



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 10th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. BITTER (Panama)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 87: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE SECOND DECADE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/42/3, A/42/492, A/42/493)

AGENDA ITEM 91: IMPORTANCE OF THE UNIVERSAL REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND OF THE SPEEDY GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES FOR THE EFFECTIVE GUARANTEE AND OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS: REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/42/448 and Add.1)

AGENDA ITEM 92: ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued) (A/42/418, A/42/449, A/42/468 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

- (a) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
- (b) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF APARTHEID: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
- (c) QUESTION OF FINANCING THE EXPENSES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

1. Mrs. KHAMA (Botswana) said that the debate on racism and racial discrimination was as old as the United Nations itself. She herself came from a region where racial discrimination had been institutionalized and racial identity was the most important factor about a person: it determined a person's destiny and meant that children died not only from hunger amid plenty, but from the abominable crimes perpetrated against them. Apartheid was a system that compelled black people to leave their familiar surroundings and live in bantustans, turning them into aliens in their own land, destroying families and depriving children of a childhood and of a father's influence, for black men had to spend their entire working lives in "bachelor" barracks.

2. It was apartheid that had decreed that black people must have an inferior education. Apartheid had turned black children into adults overnight. It bred a culture of violence. There was the case, for instance, of a boy of 14 who was leading a 1,500-strong army of his compatriots to protect the elderly against police brutality in the black resettlement of the Orange Free State. Other black children who could not face the violence in the townships found refuge in the affluent white suburbs, where they were used to satisfy the depraved sexual needs of decadent members of the white community. Those were not isolated incidents, but an all-too-present reality that affected and moulded the lives of thousands of people in South Africa, particularly children. She appealed to the international community to end the suffering of those children.

3. Botswana believed adamantly that the only effective way to put an end to apartheid was peaceful negotiation. It would like to see in South Africa the immediate release of arrested and detained children; the immediate and

(Mrs. Khama, Botswana)

unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees; the lifting of the state of emergency; the removal of troops from black townships and the lifting of the ban on all political organizations.

4. Turning to the question of Namibia, Botswana reaffirmed its call that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) be implemented with the same determination as Security Council resolution 598 (1987) on the Iran-Iraq conflict. South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilization in the region had cost its neighbours billions of dollars in increased military spending and infrastructure repairs - more than they had received in foreign aid - thereby retarding economic growth. The human cost to those countries had been the greatest, however, for people were irreplaceable. She appealed to the international community to continue to provide the greatest possible assistance to countries and peoples affected by the evils of apartheid.

5. Mr. TOBAR ZALDUMBIDE (Ecuador) expressed his Government's concern at the steady worsening of the situation in southern Africa as a result of the persistence of the abhorrent apartheid régime. The renewed violence and bloodshed of the past year showed that time was running out for the already limited possibility of a peaceful solution.

6. Ecuador shared the majority view that the adoption of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against Pretoria was the most effective means of eradicating apartheid. A speedy solution would help restore peace in southern Africa, where the courageous front-line States were again being subjected to aggression and destabilization by the South African authorities. All States must join in constructive action to secure the dismantling of the apartheid system, particularly those which had a legal and moral obligation to do so under the Charter.

7. The persistence of racial segregation in various parts of the world had led the United Nations to give priority to stepping up the fight against apartheid and other forms of racial discrimination, for instance, discrimination against migrant workers and national minorities, under the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. In that connection, he was pleased to note from paragraph 10 of the report in document A/42/493 that, on the basis of a recommendation made by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and approved by the Commission on Human Rights, the Economic and Social Council had authorized the Sub-Commission to entrust Mr. Asbjorn Eide with carrying out a study on the achievements made and obstacles encountered during the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. He was also pleased to note that in 1988 the Secretary-General would be organizing a global consultation on racial discrimination to improve the co-ordination of international activities.

8. Attention had rightly been drawn to the vital role of education in eliminating racial discrimination and its importance in the second half of the Second Decade. In that connection, he reiterated his delegation's suggestion that a world campaign

(Mr. Tobar Zaldumbide, Ecuador)

of education, and information be launched to combat the intolerance that was at the root of all forms of discrimination.

