

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records\*



UN LIBRARY

OCT 11 1983

UN/DA COLLECTION

COPY  
FOR REFERENCE  
ONLY - DO NOT  
CIRCULATE

THIRD COMMITTEE  
6th meeting  
held on

Monday, 10 October 1983  
at 3 p.m.  
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 6th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. CHAVANAVIRAJ (Thailand)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 82: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME FOR THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 83: SECOND WORLD CONFERENCE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 86: 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: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 87: ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: (continued)

(a) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

(i) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

(ii) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

(b) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

(c) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF APARTHEID: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

\*This record is subject to correction. Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session, in a separate fascicle for each Committee.

Distr. GENERAL  
A/C.3/38/SR.6  
18 October 1983  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: SPANISH

The meeting was called to order at 3.15. p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 82: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME FOR THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/38/106)

AGENDA ITEM 83: SECOND WORLD CONFERENCE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/38/426; A/CONF.119/26)

AGENDA ITEM 86: 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: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/38/88, A/38/106, A/38/318 and A/38/447)

AGENDA ITEM 87: ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: (continued) (A/38/18, A/38/106, A/38/253, A/38/288, A/38/323, A/38/371, A/38/390, A/38/391, A/38/393 and A/38/415)

- (a) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
  - (i) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE
  - (ii) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
- (b) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
- (c) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF APARTHEID: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

1. Mr. HOPPE (Denmark), speaking on behalf of the Nordic countries, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark, said that they had persistently rejected and condemned racism, racial discrimination and apartheid because of their firm commitment to justice, freedom and democracy and their belief in the equality and dignity of each and every human being. The elimination of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid was one of the most pressing challenges facing the international community and the Nordic countries had therefore consistently given their strong support to the United Nations in its endeavour to eradicate racial discrimination in all its forms and to promote understanding and respect among people regardless of race.

2. They had stated time and again that one of the most urgent issues before the United Nations with regard to racism was the massive and widespread violations of human rights in southern Africa. The system of apartheid was particularly abhorrent and, indeed, unique because it represented an institutionalized and systematic practice of racism and racial discrimination. By its very nature the apartheid system was a particularly gross and flagrant violation of human rights.

(Mr. Hoppe, Denmark)

In that connection he quoted from a statement to a magistrate's court made by Nelson Mandela who was still in prison 21 years after making that statement.

3. No progress had been achieved in South Africa and South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia continued. Early abolition of the apartheid system was essential because that system constituted a gross violation of human rights and posed a serious threat to peace and security in southern Africa. The Nordic countries were more than ever convinced of the need to increase international pressure on South Africa and to make it more effective. Developments of the past year had unfortunately but abundantly demonstrated that peaceful abolition of the apartheid system could be brought about only through effective international pressure. Hence the Governments of the Nordic countries had been working actively in favour of a decision by the United Nations Security Council to impose binding economic sanctions against South Africa as soon as possible. A decision to prohibit further foreign investments and financial loans would be an effective first step and would complement the arms embargo imposed by the Security Council in 1977.

4. For their part, the Governments of the Nordic countries were pursuing a joint programme of action against South Africa; it involved, inter alia, the prohibition or discouragement of new investments in that country and measures to prevent sports and cultural contacts with South Africa. In addition, the Nordic countries would continue and increase their humanitarian and educational assistance to the victims of oppression by South Africa.

5. Discrimination based on race, colour or ethnic origin was a sad and deplorable reality in many parts of the world and, regrettably, it was a universal phenomenon. Implementation of the principles of human rights embodied in the United Nations Charter and later developed in a number of important international conventions should therefore be further strengthened. The primary responsibility in that regard rested with Governments themselves within their respective jurisdictions but strong international action was also required. In that respect he reiterated the commitment of the Nordic countries to the important principles set forth in the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination of 1963 and in the International Convention of 1956 on the subject. The Nordic countries welcomed the fact that a sufficient number of States had made declarations under article 14, paragraph 1 of the Convention, accepting the competence of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination to consider complaints from individuals, for the provisions of that article to enter into force.

