South Africa as it has been explained time and again in numerous United Nations and other forums. Apartheid constitutes a flagrant violation of the fundamental human rights laid down in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to which the Twelve attach the highest importance. Our basic position is clear: the system of apartheid, including the "homelands" policy, must be completely dismantled to create a non-racial democratic society through the full and free exercise of adult universal suffrage by all the people in a united unfragmented South Africa with freedom and justice for all.

The Twelve share the grave and increasing concern of the whole international community over the lack of significant progress towards the abolition of apartheid in South Africa. The disturbing events of the past year have brought no comfort to those who hope to see this immoral and unacceptable system which breeds hatred and violence dismantled. Massive repression has continued unabated, human rights have been violated and censorship has been tightened and strengthened. The extension of the state of emergency continues to deprive many thousands of their freedom and has worsened prospects for peaceful change, stifling the voices of opposition. The prohibition by the South African Government in February 1988 of 17 South African organisations and COSATU, peacefully opposed to apartheid, from

engaging in political activities is a further manifestation of the political suppression which has been condemned by the Twelve. This prohibition can only exacerbate further the tensions within South Africa and lead inevitably to further confrontation and polarisation. The Twelve have viewed the intensified curtailment of press freedom under the state of emergency with serious concern and have again urged the South African Government to lift its restrictions on the press without delay.

As we have repeatedly made clear, in the Twelve's eyes the apartheid system is totally unacceptable and indefensible. We are continuing to work actively for its complete and peaceful dismantlement. The Twelve are convinced that only broad-based negotiations, in which true representatives of the various components of the South African population are involved, can bring about a lasting settlement. The aim of these negotiations should be the emergence of a free, democratic, non-racial and united South Africa which takes into account the multiple facets of its society. To allow this to happen, the South African Government must take steps necessary to allow national dialogue to begin. These steps include the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania and other political parties, and the lifting of the state of emergency. We have left the South African authorities in no doubt as to the urgency of this task: the longer it is delayed, the more difficult it will become.

The Twelve and the Commission of the European Communities follow a policy designed to encourage non-violent change within South Africa and to lead to the total abolition of apartheid through peaceful means. This policy has been reflected in the implementation of programmes of positive measures aimed at assisting that part of the population disadvantaged by the apartheid system to better develop their potential. The Community's special programme in particular has concentrated mainly on the education and training sector, as well as on humanitarian and social assistance and legal assistance, particularly for those detained without charge.

The member States of the European Community continue to give active support to the non-violent opponents of apartheid through assistance provided to organisations in South Africa.

Important beneficiaries of the Twelve's programme directed at the promotion of peaceful change within South Africa are the trade unions. The Twelve firmly believe that the trade unions in that country, particularly the Black trade union movement, play an important role in the process of peaceful change in South Africa. The Twelve are of the opinion that in the past few years improvements in the position of South Africa's Black population have taken place in the field of labour relations. The Twelve are encouraging these developments through support to the Black trade union movement.

The Twelve therefore regret all the more the recent moves by the South African authorities aimed at curtailing the political activities of the trade unions.

The Twelve condemn all sorts of aggression and destabilisation committed by the South African Government against its neighbours in the region and urge that all regional problems should be settled by peaceful means.

The Twelve provide important assistance to these countries, both bilaterally and through the Southern Africa Development Co-operation Conference (SADCC). The Twelve recognise the important role that the ILO plays in providing assistance in this respect.

It is with grave concern, therefore, that the Twelve and the Commission of the European Communities view the intention of the South African Government to impose wide-ranging restrictive condition on organisations and individuals in connection with external funding.

The enactment of the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill would endanger the access of underprivileged groups in South Africa to community support for humanitarian and social assistance programmes. The adoption and implementation of the bill would, therefore, impose a severe strain on our relations with the Republic of South Africa.

The Twelve have noted some encouraging developments in the trade union movement in recent years and would be concerned at any deterioration as a result of new legislative measures in that area.

The Twelve and the Commission of the European Communities call upon the South African Government to desist from its policy of isolating the few remaining organisations and voices seeking dialogue and peaceful change within the country. The Twelve has made approaches to the South African Government to this effect.

The EC Code of Conduct for companies with subsidiaries, branches of representation in South Africa was revised in 1985, strengthened and updated and brought more in line with the changes in the social and labour fields in South Africa since its original inception in 1977.

The seventh comprehensive report on the application of the Code of Conduct by companies registered within the Community and which have subsidiaries in South Africa, covers the period from 1 July 1985 till 30 June 1986 and gives an analysis of the replies received from 265 companies. These companies had a total of 136,000 employees, among them 105,000 Black employees.

To sum up the findings of this Report, the Twelve stated the following: the number of companies that maintain relations with trade unions composed of Black workers has increased; the companies use unified schedules of payment for all employees of race; more than 95 per cent of the Black workers receive wages which are on or above the level recommended by the Code of Conduct; many companies have specific programmes for the training and advancement of Black employees and offer a whole range of voluntary social benefits.

The Twelve wish to underline once more that the Code of Conduct is an important instrument of their policy aimed at a complete abolition of discriminatory practices and of the apartheid system as a whole. They want to encourage the European companies to continue their efforts to improve the social and economic conditions of the Black workers. At the same time, the Twelve urge the South African Government to undertake specific steps to bring about the complete abolition of any racial segregation within the labour market, to repel all discriminatory laws and regulations and to set free all those, especially the trade unionists, that are detained without charge or trial.

The Twelve are convinced that international pressure is necessary and important in order to induce the South African Government to end its policy of apartheid. In addition to the positive measures referred to earlier, they have continued to implement significant and concrete measures designed to impress on the South African Government the urgent and inescapable need for fundamental reform. These measures are designed to increase the pressure on the South African Government to move towards the creation of a society free of racial discrimination. As the Twelve continue to monitor closely developments in South Africa, this series of measures, which have been outlined in the special reports of the Director-General, is kept under close review.

Turning to the Special Report of the Director General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid, the Twelve appreciate its balanced account of, on the one hand, developments in labour and social matters of South Africa in Namibia, and on the other hand, of the action against apartheid taken by Governments, Employers' and Workers' organisations in this respect.

With respect to the report and the conclusions of the Committee on Apartheid, the Twelve wish to make the following remarks. The Report contains many thoughts which the Twelve can share or are ready to consider. However, as was also the case last year, a number of the conclusions of the Committee on Apartheid this year go beyond the mandate of the ILO. Whenever actions are proposed, it is vital to respect the competence of the United Nations and of the different international organisations and their respective organs. In this respect, the Twelve would like to reiterate that comprehensive and binding sanctions, under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, can only be decided upon by the Security Council.

A number of conclusions propose measures with respect to specific activities within the "homelands" or with respect to representatives of "homelands". The Twelve reiterate that they do not recognise the so-called "homelands" as entities separate from the Republic of South Africa.

Some conclusions are imprecise in their formulation and others go against what is considered in our States to be due legal process, many fail to take into account the different constitutional provisions of the member States of the ILO, especially those concerning respective competence of national, regional and local authorities.

The Twelve are also of the view that actions taken on the basis of these conclusions should not lead to additional costs for the Organisation and that any expenditure should be within the limit of the present budget.

In the face of the recent developments within and around South Africa, and in view of the great concern shared by all of us that apartheid should be abolished and very soon, the Twelve would have preferred to arrive at conclusions born of a wider consensus. This would have made these conclusions more meaningful.

Interpretation from French: Mr. CAMARA *(Government delegate, Guinea)* – In the name of the Guinean delegation I should first of all like to join my voice to those who have congratulated Mr. Beyreuther on his brilliant election to the presidency of our Conference.