9. It was important that all States become parties to the various international instruments on racism, in particular the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. His delegation was concerned at the difficulties facing the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and trusted that States parties whose contributions were outstanding would pay them as soon as possible so that CERD could meet regularly and carry out its valuable work. Ecuador would shortly be paying the small amount it owed. He also appealed to States parties to consider making the declaration under article 14 of the Convention.

10. Ecuador supported fully the universal right to self-determination of all peoples, including those under colonial and foreign domination, as an essential pre-condition for effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Despite innumerable United Nations resolutions, that right was being systematically denied to the peoples of Palestine, Namibia, Afghanistan and Kampuchea, to whom he reaffirmed his country's solidarity and support. Independent peoples could also be deprived of their right of self-determination by their own Governments. That inalienable right belonged only to people and its exercise entailed periodic, free elections in which all political forces were able to participate.

11. Mr. D'ALMEIDA (Togo) said that the protection of human rights helped preserve peace, for threats to human life and dignity also threatened international peace and security.

12. His delegation supported the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and welcomed the emphasis placed on education, teaching and training in document A/42/493 on the Programme of Action for the Second Decade and the plan of activities for the second half of the Decade. Education was an effective weapon against racism and racial prejudice and could promote tolerance, equality and understanding between different races and cultures.

13. Action to promote human rights was an obligation for all Member States. Togo had always supported United Nations human rights activities, particularly the drafting of international norms and the establishment of mechanisms for combating racism and racial discrimination. It was a party to all the international instruments against racism and had recently become a party to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment and Punishment.

14. His country was deeply concerned at the massive human rights violations and institutionalized racism in South Africa and Namibia. In Namibia, such practices were preventing the Namibian people from exercising their right of self-determination. The international community must take action to ensure that the Namibian people exercised that right, which was not only inalienable but also fundamental to peace and security in the region. His delegation reaffirmed its

(Mr. D'Almeida, Togo)

support for the plan for Namibian independence set forth in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It rejected attempts to link Namibian independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and urged support for the front-line States victims of repeated terrorist aggression by the Pretoria régime. It condemned interference in the internal affairs of States and assistance to mercenaries who obstructed the legitimate aspirations of peoples by terrorism and violence.

15. Years after the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, millions of men, women and children were still being subjected to inhuman and degrading treatment and racial repression in South Africa, where apartheid, the most abject form of racism and racial discrimination, was still official policy. The institutionalization of apartheid and the South African Government's determination to obstruct Namibia's independence by all possible means made the fight against apartheid an overwhelming priority. The imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions provided the best peaceful means of combating apartheid, which had been rightly described as a crime against humanity. In that connection, he drew attention to the conclusions of the report of the Group of Eminent Persons who had visited South Africa in 1986, to the effect that the South African Government had nothing to fear from economic sanctions because such sanctions did not as yet exist. Concerted effective action might offer a last chance of preventing what could well be the worst bloodbath since the Second World War.

16. Mrs. OTUNBAEVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that, under socialism, self-determination was guaranteed to all peoples of the Soviet Union and that the Soviet State supported the extension of that right to all other peoples. That meant putting an end to all forms of colonialism, particularly the policy of apartheid. The assistance given by certain Powers to the régime that practised that policy and violated the sovereignty and independence of neighbouring African States must be ended and comprehensive sanctions adopted against the racist régime.

17. In the Middle East, Israel's expansionist policy aimed at perpetuating its illegal occupation of Arab territories and its efforts to solve the Palestinian problem by violence infringed the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and created an explosive situation that could be defused only by the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied territories, the granting of the right of the Palestinian Arabs to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent State, and the safeguarding of the right of all States in the area to a secure and independent existence. Such goals could be achieved through the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

18. Under various pretexts, colonialism was being perpetuated in many parts of the world, for instance Micronesia, often through such practices as the use of mercenaries and covert operations against States in violation of the right to self-determination and under the subterfuge of protecting so-called "vital interests".