6. Experience had proved that unfortunate delays occurred in the submission of initial and periodic reports and that reports could be inadequate when measured against the requirements of the instruments. The suggestions put forward by the Secretary-General and by Governments with a view to improving the reporting situation were constructive. Those suggestions, which called for closer co-ordination of the reporting system under the various human rights instruments and referred to the question of prolonging the periodicity of reporting and the idea of providing technical assistance to States Parties who so requested, should be considered further by Governments and the bodies of experts.

/...

(Mr. Hoppe, Denmark)

7. The promotion of the rights of indigenous peoples was of particular interest to the Nordic countries as evidenced by the establishment, in 1979, of a Nordic working group on the rights of indigenous peoples. The Nordic countries remained firmly committed to the ongoing work in the United Nations system regarding the promotion and protection of the rights of indigenous peoples. In that connection they were pleased to see that the working group on indigenous populations of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities had adopted a plan for its future work and that it was hoped that that would lead to a new set of norms.

8. The Nordic countries had supported the adoption of General Assembly resolution 3057 (XXVIII) proclaiming the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. During the past 10 years progress had unquestionably been made, which was to be welcomed, although, as had already been noted, racial discrimination continued to exist in practically all parts of the world, which was deplorable; the Nordic countries would not relent in their efforts until such practices had been eliminated. The Nordic countries had also participated actively in the preparations for the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and at the Conference itself.

9. The Nordic countries shared the assessment made by the Secretary-General (A/38/426) to the effect that a constructive spirit had generally been maintained and that the final result of the Conference had reflected a serious effort to be positive and constructive. They welcomed the adoption by the Conference of a programme of action to combat all forms of racism and racial discrimination and believed that the measures outlined in that programme would be of crucial importance to the further struggle in that field. A second Decade might provide a useful framework for the intensified fight against those evils.

10. The Nordic countries regretted that consensus had not been achieved, but they would continue their efforts to restore the consensus which had prevailed at the outset of the Decade. The struggle against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid was so important that it required the collective efforts of all members of the world community. The elimination of racial discrimination should not be seen merely as an option open to the Member States of the United Nations since it was an obligation which was spelled out in the Charter; it was therefore essential that the spirit of consensus which had prevailed at the time of the adoption of General Assembly resolution 3057 (XXVIII) should again govern endeavours in that field. The international community was united on the central point of principle: the unacceptability of racial discrimination. The oppressors must not be allowed to find comfort in disagreements on extraneous issues.

11. Mrs. WARZAZI (Morocco) said that the four items which had been grouped together were among the principal concerns of the international community; the important place they were accorded in the United Nations should give cause for serious concern since that indicated officially that, far from being resolved, the problems of racism and particularly of apartheid, and also those of self-determination, were tending to increase and spread. While everything possible had been done in the United Nations to combat racism and promote the self-determination

(Mrs. Warzazi, Morocco)

of all the peoples, the world was witnessing, sometimes powerlessly, the resurgence of a phenomenon which it had been thought was disappearing, especially since the admission to the United Nations of a large number of newly independent States from the 1960s onwards.

12. The United Nations had recognized that self-determination had political, legal, economic, social and cultural dimensions which must be taken into account when considering the right to self-determination; the international community had also had to take a position in respect of military aggression, occupation and intervention, which violated the principle of and right to self-determination of sovereign peoples.

13. She was deeply indignant that the inhuman practice of apartheid was not diminishing despite the constant and unequivocal condemnations of the international community; exploitation, repression, torture and death sentences were continuing to be inflicted on the black population by a minority which, through terror and force, was maintaining its power, imposing its supremacy and continuing its illegal occupation of the territory of Namibia, whose people were legitimately aspiring to independence and valiantly struggling for that goal. The South African régime did not hesitate to resort to armed incursions, bombings and even anonymous crimes to eliminate all those who might threaten that police State where only whites enjoyed the well-being resulting from the suffering of the majority of the population.