The question before us has always been a point to which my country has been particularly sensitive. The unjust and humiliating situation imposed on the Black workers and the Black populations in South Africa is a legitimate reason for wrath and revulsion on the part of all persons who cherish justice, dignity and peace. It is therefore not surprising that every year throughout the world this shameful system of apartheid is decried and severely condemned.

Our Conference has even set up a standing committee to follow the development of the situation of workers in southern Africa, and periodically the ILO convenes a special Conference in one of the front-line States. Nevertheless, this system continues to exist and has even recently celebrated the 40th anniversary of the ascension to power of the National Party of South Africa.

In this period of rather curious and troubling coincidences of anniversaries – on the positive side, those of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), and on the negative side, that of the institutionalisation of racism as a method of government – it seems to us that we are called upon to take up more energetic action against this dehumanising system, which must be destroyed because it cannot be reformed.

The most developed countries in this world which maintain the greatest number of commercial contacts with this regime, have a greater responsibility than the others. We can only hope that finally they will undertake vigorous action, as urged by all lovers of freedom, peace, justice and progress throughout the world, to abolish apartheid once and for all. It goes without saying that my delegation gives its wholehearted support to the unanimous adoption of our Conference is Declaration on Action against Apartheid in South Africa and in Namibia.

Mr. WILLIAMS *(Government delegate, Nigeria)* – My delegation earlier expressed its sentiments on the personal merit of Mr. Beyreuther and on his undoubted ability to direct the affairs of this Conference to a successful conclusion. May I again pledge the very full support and co-operation of my delegation to him in the discharge of his difficult assignment.

I wish to start this address by expressing our gratitude to the Chairman and members of the Committee on Apartheid for the excellent work they have done. I should also like to express our appreciation to the Director-General of the ILO for producing an excellent report on apartheid for the Conference.

My delegation has noted with satisfaction the conclusions of the Committee on Apartheid. We are particularly happy to note the spirit of co-operation exhibited by the members of the tripartite Committee and the unanimous voice with which all participants spoke against apartheid. However, my delegation would have wished to see the conclusions and the annex – that is the Programme of Action against Apartheid – adopted by the Committee without resort to a vote.

Today is the 12th anniversary of the Soweto uprising when young men and women decided to lead a spontaneous revolt against the unjust system of apartheid. We salute those heroes and heroines who

laid down their lives in defence of the freedom of the Black population of South Africa. However, it is regrettable that 12 years after Soweto the situation in South Africa has yet to change for the better. The whole world has continued to witness callous brutality, oppression and the killing of defenceless Blacks in South Africa by the agents of the racist regime. The Black population of South Africa is still subjected to hardship and all forms of humiliation. Black people are constantly harassed, tortured and oppressed. They live under permanent siege and fear and are totally unsure of their future and that of their children.

The conditions of the Black workers in South Africa have worsened since the Whites-only elections to the House of Assembly in May 1987. Real political initiatives came to a standstill because the National Party which was returned to power did not introduce the fundamental changes which Botha had declared he wanted to bring about. Instead, there was continual siege as well as an all-pervading surveillance of the Black townships by the military forces, police forces and the national security management system.

South Africa continues to undermine the stability of neighbouring countries in southern Africa, aggravating the already grave economic and social problems.

In the area of industrial relations, Black workers are subjected to inhuman labour practices. The racist regime has on many occasions employed violence in quelling peaceful industrial actions by defenceless Black workers, and in the process many have been murdered in cold blood.

Working conditions for Black workers have not seen any significant improvement. They still earn low wages and are denied freedom of association. Black trade unionists are constantly arrested, detained and killed for demanding improved working conditions for their members.

In pursuance of its policy of total liberation of Africa, Nigeria has given material, financial and moral support to the liberation movements and Front-Line States. Needless to restate here that Nigeria believes that economic sanctions could bring down the apartheid regime of South Africa, and this is why we shall continue to give material and financial support to the oppressed people of South Africa and the Front-Line States. Nigeria has demonstrated this in many ways.

At the summit meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement held in Harare in September 1986, Nigeria proposed the establishment of the Africa fund. My delegation would like to appeal to all friendly countries, individuals and organisations to contribute generously to this Fund. The South Africa Relief Fund, established in Nigeria, has offered scholarships to Black South Africans and Namibians to study at Nigerian educational institutions during the 1986-87 academic year. As the Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, Nigeria has been in the forefront, championing the cause of liberation for the Black majority in South Africa.

We should like to seize this opportunity to condemn the recent clamp-down on liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia by the racist regime and the assassination of ANC representatives in many parts of the world by agents of the South African Government. We abhor in particular the cold-blooded murder of Dulcie September, the ANC representative in Paris, on 29 March 1988 by South African agents, a cowardly and brutal action of a regime whose days are numbered. We also unequivocally condemn the recently-announced proposals for Black participation by racist President Botha. The proposals are cosmetic and irrelevant to the South African situation, and the reforms, which fail to address the fundamental issues in South Africa such as the end of the state of emergency, the release of political detainees and an end to the apartheid policies, will be unacceptable.

Nigeria is totally committed to the freedom of Blacks in South Africa and we will support any measure that is designed to put an end to the oppressive and criminal system that degrades the Black race. We support any move that will completely isolate the racist regime within the international community, because the policy of apartheid is inhuman. Nigeria supports the imposition of economic and mandatory sanctions against South Africa as a way of bringing about the much-needed change in the racist enclave. We implore all progressive nations of the world to implement all ILO and United Nations resolutions on apartheid. We urge those Western countries that support the eradication of apartheid to do so both in words and in action. My delegation believes that the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa is a credible policy option which can only be found useful when faithfully and properly applied. We believe that the South African Government will stop challenging world opinion when its few but powerful friends among the Western Powers are generally committed to the eradication of the evil policy of apartheid by imposing stringent economic sanctions against it.

I wish to conclude this address by reminding the apartheid regime of South Africa that oppressive powers like that of Botha have crumbled and the oppressed people have freed themselves from the yoke of the oppressors; where there is a will there is a way.

Africa is united in her determination to rid the continent of all oppressors. There were only 22 independent African countries when the OAU was founded in 1963, but today, 50 member States are independent. Namibia and South African will certainly be independent – it is only a question of time.

Interpretation from Arabic: Mr. TIZMAAGHZ *(Government delegate, Islamic Republic of Iran)* – The struggle against racial discrimination is one of the things that were decided on during the early days of the victory of the Islamic Revolution, in accordance with what the Koran has to say: "Men and women you were created as peoples and tribes so that you could make acquaintance amongst yourselves, and the best of you will be the most pious in God's eyes".

We also read in the Koran that men are equal and God is one, that an Arab is not better than a Persian and a White man is not better than a Black one. All men are equal, and as regards basic liberties, the Koran says: "Do not make another man your slave because God has created you all free."

All these principles have been adopted and applied in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Islamic Republic of Iran, furthermore, has broken off political, economic, military, cultural, commercial sporting and diplomatic relations with

the authorities of South Africa and has prohibited the export of oil to that country and to the Zionist entity. And we appeal to all other countries and governments to do the same.

The illegal occupation of Namibia, the breach of human rights and destabilisation in that country and in the front-line States is being pursued for various reasons, including support of colonialism and imperialism, by the Pretoria authorities and the racist regime of that country. We appeal to all countries represented here to condemn and boycott that country.

We are asked today to take action to combat the policy of apartheid in South Africa and the Arab occupied territories in Palestine, and the only means of doing this is to pursue and support an armed struggle materially and otherwise, to support the front-line States, to join together to eliminate racial discrimination and to put an end to the occupation of Namibia by the South African Government, and to support the results of the Harare Conference.

The Islamic Republic of Iran is ready to support any co-operation designed to ensure objective co-operation with the workers of South Africa and the front-line States. We insist on the need to set up a special fund in which everybody would co-operate.