(Mrs. Otunbaeva, USSR)

19. The situations in Afghanistan and Kampuchea however, were quite another matter. Despite outside provocation and interference, patriotic forces inside Afghanistan were engaged in a national reconciliation effort and the establishment of a truly independent country. The Soviet Union wanted to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan as soon as possible, but there must be an end to armed intervention in that country's internal affairs. In Kampuchea too, a policy of national reconciliation was under way, with Soviet support, and conditions for a political settlement were being created.

20. The principle of self-determination was enshrined in a number of international instruments which reflected its importance for the protection of human rights and the development of international co-operation in the humanitarian sphere. The right of self-determination meant not only political, but also economic, social and cultural self-determination and the right to full sovereignty over natural wealth and resources. There was no need for new definitions of that right, but there was a need for constructive measures to implement it. One step in that direction would be implementation of the proposal by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries that a comprehensive system of international security be created that would protect the right of peoples to choose their own form of development without outside interference or attempts to destabilize them.

21. Mrs. COLL (Ireland) said that the Committee must consider the relationship between the exercise of the right of self-determination and the observance of other human rights. According to the International Covenants on human rights, the right to self-determination was both permanent and universal, and accession to independence was a decisive expression of it. It was a right of all peoples, not just colonial ones, and its attainment was a matter of legitimate concern to the international community. Its exercise could only flourish if individual human rights were also assured. In southern Africa, for instance, the refusal to grant independence to Namibia was the root cause of specific human rights violations by a régime that was perpetuating its illegal occupation of the Territory by force and disregarding the basic needs of the Namibian people. That people would enjoy human rights only when it exercised self-determination in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

22. The aim of the apartheid system was to keep power in the hands of the white majority by depriving the black majority of all its political, economic, social and cultural rights. That system destroyed human rights and fundamental freedoms through a system of pervasive repressive measures designed to preserve it. The South African Government was still not ready for reform and political dialogue with the authentic leaders of the black community, and only collective action by the international community could make South Africa abandon apartheid. Her country therefore favoured effective mandatory sanctions against South Africa to help end that loathsome aberration.

23. Her delegation believed that every new and existing Israeli settlement in the occupied Arab territories was in violation of international law. Attempts to alter the status of the occupied territories and to absorb the West Bank and Gaza Strip

(Mrs. Coll, Ireland)

into Israel erected further obstacles to the search for a just solution which would permit the Palestinian people to exercise its right of self-determination. The human rights of the Palestinian people could not be effectively guaranteed under current arrangements. Ireland's position on the wider Arab-Israeli conflict was based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and on the Venice Declaration of June 1980. While the opposing rights of the Palestinian people and Israel could not be fully accommodated simultaneously, an equitable, practical balance must be struck which acknowledged that all States of the region, including Israel, had the right to exist in peace and security and that provision must be made for the exercise by the Palestinian people of its right of self-determination. The opportunity offered by growing support for the convening of an international conference under United Nations auspices must be seized by all parties in a position to make a contribution to that goal. Together with its partners in the EEC, Ireland was ready to play its part.

24. Seven years after the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, over 110,000 Soviet troops remained in that country against the wishes of the Afghan people, thereby depriving them of their inalienable right to self-determination, free from outside intervention. The rules of international humanitarian law applicable in armed conflicts were being wantonly disregarded. Violations of the fundamental right to life, liberty and security of person, including severe repression of political opponents, illegal detention and denial of religious freedom, were widespread. That situation had created the world's biggest refugee problem and imposed considerable burdens on neighbouring countries, particularly Pakistan. The speedy, unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet troops, according to a strict timetable, and respect for the legitimate right of the Afghan people to decide their own future and system of government were key elements for a lasting peaceful solution.

25. In Kampuchea, the presence of Vietnamese troops violated the Kampuchean people's right of self-determination; any resumption of the appalling activities of the Khmer Rouge must also be prevented. Viet Nam's continuing illegal occupation brought other human rights violations in its wake. The suffering inflicted on the civilian population and the precarious existence of hundreds of thousands of refugees in refugee camps were particular cause for concern. The 1981 Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea contained the basis for a just and lasting solution, the elements of which were set forth in the relevant United Nations resolutions.