Mr. MEGYESI *(Government adviser, Hungary)* – Forty years have passed since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights stated that "all human beings are born free and equal in... rights, ... without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion...". Looking at the past, one cannot but note with regret that, despite significant changes in numerous spheres of life, there is a great deal yet to be done for us to be able to say that the ideal formulated in the Universal Declaration has universally materialised on earth.

I think it will suffice to give but a few examples in support of my statement.

Has the full equality of sexes become a reality? For all the efforts exerted, in which the ILO has also taken an active part, women are still at a disadvantage compared to men in several fields of life as regards their career prospects as well as material appreciation. As is pointed out in, among other things, the latest ILO study, women doing the same jobs earn 20 to 40 per cent less than men in many workplaces.

Has equality been attained without distinction on grounds of language? The situation of nationalities or national minorities is still not satisfactory everywhere. Their inalienable rights, such as the right to use their mother tongue or the right to cultivate their cultural traditions, which pertain to them just as to any other people or ethnic group, are being violated.

I could also refer to another elementary right reaffirmed by one of the ILO Conventions that equal conditions must be secured for access to employment.

In this forum, too, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic speaks out for the assurance of equality for nationalities, and for the protection of their collective and individual rights. In our policy concerning nationalities, we are doing all we can to translate the principles enunciated into practical terms.

For nearly a quarter of a century, the International Labour Conference has been addressing one of the gravest violations of human rights, apartheid, which is based on racial discrimination.

We must face the sad fact that the struggle against racial discrimination is as important today as it was when the ILO adopted its Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa. In this respect the most important task still remains to do away with apartheid as soon as possible, as a most inhuman form of massive and grave violations of human rights. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic most resolutely condemns the apartheid regime in South Africa, which has institutionalised on a racial basis the plunder of natural wealth and the exploitation of human resources in the southern part of Africa. It equally condemns the apartheid regime's destabilisation policy and armed agressions against neighbouring countries.

As a founding member of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, Hungary has taken an active part in United Nations efforts to combat apartheid, racial discrimination, and discrimination of any kind in general.

In keeping with its foreign policy principles, Hungary maintains no political, economic or other relations with the racist regime of South Africa.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic fully support all resolutions condemning the apartheid policy of South Africa and implements them to the full.

The past period has given unquestionable proof of the impossibility of reforming the apartheid regime. The policy of "constructive engagement" has failed. We are convinced that mandatory and comprehensive sanctions are the only means of compelling the racist Government of South Africa to change its policy, to start a dialogue with the Black majority and to introduce a democratic system.

The foregoing is ample evidence for us to see the extent to which the ideal of human equality is under attack in our days. But should this cause us to be discouraged and resigned? On the contrary, we must redouble our efforts to ensure that human equality on our globe is attained in every respect.

This is why the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic attaches great importance to the ILO Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid and lends support to its updating and amplification.

I should like to take this opportunity to express our thanks for the valuable work of the Committee on Apartheid, and I propose that the participants in this Conference accept the Committee's Report.

Interpretation from Farsi: Mr. SALIMIAN *(Workers' adviser, Islamic Republic of Iran)* – In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate! "How should we not fight for the cause of Allah and of the weak, among men and women and the children who are crying. Our Lord, bring us forth from out of this town if which the people are oppressors. O give us through thy presence, some protecting friend; give us through thy presence, some protector".

I wish to start by extending the greetings of the heroic workers of my country to our brothers who are suffering from apartheid; in particular, the great martyrs who have sacrificed their lives for the cause of the struggle against apartheid.

We propose that the report of the Committee on Apartheid be adopted by consensus by the Plenary. Although the great Iranian people are involved is an

unwanted war imposed upon them and are not able to fight directly against the apartheid regime, as they wish to do according to their devine and humane duty, they are filled with a desire to give more tangible meaning to the verse I quoted at the beginning of my speech from the glorious Koran; they do wholeheartedly hope for the victory of the brave combatants who are fighting this evil of the twentieth century. I sincerely declare on behalf of the working men and women whom I am representing here that we hope, in the very near furure, to be able to fight alongside them in a united front against the apartheid regime and to overthrow it in a fully armed struggle. The world should be told very clearly that the apartheid regime cannot be guided to the right path by preachings. This bloodthirsty regime ruling over South Africa does not seem to intend setting aside its cruelties, even in the face of resolutions, statements or even general universal condemnation. As a matter of fact, the capitalists ruling over South Africa see nothing other than the gold mines which belong to the oppressed people of that country; indeed, they take no criticism of their ways seriously.

Apartheid is based on force and Mr. P. W. Botha and his apprentices see the only way to survival through the application of force and leave no crime uncommitted towards that end. If this were not the case, it would have been unnecessary for them to occupy militarily the neighbouring countries in the face of the support of the front-line States for the oppressed people of South Africa. Unfortunately, they have waged shamelessly open military aggressions against the freedom seekers. The question still remains as to why the great powers of the world, who break through the borders of other countries, are now standing silent in the face of all these aggressions. They are surviving only by condemning without any tangible results the justified acts of the liberation seekers; they are breaking through the borders of other countries from a great distance, on the pretext of defending democracy. They push into those countries with all their military machinery, with their war machines, and kill thousands of people with chemical bombs as in Halabja; they massacre all the freedom-seeking people, children, women, defenceless people who are defending their rights and struggling for the liberation of Palestine; they falsely defend human rights and justify their silence by stating that any action against apartheid is an interference in the internal affairs of the South African regime. Nevertheless, since we cannot remain silent in the face of any obvious breach of human rights, particularly the breach of the rights of the Black majority in South Africa under the apartheid regime, what can be done?

As a positive step forward we have proposed that the main supporters of the apartheid regimes, namely the great Satan, America, and the veteran colonialist power, Great Britain, should have their membership suspended.

I should, in conclusion, emphasise our demand, which was also reflected in the Committee on Apartheid, that well-planned action should be taken to assist the struggles of the liberation-seeking Black majority in South Africa. Whatever measures are necessary for the furtherance of the cause of the liberation-seeking people of South Africa should be taken. As a first step, there should be an appendix to the report of the Committee listing governments, trade unions and employers' associations which have taken some tangible action instead of just pronouncing empty slogans.

In the future, only those people who can make a firm commitment should take the floor and have the right to address the Conference and the Committee on Apartheid.

The victory of the freedom-seeking people of South Africa is assured and Allah has determined that the oppressed shall become the rulers of the world.

Peace be upon us and the true followers of Allah!

Interpretation from French: Mr. GEORGET *(Employers' delegate, Niger)* – I am speaking on behalf of my colleagues of the Executive Committee of the Pan-African Confederation of Employers, somewhat belatedly I admit and I apologise to the interpreters for not having prepared a statement. But when the time comes to talk about apartheid I think that as a good African I don't exactly have to have a written speech before me to know what to say. As they say in French, "when one understands something clearly, the words to express it come easily".

Before starting, I would like to congratulate the President and other officers of the Conference on their election to these positions of weighty responsibility.

Allow me also to congratulate the officers of the Committee on Apartheid, directed by an excellent man whose warmth and ability are very well known to us. I have had the luck to visit his country; he welcomed us warmly in Harare. I am speaking of course of our brother and friend, the Minister of Labour of Zimbabwe, Dr. Nkomo. I would also like to pay tribute to his two Vice-Chairmen and the Reporter who asked us this morning to say a few words for the record.