26. Mr. AL-AIFAN (Saudi Arabia) said that Islam did not accept the philosophy of apartheid and repudiated its practice. For more than 1,400 years it had rejected the notions of racial supremacy and a chosen people or class. The Zionist usurper had come to the Arab regions bringing alien Western ideas based on colour, race and religious supremacy. The Palestinian refugee could see his home and land but was denied access to them, not because he was a dangerous terrorist but simply because he was Muslim or Christian. Whereas the Zionists came from all over the world and were able to obtain Israeli nationality simply by setting foot in the occupied Arab

(Mr. Al-Aifan, Saudi Arabia)

territories and were given housing, work and various benefits just because they were Zionists.

27. Apartheid was practised even amongst groups within the Zionist society itself. Whereas the white immigrant from Europe or the United States could gain all the benefits and privileges reserved for him, the oriental immigrant of Arab or Ethiopian origin was relegated to third class status.

28. There were numerous points of similarity between the racist régime in South Africa and the Zionist régime in the occupied Arab territories. Both régimes practised discrimination based on race while depriving the indigenous inhabitants of their basic rights. South Africa considered the indigenous inhabitant a non-citizen and relegated him to areas known as bantustans, while in the occupied Arab territories the indigenous inhabitant - whether Muslim or Christian - was also considered a non-citizen. Both régimes forced the indigenous inhabitants to carry identification documents. In order to decrease the number of indigenous inhabitants, South Africa had resorted to the policy of displacing Africans to forsaken areas known as bantustans, after having taken away their nationality. Similarly, Israel had resorted to a policy of expulsion and mass displacement of the population while denying them the right of return. Despite the fact that the African inhabitants constituted 85 per cent of the total population in South Africa, the areas designated for them did not exceed 15 per cent of South Africa's total land area. Similarly, the Arab population in the occupied Arab territories did not have the right to build new homes because more than 90 per cent of the land had been designated for Jewish settlers and their continuously expanding settlements. In both South Africa and in the occupied Arab territories, the perpetration of massacres was a part of the racial policy pursued. The international community still remembered the Sharpeville and Soweto massacres in South Africa and the massacres of Deir Yassin in Palestine and Sabra and Shatila in Lebanon, where hundreds of innocent men, women and children had been killed.

29. Both racist régimes carried out policies of collective punishment, ill-treatment of indigenous inhabitants, torture of prisoners to the point of death, employment of armed forces against segregated civilians, random arrests of those inhabitants and their leaders, demolition of houses, closing of schools and universities, control of educational curriculum, prohibition of opposition newspapers and magazines and the levying of exorbitant taxes on the indigenous population.

30. His delegation wished to cite the following breaches of international law: the Israeli authorities were occupying by force Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights. Likewise, South Africa was occupying all of Namibia by force. Despite Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, the Israelis repeatedly raided and occupied parts of southern Lebanon and refused to respect Lebanon's sovereignty and independence. Similarly, South Africa carried out repeated raids on southern Angola, in addition to waging armed aggression against Botswana, Mozambique, Lesotho and Swaziland and observing an economic boycott of those countries. Zionist settlers in the occupied Arab territories were

(Mr. Al-Aifan, Saudi Arabia)

armed and encouraged to commit acts of violence and murder against the indigenous inhabitants and to destroy their private property. South Africa also armed white settlers in both South Africa and Namibia and encouraged them to use violence against the African inhabitants.

31. Despite Israel's alleged breaking off of economic relations with South Africa, there were still many links between the two racist régimes, in particular secret military agreements, joint nuclear tests and numerous economic interests. Thus, it had been proved that the two racist régimes were not peace-loving and did not deserve membership in the United Nations.

32. In conclusion, he reaffirmed his country's condemnation of all forms of racial discrimination, and its complete support for the struggle of the Palestinian people and its right to self-determination under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization. He likewise reaffirmed his country's support for the international appeal for the implementation of the resolutions adopted concerning South Africa and the rights of Namibian people.

33. Mr. KITTIKHOUN (Lao People's Democratic Republic) said that racism and racial discrimination, which showed no signs of abating, were among the most serious violations of human rights and must be combated by the international community by all available means. Apartheid was the most inhuman form of racial discrimination and not only violated human rights but also threatened international peace and security. It had been elevated to the rank of official ideology and State policy by a régime that was intensifying its repression of the black peoples of southern Africa, and it must be eradicated because it could not be reformed. It was a crime to support apartheid as well as to practise it, and the international community must take collective action in the form of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime.

34. In the Middle East, Israel was denying the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and pursuing a policy of aggression and occupation of Palestinian and Arab lands that heightened tensions in the region and impeded efforts to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the question of Palestine. The international community must therefore pursue its efforts to achieve a comprehensive settlement based on the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories, the full exercise of the right of the Palestinian people to establish its own state in Palestine, and recognition of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in the region. An international peace conference on the Middle East, under United Nations auspices and with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, would advance prospects for a just and lasting peace in the region.

35. In the People's Republic of Kampuchea, positive developments had been achieved. The Government had proclaimed a policy of national reconciliation and its readiness to meet with the opposition, except for Pol Pot and his associates, in order to seek a political solution. It was unfortunate, however, that certain forces still supported the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea,

(Mr. Kittikhoun, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

of which the Pol Pot clique was the major component. That Coalition was simply an illegal fiction designed to prolong the occupation of Kampuchea's seat in the United Nations by a genocidal régime that represented only its foreign master.

36. The use of mercenaries to violate human rights and impede the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination was widespread and the international community should take measures to end it. His delegation therefore welcomed the decision of the Commission on Human Rights to appoint a special rapporteur on the question as a step towards prohibiting mercenarism.

37. Mr. MARWAT (Pakistan) said that Pakistan, which had won its independence through the exercise of its right to self-determination, had a special commitment to that principle and fully supported all efforts to enable peoples still under colonial rule or alien domination or occupation to exercise their legitimate right of self-determination. It was particularly regrettable that, as a result of foreign military intervention and occupation, many peoples, which had previously maintained an independent, sovereign status had been deprived of their right to self-determination and independence. Such situations posed a serious threat to international peace and security.

38. The tragedy of the people of Palestine represented a blatant violation of human rights. Pakistan reaffirmed its resolute support for the just cause of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and called on the international community to take all necessary steps to enable that people to exercise its inalienable right of self-determination.

39. Pakistan also reiterated its total solidarity with the people of Namibia, led by the South West Africa People's Organization, in their struggle for liberation from illegal occupation by the racist régime of South Africa.

40. As a result of foreign military intervention and occupation, the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea were being deprived of the right of self-determination, and millions of Afghans and hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans had been forced to leave their homes and seek refuge in neighbouring countries. Efforts to forcibly suppress the struggle of those peoples against foreign occupation only deepened the tragedy. A viable solution could be found on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

41. In that connection, his delegation also wished to draw attention to the unresolved question of Jammu and Kashmir. Its position on the issue was well known and did not require reiteration or elaboration.

42. His delegation hoped that the draft resolution it would be introducing on the subject of the right of peoples to self-determination would be adopted by consensus.

43. Mrs. ITO (Japan) said that Japan reiterated its steadfast condemnation of apartheid, a particularly abhorrent manifestation of racism, and demanded that

(Mrs. Ito, Japan)

South Africa lift the state of emergency, release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, end the ban on anti-apartheid organizations and enter into a serious political dialogue with all parties concerned so as to rebuild a fair and just nation that complied with the basic principles of democracy and respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms. It must also halt military incursions into neighbouring States. South Africa must present to the international community a credible timetable for abolishing apartheid, otherwise it would be plunging itself into massive bloodshed.