As regards the analysis of this report, I cannot but support very sincerely what the Employers' spokesman of the Committee, our distinguished brother and friend, Mr. Nkomo, who did an excellent job, said so firmly and carefully concerning the position of the Employers, even if some reservations were expressed in our group which we, of course, took into consideration. However, we certainly do not think that those who expressed reservations in any way condone apartheid since we all know them very well. The Committee, I think, worked in a most excellent fashion. I have never seen a calmer or more measured Committee on Apartheid, whose excellent work may be taken into consideration by all governments and workers' and employers' organisations, and recommended to friendly countries as a resolution which is consistent with the Constitution or our Organisation.

And it is this point I wish to discuss, since racism and the violation of the rights to live and exist and have one's dignity as a man, are prohibited by the Charter of our Organisation, which seeks to defend man and his integrity. I hope this interpretation will be better understood, as least in its application in the field, and I hope it will help us to eliminate apartheid. As President Sam Nujoma said, and as our late President said, all those who live here on this planet, Black and White, must live in peace to build their future.

After all, that is the very aim of our struggle against apartheid. We haven't come here to say "go

away"; we have come here to say "Work together. Build peace together. Forget all resentment." As Sam Nujoma told us, "Africa is built on forgiveness.". I can't imagine that anyone here would say that they support apartheid; no one supports injustice; no one will convince me that he really feels that he can defend apartheid. No one would dare. I believe in reason. I believe we have to help each other to live in peace. I believe we have to do everything we can to implement the updated resolution drawn up in Harare, in an atmosphere of peace and mutual understanding with a resolute determination to uproot apartheid. This was the spirit that reigned in the Committee on Apartheid, reflecting the will of its members.

I called upon the Conference to adopt the report by consensus.

I appeal to all delegates here – government, employers and workers – to support the report without reservation. What it says I need not repeat.

Apartheid is on its way out. Whether we like it or not, it will disappear. But we hope that those who will be helping us to overcome apartheid, will do so in the interest of this vast country which needs peace, which needs to build.

Africa needs peace, not fighting.

Let us build peace. This hall is a hall of peace, a hall in which we must build peace and solidarity, and remember that all men are equal. That is the message of the African Employers – solidarity, equality, complementarity and peace for our continent, which so desperately needs it to develop economically and socially to the benefit of all who live on earth.

Mr. AHMED *(Workers' delegate, Pakistan)* – In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! I take this opportunity to associate myself with earlier speakers who have demonstrated their full support to the cause of the struggling peoples of Africa and Namibia against the racist regime of South Africa.

Apartheid is a crime against mankind and our Organisation, the International Labour Organisation, by its Constitution and the Declaration of Philadelphia has upheld the right to develop in full freedom and economic security of all human beings, irrespective of race, colour or creed.

We are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights which is also stands for these principles, and all religions, including Islam, and reform in all ages has upheld the principle of the quality of man and of non-discrimination on the basis of race, colour and creed.

The Holy Prophet said that no man can claim superiority wholly on the basis of colour and creed: only by virtue of his noble acts is one man superior to another. But it is sad to find that even in this age, the crime is being committed in South Africa.

We, in the Workers' group, have always supported the just cause of the struggling peoples of South Africa and Namibia. And I think our recent Conference which was held in Harare also demonstrated solidarity with those struggling people. Our group at that Conference was led by Mr. Muhr, representing the Workers' group, and we appreciate the work done at that Conference as well as the recent work done by the distinguished members of the Committee on Apartheid under the chairmanship of Mr. Nkomo, assisted by Mr. Hernandez, the Employers' Vice-Chairman and the Workers' Vice-Chairman, Mr. Mercier.

This work is reflected in *Provisional Record* No. 19. We in Pakistan, have no relations with the racist regime of South Africa and we have continually supported the just cause of the struggling peoples of South Africa and Namibia. On this occasion, we express our continued solidarity and condemn the atrocities which are being committed in South Africa, particularly against the struggling people and workers, by virtue of various discriminatory acts, including the recent legislation which has been imposed in violation of trade union rights.

And we fully share the views of the Workers' group expressed in this report and again congratulate the Chairman and other members. We urge the adoption of the report.

Mr. KUSUMOTO *(Government adviser, Japan)* – The Government and the people of Japan have consistently maintained that the South African Government's policy of apartheid violates the principles of racial equality and respect for fundamental human rights and freedom and that such a policy therefore should be abolished once and for all.

In this spirit, we have taken very strict measures against South Africa. First of all, Japan is the only country among the industrialised democracies that has no diplomatic relations with South Africa, nor has Japan accorded any recognition to the so-called independent homelands. In an effort to limit contacts between the peoples of the two countries, Japan has imposed restrictions on sports, cultural and educational exchanges, it has suspended the issuance of tourist visas to South African nationals and has urged the Japanese people to refrain voluntarily from visiting South Africa.

Japan refuses to engage in military or nuclear cooperation of any kind with South Africa. In the field of economic and trade relations, Japan has banned all direct investment in South Africa since the end of the 1960s. It has restricted commercial loans and urged all those concerned to co-operate in halting the import of krugerrands and other gold coins.

Its trade restrictions vis-à-vis South Africa also include prohibition on iron and steel imports, on arms exports and on the export of computers to South African institutions that impose apartheid.

It has suspended air links with that country and prohibits its government officials from using international flights of South African Airways. Moreover, recognising the need for concerted action, the Japanese Government has appealed to the Japanese business community to ensure that their commercial activities will not, in any way, undermine or weaken the effectiveness of sanctions or similar punitive measures taken by other countries.

The Japanese business community has heeded this appeal.

On the other hand, we consider it very important to give assistance to the victims of South Africa's policy of apartheid while taking the various restrictive measures which I have just decribed. From this viewpoint, we have been making voluntary contributions to such schemes as the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for southern Africa, the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Trust Fund for Publicity Against Apartheid.

In addition, we provided last year direct assistance f US $400,000 for the benefit of Black people who re victims of apartheid in South Africa. We intend o expand such assistance this year.

It should not be forgotten that southern African ountries are being affected by the situation in South frica and are facing various difficulties. We have a gh regard for the persistent efforts made by south- n African countries to uphold their economic inde- endence from South Africa and promote their own evelopment.

Last year a high-level government mission was nt to Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozam- que to discuss economic co-operation and study eir various needs. We have been acting upon their quest that the mission received and have already tended offers of grant assistance for rehabilitation d development projects in those countries.

We also intend to increase further our economic -operation with them.

Japan attaches great importance to promoting po- cal dialogue with the regional leaders, including e Black leaders of southern Africa. Last year we d the pleasure of welcoming such important visi- s as Doctor Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, d Prime Minister Musokotwane of Zambia. Simi- important dialogues are continuing this year in country with President Chissano of Mozambique d Vice-President Peter Mmusi of Botswana, who is o President of the Council of Ministers of the uthern African Development Co-ordination Con- ence.

We are very much concerned about the continuing rest and disturbances in South Africa and deeply ret the recent decision taken by the South African vernment to extend, once again, the state of ergency. We strongly demand that South Africa oke the state of emergency immediately, lift the sting ban on anti-apartheid organisations and re- se political prisoners, thus permitting the peaceful lement of the South African issue through dia- ue as soon as possible.

We also demand that South Africa take concrete fundamental measures to abolish apartheid and sent to the international community a credible etable for the achievement of that goal.

would like to take this opportunity to touch upon report of the Committee on Apartheid. This year report intends to adopt a proposed Declaration cerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa Namibia which was adopted at the tripartite ference held in Harare from 3 to 6 May 1988. My gation regrets to state that certain articles in the gramme of Action annexed to the proposed Dec- tion, such as I *(a)* and II, prevent us from fully porting the proposed Declaration. In our view, measures fall outside the scope of the mandate e ILO and should be taken up at other appropri- UN forums.

he international community must be relentless in ting suitable political and economic pressure on h Africa until it recognises that apartheid is ly inadmissible and that it must be eradicated. n, for its part, will continue to explore all possi- venues toward this end.

terpretation from Spanish: Mr. HEREDIA PE- *(Government adviser, Cuba)* – Now that we are rating the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Director-General in his Report has provided us with a valuable study of this topic to which this Conference has devoted special attention. Paradoxically, however, at this time of commemoration, this forum has to contend with the hideous violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms which is the crime of apartheid.