44. Japan was one of the countries which had taken the strictest measures against South Africa; it limited its relations with South Africa to the consular level and had applied pressure against South Africa in various ways, including additional measures announced in autumn 1986. It stood ready to join in concerted action by the international community. It also wished to promote political dialogue with regional leaders, including the black leaders of southern Africa; a number of prominent black leaders had visited Japan in recent years. It had invited black South African students and trainees to study at Japanese universities and training institutions under the auspices of the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, so as to help them prepare for taking up leadership positions in South Africa. It had provided direct assistance totalling \$US 400,000 in the current fiscal year to benefit black victims of apartheid in South Africa, and had stepped up its efforts to assist the front-line States in strengthening their economies.

45. The Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had helped deepen the international community's understanding of the problems of racial discrimination. His delegation could support the main thrust of the activities planned for the second half of the Decade but believed that it might be too ambitious to implement all the activities mentioned in paragraphs 56 and 57 of the report in document A/42/493, in addition to those mentioned in paragraph 54. Priority should be given to the activities which were most urgent in substance and global in nature. Long-term education programmes and public information campaigns were important in helping eliminate racial discrimination. Japan had decided to contribute in the 1987 fiscal year to the Trust Fund for the Programme for the Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

46. Japan supported the peace efforts of the ASEAN countries in seeking a comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea, based on the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and respect for the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination. It also reiterated its support for Commission on Human Rights resolution 1987/6.

47. Military intervention in Afghanistan was contrary to international law and justice; Soviet troops must withdraw immediately from that country so that the Afghan people could exercise their right of self-determination without outside interference. Japan would watch closely any developments in the Afghan situation that might follow the visit made by the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on

(Mrs. Ito, Japan)

Human Rights in the summer of 1987. Afghan refugees must be able to return to their homeland in safety and honour.

48. Peace in the Middle East must be just, lasting and comprehensive and should be achieved through the early and complete implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and recognition of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights.

49. The independence of Namibia must be achieved in accordance with the wishes of the Namibian people, as expressed through free elections held under United Nations supervision. The parties concerned must implement faithfully Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

50. To ease the tremendous suffering of people who had been forced to leave their native lands in Kampuchea, Afghanistan and elsewhere, it was imperative to extend them humanitarian assistance. That problem could never be solved, however, until the right of self-determination was restored to all people.

51. Mr. VASCONCELLOS (Uruguay) said that racism and racial discrimination were age-old problems. Ancient civilizations had not recognized the eminent dignity of the human being or such rights as the right of peoples to be masters of their own destinies and build their own futures, rights which had been affirmed in the modern age. While it was true that many international or legal declarations on racism and racial discrimination appeared to be nothing more than "progress on paper", they were, nevertheless, imbued with a moral force which facilitated real progress.

52. Many delegations had courageously acknowledged that there were still problems of racism and racial discrimination in their countries and that they were still seeking ways of overcoming them. Others had presented a different picture, although it might not be possible in all cases to accept their statements as totally true. Uruguay, whose population was composed of peoples of different origins, could calmly and truthfully affirm that it had no racial problems and that, at the current stage in its history, individual rights were fully respected and legally guaranteed.

53. With regard to the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, his delegation reiterated its support for all measures designed to eliminate racial discrimination and apartheid. The aim of the Second Decade was to overcome the ancient scourge of racism, and the Programme of Action therefore deserved the co-operation of all Member States. Apartheid, in particular, had wrought great suffering, anguish and injustice and represented a total disregard for human dignity. He noted that two seminars had been held recently at Montevideo under the sponsorship of the Uruguayan Anti-Apartheid Committee. Those seminars had reflected the Latin American view of apartheid as an institutionalized system of political domination with a clearly genocidal intent. The work of the two seminars clearly fell within the scope of agenda item 92.

(Mr. Vasconcellos, Uruguay)

54. He emphasized the importance of the education, teaching and training activities included in the Programme of Action for the Second Decade. Education and the use of cultural elements were among the most effective weapons in the fight against racism and racial discrimination.

55. His delegation considered the use of peaceful political and diplomatic methods in independence struggles to be desirable and essential; however, if it was not possible to use such means, his delegation did not rule out the use of force, which had been necessary in Latin America in order for countries to gain their independence.