Deplorably, once again, we meet to note with sadness and horror that in South Africa and Namibia there is still a social system that enshrines and institutionalises a disgraceful inequality which involves the unleashing of a cruel repression against the immense majority of the population. We are also aware of the present struggle to once again to prevent the lives of valiant fighters from being cut short – I am thinking in this case of the Sharpeville Six.

Today, the Government delegation of Cuba would like to voice once again its most energetic rejection of the regime of apartheid and condemn its policy of violating human rights in southern Africa.

My country also wishes to express once again its support for the independence of Namibia, whose people continue to be denied this legitimate right by the Pretoria regime.

The Cuban Government delegation would also like to state its solidarity with the Front-line States which continue to be the object of countless aggressions, even military aggression, perpetuated by South Africans themselves as well as by their agents. It is known that Pretoria continues to use mercenaries against the legitimate governments of those countries and tries to destabilise them politically, economically and militarily.

Cuba also supports the result of the Tripartite Conference on Action against Apartheid recently held in Harare. It endorses most firmly the work of the Committee on Apartheid including the proposals contained in the Report which is before you, proposals which imply strenghtening the ILO Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa. Along the same lines, the Special Report of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa, which is presented to this Conference, also deserves our appreciation.

As we indicated earlier to the Committee on Apartheid, it is evident that the situation of the Black population, and particularly that of the workers in South Africa, is worsening day by day. There are innumerable examples of this. At the same time, resistance is hardening to the oppression practised by South Africans, against those who suffer from fascist repression, who are murdered, tortured and subjected to other police measures. Despite the repression, however, tens of thousands of men, women and children continue to protest and it has not been possible to stifle the struggle of the African population which, led by SWAPO and ANC, are well on their way to freedom.

On this occasion, Cuba wishes to reiterate its unshakeable solidarity with national liberation movements that are tirelessly struggling against apartheid, and calls upon the international community to condemn aggressions against the Front-line States.

My delegation condemns the military, economic and diplomatic support provided to the racists by their allies. This is the corner-stone of the hateful system of racial segregation which, in South Africa and Namibia, oppresses millions of human beings.

In conclusion, the Government delegation of Cuba wishes once again to reaffirm the principles of resolution 435 of the United Nations Security Council, and voices its support both for the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and for the independence of the valiant people of Namibia.

Mr. FREEMAN *(Government delegate, United States)* – My delegation believes apartheid to be the rootcause of economic misery and political instability in southern Africa.

Helping to dismantle apartheid and assisting those South Africans of all races who are working to create a non-racial democratic society in South Africa constitutes the number one United States foreign policy objective in the African continent, along with ridding the south-western region of Africa of foreign military forces, securing Namibian independence and achieving peace and stability within Angola.

The United States takes a backseat to no nation represented in this hall in pursuing a foreign policy aimed at achieving these objectives.

The United States is also implementing legislation which imposes, we believe, the toughest sanctions against South Africa in the world. Even tougher sanctions are currently under consideration by the United States Congress in reaction to the latest developments in South Africa. These sanctions are intended to send a message to the supporters of the status quo in South Africa that, failing to demonstrate sustained progress in dismantling apartheid and in establishing a fully participatory democratic system for the benefit of all, it is they and not us who are cutting themselves off from the civilised world.

However, the United States cannot concur in a call by this body for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, the severance of all diplomatic relations and other similar measures contained in the proposed Declaration and the annexed Programme of Action. Such provisions run counter to United States policy to impinge on the national sovereignty of other countries and exceed the mandate of the ILO.

Some of the operative paragraphs of the draft document are within the mandate of the ILO and we can endorse them. Others we can concur with in principle, but must object because they exceed the ILO's mandate, and still others, such as those I have just mentioned, we oppose both on policy grounds and because they fall outside the legitimate purview of this Organisation.

Sending a message to the South African Government is one thing, but we seriously doubt that apartheid can be defeated by isolating South Africa from the outside world or by heaping more economic hardship on all of southern Africa.

Apartheid, in our political judgement, will be defeated only when its victims gain the economic and concomitant political power to liberate themselves. What few positive changes that have occurred in South Africa in recent years, such as the abolition of the pass laws and job reservation, have come about largely when Blacks have gained enough economic power to make such discriminatory laws unenforceable.

This is what we find so promising about the emergence of the Black trade union movement inside South Africa. More Black power means more power to break down the structure of apartheid. Indiscriminate sanctions mean less Black economic power.

Accordingly, the emphasis in the United States anti-apartheid policy will continue to be on positive measures designed to advance Black economic empowerment, to strengthen apartheid's victims to wage a legal and moral struggle for their solution and to encourage and facilitate dialogue among South Africans of all races who are courageous enough to work together to throw off the shackles of fear and mistrust that are the chief underpinnings of apartheid.

Our position is spelled out in greater detail in the report of the Committee where we made very clear our non-concurrence with some of the key provisions of the Declaration and Programme of Action. But we think it would be a mistake in this plenary to overemphasise the points that divide us. While there may be differences reflected here over tactics, the message that should emanate from this hall today is that the civilised world is united in its determination to see an end to the system of apartheid. In that interest, I will let pass without comment some unfounded and distorted statements that were heard earlier from this tribune during the course of its discussion. However, let me just say that in addition to being extraneous to the topic of this sitting, we find offensive the effort of some delegates to turn the word "racism" on its head and to nullify its meaning by applying it to a political conflict at an other part of the world between two peoples of the same race. And to answer on a positive note, regarding concrete positive measures which the ILO could take that are within its mandate, we have been pleased to learn that the Black trade union movement inside South Africa has recently forwarded a complaint to the ILO which presents this Organisation with a unique opportunity to bring its supervisory machinery into play in the South African case. This potentially is an extremely promising development which would have the full support of the United States.

(Mr. Beyreuther takes the Chair.)

Mr. TEFERI *(Workers' adviser, Ethiopia)* – May I congratulate the President on his election to the presidency of this 75th Session of the International Labour Conference. I am fully confident that his experience and competence will bring this session to a successful conclusion.

May I also congratulate the Director-General of the ILO for his well-assessed and detailed Special Report on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa presented to this session. The Report has fully enabled us to update our knowledge of the situation in South Africa and the atrocities of the intransigent Pretoria regime against the Black population of South Africa and Namibia, as well as the neighbouring countries, have been increasingly worsening. The South African racist regime, defiant of international pressure and world public opinion, has completely refused to bring about any fundamental political change in its racist policy. It continues to strengthen its repressive measures against the people and to threaten the stability of neighbouring countries.

As clearly indicated in the Special Report of the Director-General, the continuing state of emergency sanctioned by the harsh security laws and the resulting wave of brutal military and police repression, as well as the hunting surveillance exercised by the

national security, have further exacerbated the political and economic crisis of South Africa.

The massive detentions without charge or trial, tortures and brutal killings inflicted upon the Black population, have aggravated the situation.

In the ever-worsening tragic situation in southern Africa, trade unions and workers' organisations have stood at the forefront of the struggle for freedom. They have also become the primary targets of the outrageous acts of the racist Pretoria regime. The right of association and collective bargaining have been drastically curtailed; child labour, low wages and job insecurities are normal phenomena. Migrant workers also suffer from severe exploitation and harassments.

In the circumstances of the increasingly widening popular unrest and courageous struggle of the Black population of South Africa and Namibia, the past year has been marked with the consolidation and growth of the trade union movements. They have become strong forces challenging the racist Government on issues of vital importance to workers and the Black population. They have been strongly pressing the regime to give immediate solutions to the deteriorating living conditions of the Black population, growing unemployment and increasing trade union repression.

The past year is also marked by increased violence by the Government against workers and their organisations. The various restrictions imposed on the activities of trade unions, police harassments of strikers, massive detentions of trade union officials and their members, as well as bombing of trade union offices, has further impeded trade union activities and has aggravated gravely and reprehended the working and living conditions of Black workers. Hence, this is the crucial moment when they need our unreserved support and assistance.

We, the workers of Ethiopia, hail the courageous struggle of the workers and people of South Africa and Namibia to attain complete independence and freedom.

As we have repeatedly expressed and demonstrated by action on various occasions, the Ethiopian workers strongly support the just and courageous struggle of South African and Namibian people. The Ethiopian trade union has taken positive steps in this direction, as is indicated in our report to the Director-General of the ILO.

The Ethiopian trade union is not only sensitising public opinion and its members against apartheid but the members have pledged to give financial support to the liberation movements.

Allow me to commend the International Labour Organisation for the effective action taken against apartheid in the past year. The decision made to include an agenda item on the 75th Session of the International Labour Conference to update the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa and the convening of a Tripartite Conference on Action against Apartheid in Harare last May is highly appreciated and is a significant contribution of the ILO an its constituent Members to encourage the patriotic struggle of the people of South Africa and Namibia.

We urge the International Labour Organisation further to enhance its efforts to promote the united action of member States and to strengthen its activities of technical co-operation to assist the national and trade union movements. The continuing efforts of the ILO to help abolish this blot against humanity must be applauded and more rigorous efforts must be made towards this direction.

The South African regime would have been more easily eliminated had the international community firmly decided to fight it and had some governments ceased to provide it with military, economic and political support.

We therefore call upon those governments which have direct or indirect economic relations with South Africa to take effective measures towards comprehensive mandatory sanctions, and strongly demand the racist Pretoria regime to end its barbaric atrocities against the indigenous population of South Africa and Namibia, to lift the repressive state of emergency and release political prisoners.

Allow me finally to commend the report of the Committee on Apartheid and request its unanimous adoption by the Conference.

Mr. TSAGAAN *(Workers' delegate, Mongolia)* – My delegation fully shares the concern of the majority of the participants at this Session about the situation prevailing in South Africa today, where the racist regime continues to ignore international public opinion and the relevant decisions of the United Nations and other international organisations, including the International Labour Organisation.

The racial discrimination against the majority of the population, restrictions and attacks on trade union movements, the illegal occupation of Namibia and acts of aggression against the neighbouring countries are flagrant violations of common recognised rules of international law and an open challenge to the international community.

Mongolian workers in trade unions support all the efforts of the international community to reinforce the action against apartheid. In this connection, we attach significant importance to the proposed Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia, as well as the Programme of Action against Apartheid, approved by the Tripartite Conference in Harare last May.

The elimination of apartheid is essential for the maintenance of lasting peace based on social justice in South Africa.

Mongolian trade unions and workers strongly condemn the economic and military assistance provided to the racist regime by certain western countries and by the transnational corporations.

Trade unions and other public organisations of my country are taking various measures to express solidarity and support the just struggle of the trade unions and peoples of South Africa.

Every year, meetings, public gatherings and exhibitions are held throughout the country to commemorate international days, such as the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa, Human Rights Day, and the International Day of Trade Union Action for Peace. The mass media in our country give wide publicity or arrange special programmes devoted to unmasking the criminal policy of apartheid and shedding light on the international community's efforts to eradicate apartheid.

I would like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the working people in the trade unions of the Mongolian People's Republic, to express once again our

full solidarity with the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa and Front-line States against the aggression of the Pretoria regime.

We hope that the International Labour Organisation will make its contribution to the efforts of the international community to isolate the racist regime of South Africa.

We are in favour of the immediate imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

Interpretation from French: Mr. HUG *(Government delegate, Switzerland)* – The delegation of Switzerland does not wish to oppose, should this procedure be followed, an adoption without vote of the Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia. Nevertheless, I would like to state that the Declaration and the Programme of Action contains certain recommendations to which it is impossible for us to subscribe, which, moreover, are not within the field of competence of the ILO.

The text calls for very clear reservations on our part and if there were to be a vote we would have to oppose.

Having said this, I would like to recall and firmly to underline the fact that Switzerland has, for a long time now, condemned the policy of apartheid. Recent developments have only reawakened our concern and once again show us, if it is still necessary, that this policy can only prolong and aggravate the crisis in South Africa. It is not therefore tolerable. That is why I would like to state here that if we disagree as regards the means to be used, we nevertheless share the objective contained in the Declaration which is to bring an end to the regime of apartheid. Our policy wishes to be a policy which favours an approach stressing positive actions in favour of the disadvantaged classes of the South African population, and aid to the States of the region within the framework of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. We would also like this policy to be one which encourages dialogue between the parties concerned – a dialogue whose urgency cannot be concealed. We therefore ask the Government of South Africa to give us, through the decisions it takes and by practical measures, reason to believe that our policy still has its *raison d'être*.

Mr. HEWITT *(Government adviser, United Kingdom)* – Many delegates here today are aware of the position my Government took last year on the report and resolution of the Conference's Committee on Apartheid. Our position has not changed. We reject many aspects, both of the Committee on Apartheid's report and the Declaration and Programme of Action against Apartheid attached to the Declaration. Many elements of the Committee's report and the attached documents exceed the mandate of the International Labour Organisation. Many of the measures recommended in the report would only serve to make the situation in South Africa worse and would do nothing to hasten the end of apartheid by peaceful means. Practical measures, not empty gestures, are needed.

We share the view of the international community that the system of apartheid that prevails in South Africa is totally abhorrent. We endorse fully the views expressed by the European Community as set out in the statement made on behalf of the European Community earlier this afternoon.

Apartheid is a repulsive and detestable system and it must go. There has to be a fundamental change in South Africa, but it must come about through positive measures to improve the social and economic conditions for the Black workers in that country.

In this respect, the European Community's Code of Conduct to which the Twelve referred in their statement is an important instrument aimed at the abolition of discriminatory practices and of the apartheid system as a whole.

We reject the Committee's decision to include Namibia within the terms of the Declaration and the Programme of Action. The issue of independence for Namibia is a separate issue and requires a different response. Security Council resolution 435 is a cornerstone of the United Kingdom Government's policy on that question.

Given the lengthy debate which has already taken place both in the Committee on Apartheid and in this plenary session, we have no wish to delay matters further by calling for a vote today. I should like to emphasise, however, that our decision not to call for a vote should not and cannot be interpreted as a change of British policy on this critical issue.

Finally, in view of what I am saying, I would ask that this statement be recorded in full in the record of this meeting.

Interpretation from German: The PRESIDENT – I have no further speakers. The conference has had a thorough discussion of the report of the Committee on Apartheid. Can I assume therefore that the Conference adopts this report and the conclusions therein, the Declaration concerning Action against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia and the Programme of Action against Apartheid by consensus, with the reservations expressed by certain delegates.

(The report is adopted.)

Interpretation from German: The PRESIDENT – I have a request for the floor from Mr. Yankey, Workers' delegate, Ghana, to make a statement on behalf of the Workers' group.

Mr. YANKEY *(Workers' delegate, Ghana)* – On behalf of the Workers' group, I would like to propose that the Conference send the following message to President Botha of South Africa:

The Conference of the ILO, at its 75th Session, sends this urgent appeal to you concerning the Sharpeville Six. On behalf of the governments, employers and workers of the world, we call for clemency to spare these six young lives. Such a measure could be a spark of hope at a time when hope is desperately needed. It cannot be in any one's interest to add to the tragedy and suffering of mankind by these executions, nor is there any possibility that clemency could be misinterpreted. We make this urgent appeal to you in the name of mankind.