56. Turning to article 14 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the mechanism whereby a State party might declare that it recognized the competence of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) to receive and consider communications from individuals or groups claiming to be victims of a violation by that State party of any of the rights set forth in the Convention constituted an additional defence against discrimination. In order for CERD to receive any communication regarding a State party to the Convention, it was necessary for that State party to have recognized the competence of CERD to receive and consider communications. Uruguay had made the declaration under article 14 of the Convention and urged other States parties to consider the desirability of doing likewise.

57. Bringing the problems of racism and racial discrimination to world attention and seeking methods and procedures for solving them helped attain the objectives of the Charter. The Uruguayan Constitution recognized that all human beings were essentially equal, a concept which his delegation hoped would become a reality for all peoples throughout the world.

58. Miss TAN (Singapore) said that, as a multiracial society, Singapore was an example of how a country could progress and develop through racial harmony and integration. The laws of the land protected each individual's rights, regardless of race, language, culture or religion, and the Government of Singapore tried to propagate a sense of racial equality and harmony. There were four official languages in Singapore, all of which were taught in schools and used for official purposes, and all four racial groups were represented in the Government. From an early age, school children were taught tolerance and sensitivity towards others, regardless of colour, creed or race. The Government was neutral towards all religions and treated all of them equally, but at the same time it acted firmly against anyone who sought to exploit racial, language or religious differences in order to provoke riots or violence.

59. Nations prospered when each individual citizen was treated with equal dignity and given equal opportunities for economic, cultural and social advancement so that all talents were mobilized and none were wasted through any form of discrimination.

60. Singapore had always supported the struggle of the peoples of South Africa against apartheid, a self-destructive and abhorrent system.

(Miss Tan, Singapore)

61. Racism had begun to be the cause of wars and conflicts in some countries and could become the norm in the twenty-first century if racial prejudice and discrimination were allowed to continue to grow. The world community must be educated about the need to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination. Her delegation hoped that the difficulties facing the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination would be speedily resolved so that it could proceed with its important tasks.
62. The right of self-determination was one of the fundamental principles of international law and an important prerequisite for the exercise of other human rights and fundamental freedoms. The people of Namibia were being denied their independence and freedom because of South Africa's continuing illegal occupation. In Afghanistan, the presence of Soviet troops violated the Afghan people's right to self-determination.
63. The struggle of the Kampuchean people for freedom from Vietnamese occupation and Viet Nam's policy of cultural genocide was taking a toll on Kampuchea's population. Unable to defeat the Kampuchean resistance militarily, Vietnamese troops had resorted to terrorizing the population. Deprived of their basic needs, the people of Kampuchea had been forced to seek refuge in overcrowded refugee camps along the border with Thailand. The Vietnamese occupying forces must withdraw from Kampuchea in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, and the Kampucheans must be allowed to exercise their right of self-determination free from foreign intervention and intimidation. All Member States must support the efforts of the United Nations to that end.
64. Mr. DIRAR (Sudan) said that the continued existence of the apartheid régime, the oppression of South Africa's black majority, the illegal occupation and denial of the right to self-determination to the peoples of Namibia, Palestine and the occupied Arab territories not only represented an incessant violation of the Charter and United Nations resolutions but also constituted a constant threat to that Organization and seriously impaired its credibility.
65. The constant deterioration of conditions in South Africa constituted a serious threat to world peace and security. There could be no resolution of the explosive situation in South Africa without the complete abolition of the system of apartheid as soon as possible, the establishment in its place of a democratic society based on equality, justice and freedom and the guaranteeing of all human rights and basic freedoms. The only peaceful means to bring about the required changes in South Africa was to intensify pressure on it by imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. It was regrettable, however, that the Security Council had not been able to do that.
66. The activities undertaken to achieve the objectives of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination were crucial. Referring to the report contained in document A/42/493, he affirmed his delegation's support for an evaluation of the achievements and setbacks of the First Decade and the first half of the Second Decade. Such an evaluation was of major importance for success

(Mr. Dirar, Sudan)

during the second half of the Second Decade. He stressed the importance of co-ordinating the implementation of the Decade's programme of activities by the various organs and agencies. His delegation expressed particular interest in paragraph 49 of document 42/493. He noted, however, that the report did not mention any action taken concerning the General Assembly's request in resolution 41/94 relating to the publicizing of the Seminar on International Assistance and Support to Peoples and Movements Struggling against Racial Discrimination, Colonialism and Apartheid.

67. Referring to the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (A/42/18), he expressed satisfaction that the Committee had been able to submit that report to the session despite all of the obstacles it had encountered. In spite of the critical economic situation faced by the Sudan, it had taken steps to ensure repayment of its outstanding financial obligations towards the Committee and would complete repayment shortly. The Sudan had been able to submit its fourth report to the Committee, reflecting the effort exerted in the field of maintaining and protecting human rights after 16 years under dictatorial rule. With regard to the report on the status of the international Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (A/42/449), Sudan had become a party to that Convention in 1977 and had begun to undertake procedures for the ratification of the International Convention against Apartheid in sports.

68. With regard to document A/42/448, the denial of the right to self-determination would remain among the most serious threats to international peace and security. Accordingly, the Sudanese Government called for the speedy granting of the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence and a transfer of all authority to the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative. It also called for the practical implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In that connection, the Sudan completely supported the final communiqué of the Ministerial Meeting of the Council for Namibia adopted in New York on 2 October 1987.

69. He also called for the restoration of the inalienable and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and, in particular, its right to establish an independent State. It was impossible to imagine peace in the Middle East without that condition, for the Palestinian question represented the core of the conflict in the Middle East. There would not be any escape from the dangerous situation in the Middle East except by means of an international peace conference in which the Palestine Liberation Organization would participate.

70. The Sudan condemned and repudiated the use of mercenaries as a criminal means to obstruct the struggle for self-determination. The international community must exert all its efforts to prevent such activities, which impeded the legitimate struggle of peoples deprived of the most important of their basic rights.

71. Mrs. ARUNGU-OLENDE (Kenya) said that instances of racial discrimination still existed in many parts of the world. However, legalized racism existed only in

(Mrs. Arungu-Olende, Kenya)

South Africa, under the apartheid system. The cruel, ruthless and oppressive measures to which the Government of South Africa had resorted in order to continue its domination of the blacks, Asians and mixed races of South Africa were inhuman, senseless and extremely degrading. Those measures were particularly damaging to the children of South Africa and their full impact on those children would be noticeable only years later.

72. Kenya's position on the issue of apartheid was well known: it longed for the day when the apartheid system would be dismantled. It also supported strongly the application and intensification of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Not every Member State had adhered strictly to existing sanctions and the results had therefore been negligible. Some had pretended to comply, only to find loopholes and adopt tactics that made the sanctions ineffective. Her delegation did not believe that blacks in South Africa would sacrifice their impending freedom for present economic gains. It also maintained that those who refused to adhere to sanctions were the real perpetrators of apartheid. She concurred with black South Africans that the joys of freedom and equal treatment far outweighed the perishable pleasures of material gains.

73. The genuine independence of Namibia was long overdue. Repeated calls for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) were indicative of the international belief that that resolution remained the only acceptable basis for Namibia's independence.

74. The black peoples of southern Africa were struggling for the very basic human rights of freedom and equality. It was a regrettable failure of understanding to label as terrorist organizations such legitimate liberation movements as the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). The Kenyan people, through her delegation, reiterated their solidarity with the continuing heroic struggle of blacks in southern Africa.

75. The determination with which the front-line States of southern Africa had endured the repressive measures of the Pretoria régime was worthy of recognition and support by the international community. The unwavering assistance of those States to the liberation movements and to refugees from South Africa and Namibia should also be recognized and supported. The belief of those States that it was possible to dismantle apartheid through determination and persistence should encourage others who were even better placed to influence the course of events to try even harder.

76. With regard to agenda item 87, her delegation believed that early completion of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families would alleviate various types of discrimination faced by migrant workers and their families. Kenya was prepared to support any reasonable means of expediting completion of the Convention.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.