This is a proposal from the Workers' group and is a message that we wish the Conference to adopt and deliver to President Botha of South Africa.

Interpretation from German: The PRESIDENT – Thank you, Mr. Yankey, for having presented this text to us on behalf of the Workers' group. May I take it that the Conference agrees with the text of the

telegram which has been read out to you? If there are no objections, therefore, the 75th Session of the International Labour Conference will send this message, signed by the Director-General, to President Botha.

(It is so decided).

Interpretation from German: The PRESIDENT – Before adjourning the Conference, I would like to thank Mr. Nkomo, Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Hernandez, Employers' Vice-Chairman, Mr. Mercier, Workers' Vice-Chairman, Mr. Vollebaek, Reporter, and all the members of the Committee for the very intensive work which they have done in preparing the report for today's sittings.

(The Conference adjourned at 7.30 p.m.)

Credentials

Third report of the Credentials Committee

Objections concerning the nomination of the Workers' delegation of Chile

1. The Committee had before it objections to the nomination of the Workers' delegation of Chile submitted by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) as well as by a group of organisations affiliated to the "Comando Nacional de los Trabajadores" (CNT) and by the President of the "Confederación Marítima de Chile" (COMACH).

2. The objecting organisations maintained that the Workers' delegation of Chile had not been nominated in conformity with the provisions of the ILO's Constitution. These arguments related, essentially, to the persistent absence of freedom of association in Chile and to the fact that the most representative workers' organisations in the country, which were the Comando Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT) and the Confederación Democrática de Trabajadores (CDT), had not been consulted. The organisations affiliated to the CNT stated that they had unanimously decided to reject the official delegation and the President of COMACH indicated that Mr. E. Madariaga, appointed as Workers' adviser of Chile, did not represent that organisation.

3. In a written communication to the Committee, Mr. Arthur Errázuriz, Under-Secretary of Labour and Government delegate of Chile to the Conference, reiterated the position taken by the Government in 1986, namely, that the objections should be declared irreceivable since the Conference had pronounced itself in 1985 on a similar proposal for invalidation, that the Committee had no competence in questions of freedom of association and that the nomination of the Workers' delegation had been made in strict conformity with the constitutional provisions of the ILO, since consultations were held with the 31 most representative workers' organisations of the country including the "Confederación de Trabajadores de Cobre" (CTC) and the "Confederación de Empleados Particulares de Chile" (CEPCH) as well as Mr. E. Ríos Arias, President of the CDT. The communication added that the CTC, the CEPCH and Mr. Ríos Arias had rejected the Government's invitation to propose candidates to represent the workers of Chile and that it should have been absurd in these circumstances to demand that Chile include in the delegation workers who had rejected the possibility of participating in it. In this regard, the communication referred to the statement in a press report of the Secretary-General of the CNT to the effect that if an opposition figure was present at the Conference as a member of the Workers' delegation, it would amount to support of the Government and indicated that Mr. Elías Madariaga had been expelled from the CDT despite his opposition to the Government, for having accepted to be included in the Workers' delegation. Attached to the communication was a notarised certificate which set out the consultations which had taken place with the trade union organisations as well as copies of correspondence and press articles to which the Government communication referred.

4. The Committee also received a communication signed by the Workers' delegate of Chile and six of his advisers stating that while it was legitimate for any organisation to exercise its constitutional right to object to the credentials of an accredited delegation to the ILO Conference, it did not consider it acceptable for an objecting organisation, the WFTU, to employ offensive language with reference to the Workers' delegation of Chile. It added that the entities referred to by the WFTU as the most representative were de facto organisations which did not take advantage of the possibilities of association granted to them under national legislation because they did not want to reveal their limited representative character. On the contrary, the entire Workers' delegation of Chile were all highly representative leaders and enjoyed the majority support of their respective trade unions.

5. The Committee recalled that in 1986 it had considered that the objections contained new facts and allegations relating essentially to the manner in which the consultations had been held and had thus declared the objections receivable even though a proposal for invalidation had been rejected by the Conference in 1985 for lack of quorum. It pointed out that in 1986 and 1987, the reports of the Committee having been unanimous, the decisions contained therein were final and did not give rise to any decisions of the Conference which would make the objection irreceivable for subsequent years.

6. The Committee noted, as it did last year, that although consultations were directed at a series of organisations which, according to the Govenment, jointly were largely representative, the nomination of the persons included in the delegation had not been made with the agreement of the most representative organisations. The documentation supplied both by the objecting organisations and by the Government

indicated that the executive organs of the CNT and the CDT had ordered the leaders of their affiliated organisations not to take part in the Workers' delegation to the Conference. Such boycott by persons who were leaders both of legally constituted organisations such as the CTC and the CEPCH and of de facto organisations like the CNT and the CDT had already taken place in 1987. On that occasion, the Committee had reiterated the position it had taken in previous years that, given the unsatisfactory trade union situation in Chile, it was difficult for consultations to be held in an atmosphere of freedom which should ensure that the Constitution was respected in both letter and spirit.

7. The Committee considered the position adopted by the leaders of the CNT and the CDT understandable since these organisations were not recognised and consulted as such by the Government. In this connection, it recalled the constitutional obligation of the Government to respect the tripartite structure of the International Labour Conference and the constitutional provision requiring that the Workers' delegation be nominated in agreement with the most representative organisations. This constitutional provision was intended to allow these organisations to manifest themselves in the Conference with a voice, independent and separate from the Government and was particularly relevant in those cases in which the organisations maintained positions contrary to that of the Government in matters dealt with by the ILO, including freedom of association. In this respect, the Committee pointed out that to propose candidates as delegates of advisers to a delegation should not be considered as an act of adhesion to a Government but instead could allow the leaders of these organisations to be heard at the Conference.

8. Given the decision of the Conference in 1985 not to invalidate the credentials of the Workers' delegation of Chile, none of the members of the Committee suggested that invalidation should be proposed. However, the Committee expressed its concern at the gravity of the trade union situation in Chile as reflected in the 254th and 256th report of the Committee on Freedom of Association (Case No. 1309) and urged that the Government re-examine its consultation procedures with a view to ensuring that the nominations were made in agreement with the most representative workers' organisations.

Objection concerning the nomination of the Workers' delegation of Greece

9. The Committee had before it an objection to the nomination of the Workers' delegation of Greece contained in two telegrams dated 25 May and 10 June 1988 respectively, sent on behalf of 47 federations and trade union centres claiming to belong to the General Confederation of Labour (GSEE).

10. The objecting organisations stated that since 1985, when the Government had dissolved the GSEE executive and replaced it by an executive favourable to it, the representation of the Greek workers to the Conference by such executive was unacceptable. Through acts of interference in 1986 and 1987, the Government had frustrated all attempts to put an end to the existing irregular situation.

11. The Committee pointed out that in 1987 in examining a similar objection, it had noted that the objecting organisations had not included any data permitting the Committee to determine the representative character of the objecting organisations or to support their contention that the appointed Workers' delegation was not representative. The present communication, apart from certain allegations relating to freedom of association which fell within the competence of other ILO organs, contained no data either which would allow an assessment of the representative character of the objecting organisations.

12. In these circumstances, the Committee decided, as it did last year, not to accept the objection and again reminded Governments of the need to seek to consult all representative workers' organisations with a view to securing the widest possible agreement on the composition of the Workers' delegation to the Conference.

Objection concerning the nomination of the Workers' delegation of Nicaragua

13. The Committee had before it an objection to the Workers' delegation of Nicaragua from the "Confederación de Unificación Sindical" (CUS), the "Central de Acción y Unidad Sindical" (CAUS), the "Confederación General del Trabajo" (CGT independiente), the "Central de Trabajadores de Nicaragua" (CTN autónoma), organisations affiliated to the "Congreso Permanente de los Trabajadores" (CPT), supported by the World Confederation of Labour (WCL).

14. The objecting organisations maintained that the Government unilaterally appointed a workers' representative without consulting the CPT as required under article 3, paragraph 5, of the ILO's Constitution and that the official trade unions in Nicaragua did not defend or represent the workers but rather took part in repressive actions against the independent trade union movements. In a telegram subsequently received, the Secretaries-General of the "CGT independiente" and the CAUS stated that they were prevented from attending the Conference due to the unnecessary delays in the obtention of a passport.

15. The Committee noted that the objection of the CPT did not contain any data on the representative character of the four organisations comprising it in support of its statement that it should have been consulted with respect to the nomination of the workers' delegation of Nicaragua. On the other hand, and without examining other questions which fell within the competence of other ILO organs, the Committee had no information tending to prove that the organisations to which the Workers' delegate and the advisers belonged had lost the representative character which they had in the past years. The Committee decided therefore not to accept the objection but expressed the hope that the nomination of the Workers' delegation would be made with agreement of all the most representative organisations of Nicaragua.

Objection concerning the nomination of the Workers' delegate of the Philippines

16. The Committee had before it an objection from the Labor Advisory Consultative Council

(LACC) to the nomination of Mr. Ernesto F. Herrera as titular Workers' delegate of the Philippines. The objection was signed by Mr. Gregorio del Prado, as Chairman of the LACC for the month of May, 1988 and by Mr. Roberto T. Ortaliz, Council Member of the LACC.

17. The authors of the objection stated that the LACC was composed of four major labour centres, the Kilusang Mayo Uno Labor Center (KMU), the Federation of Free Workers (FFW-WCL), the Philippines Affiliates of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and the Lakas Manggagawa Labor Center (LMLC), and was the most representative workers' organisation of the Philippines at the 73rd and 74th (Maritime) Sessions of the Conference. For the present session of the Conference, the LACC has proposed Mr. Crispin Beltran, President of the KMU, as the Workers' delegate of the Philippines. That proposal had not been accepted by the Government which nominated as Workers' delegate, Senator F. Herrera, Secretary-General of the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP). Mr. Herrera was a member of the Senate of the Philippines, his work was mainly in the legislative branch and he did not represent the workers. This nomination having been made without consulting and without the agreement of the LACC, was not in compliance with article 3, paragraph 5, of the ILO Constitution.

18. In a written communication to the Committee, Mr. Franklin M. Drilon, Secretary of Labor and Employment of the Philippines, described the consultation process which had been carried out prior to the nomination of Mr. Herrera as Workers' delegate. In particular, Mr. Drilon had himself met with the leaders of the LACC on 17 May to discuss their recommendations. The claim by LACC to be the most representative workers' organisation was not supported by any verifiable records held by the Government. Moreover, the LACC was not a duly registered labour centre. While the Government has attempted in 1987 to update union membership figures, it had not been able to complete the exercise due to the failure of the labour federations to provide sufficient data.

19. The communication also indicated that Mr. Herrera, Secretary-General of the TUCP, was a true representative of the Philippine workers, notwithstanding his membership of the Senate; Senator Herrera was an elected parliamentarian and not a representative of the administration. The communication concluded by stating that four representatives of the objecting organisation were advisers to the Workers' delegation of the Philippines. One of them, Mr. del Prado, on the same day that he signed the objection as Chairman of the LACC for May, wrote separately as Chairman of the LMLC to Mr. Herrera accepting with deepest gratitude to be an adviser in the delegation headed by him.

20. In an oral statement before the Committee, Mrs. M. N. Confesor and Mrs. V. S. Bataclan, Government advisers to the Philippines delegation, reitered that the consultation process with the LACC and the TUCP had taken place in the normal way. The Government had nominated four persons from each of the two organisations, with Mr. Herrera as delegate. There was no way of verifying which of the two organisations was more representative since the Government's attempts in 1987 to carry out a membership audit had failed through lack of returns from the unions. While the TUCP was a registered workers' organisation, made up of various federations, the LACC, which was more of a consultative body of federations and independent unions, was unregistered. Moreover, the dynamics of workers' organisations in the Philippines were such that in 1987 and 1988 developments and changes were taking place very quickly and it was not always easy to keep abreast of them. The KMU, the section of LACC from whom the objection came, was consulted as one of the constituents of LACC about the composition of the Philippine Workers' delegation and in fact one of its members, Mr. Malonzo, was included in the delegation. It was true, however, that the leading candidate of LACC, also a member of KMU, Mr. Beltran, had not been offerred a place in the Workers' delegation.

21. In oral statements before the Committee, three representatives of the objecting organisation, Mr. Beltran, Mr. Arellano and Mr. de la Cruz, claimed the LACC was indeed the most representative workers' organisation in the Philippines, covering some 75-80‰ of organised labour. Mr. Beltran, proposed as Workers' delegate by the LACC, had not even been appointed as an adviser. Moreover, the fact that the Workers' delegate was a Senator effectively made the Philippines delegation a bipartite rather than a tripartite one.

22. In reply to questions from the Committee, the representatives of the objecting organisation indicated that the letter of 27 May from Mr. del Prado, one of the signatories of the objection, expressing pleasure at being appointed an adviser to Mr. Herrera, had to be seen simply as a personal letter written in his capacity as head of the LMLC. The fact that LACC was not a registered organisation was not important since the obligation to register applied only to individual unions and federations. In fact, TUCP's registration was not a formal registration in this sense but rather a notice of its existence. Moreover, some years ago TUCP had been a part of LACC but that neither the LACC nor the TUCP had the right to engage in collective bargaining. In their opinion no real consultations had taken place and the nomination had ignored the terms of a "gentlemen's agreement" between the various parties which had been in existence for the last two years.

23. The Committee noted that the absence of membership data did not permit it to take a position on which organisation was the most representative and that this absence was partly due to the fact that these organisations did not co-operate sufficiently with the labour administration on the matter. In 1986, in the absence of such data, the Committee had not been able to conclude that the objecting organisation (TUCP) which had nominated the titular delegate in the previous years had lost its representative character. This year, for the same reasons, the Committee was not able to conclude either that the LACC had lost the representative character it had in 1986 and 1987. The Committee noted, however, that the Government had conducted consultations and had nominated four persons from the LACC as advisers although, surprisingly, it had not included in

the delegation Mr. Beltran who had been the leading candidate of the LACC.

24. In these circumstances, the Committee decided not to uphold the objection. At the same time, it expressed the hope that, in the future, the Government would provide data which would permit it to assess the representative character of the workers' organisations.

Late objection

25. The Committee received on 10 June 1988 a telegram from Mr. Orangzaib Durrani, President of an organisation whose name was illegible, objecting to the credentials of Mr. Rehmatullah Chaudhry, Workers' adviser of Pakistan.

26. As the name of the Workers' adviser appeared in the list of delegations published on 1 June 1988, this objection was lodged after the expiry of the time limit of 72 hours prescribed in article 26, paragraph 4*(a)*, of the Standing Orders of the Conference and, as such, was not receivable.

27. The Credentials Committee submits the present report to the Conference in order that the Conference may take note of it.

Geneva, 16 June 1988

(Signed) T. NAKAMURA,
Chairman

E. HOFF

J. SVENNINGSEN

CORRIGENDUM

Provisional Record No. 24

Page 24/8, second column, fourth line: for "may be needed" read "may not be needed".

Page 24/15, first column: the first sentence should read "We should like to point out that the contributions paid also comprise funds for financing the ILO's activities in favour of enterprises."

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