14. It was regrettable to note that that tragic situation was in no way diminishing the assistance which was being provided to the racist South African régime even though it had been demonstrated that there was a direct relationship between the volume of that assistance and the extent and seriousness of the violations perpetrated by that régime. Strengthening the power of that State did not facilitate the solution of the problem of apartheid, less still make the South African régime more willing to pay attention to the international community. The study and updating of the list of those who provided assistance to South Africa showed the undeniable role played by the transnational corporations which, in many cases, not only eluded the control of governments but even directed them from afar, which enabled the South African régime to perpetuate its racist practices, thereby sacrificing the dignity and freedom of the black population on the altar of its selfish economic interests.

15. She said that she endorsed the justified demand that the military embargo decreed against South Africa should be backed by a vigorous economic embargo, but felt frustrated and deeply pessimistic that it had taken 17 years to impose an arms embargo which had certainly not prevented South Africa from strengthening its arsenal of highly sophisticated weapons, manufacturing nuclear weapons and drawing enormous profits from arms sales, since South Africa was one of the principal arms manufacturers of the world.

16. She went on to speak of the population of the occupied Arab territories, where everyday there were imprisonments, expulsions, prohibitions of demonstrations, flagrant violations of human rights and continual acts of discrimination. The Palestinian people could not exercise their right to self-determination or enjoy

(Mrs. Warzazi, Morocco)

their most fundamental and inalienable rights. Ever since the Palestinians had been expelled from their land and homes, they had known only the misery of tents, refugees, the despair of a dependent life, which was sometimes all they had ever known, and of parsimonious international aid, and recently they had been the innocent victims of the appalling massacres of Sabra and Shatila. The Palestinian fighters imprisoned in Israel were not accorded the status of prisoners of war in accordance with the third Geneva Convention, and like Palestinian civilians and others arbitrarily imprisoned by Israel they were subjected to maltreatment. Lastly, it was particularly alarming to note that settlement in the territories had been intensified, despite the views expressed by the international community, and that the efforts undertaken so far had tended to change the demographic nature, institutional structure and legal status of the occupied territories, including Jerusalem. The situation in that part of the world was so explosive that it was no longer possible to ignore it or conceal the dangers and terrible consequences which could derive from it.

17. Racism and racial discrimination were not limited to a region of Africa or Asia but existed throughout the world, more or less openly, but always perniciously, as was demonstrated by the painful experience of many indigenous populations, national and ethnic minorities and migrant workers. The studies carried out by United Nations bodies were unfortunately eloquent in that respect. There were good reasons to believe that the situation deserved constant attention on the part of the international community, since there were countries and categories of peoples in the world who were being oppressed, deprived of their rights, massacred, deported from one region to another and shamefully exploited. Those problems were extensively considered in the international forums which specialized in the subject, and she would confine herself to expressing the wish that the Governments concerned would show greater interest in the work of those bodies with a view to finding solutions to those situations.

18. She drew attention to the situation of migrant workers, particularly in some of the European Community countries, and she expressed alarm at the re-emergence of xenophobia, which was reflected in cowardly attacks against migrant workers and their families. She also expressed concern at the fact that, in election campaigns, migrant workers were used as political pawns and scapegoats. Accordingly, she appealed to the Governments concerned to adopt vigorous measures so as to ensure the protection of the lives and safety of migrant workers. Such measures would also increase the prosperity and well-being of the countries themselves and of their inhabitants. In that connection, she observed that the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had dealt with the problem of migrant workers in paragraph 40 of its Programme of Action.

19. She stressed the importance of the two world conferences held recently at Geneva but regretted the fact that it had not been possible for all the Western countries to contribute to the success of those conferences, although that had not prevented most of the objectives from being attained. The Declaration and Programme of Action of the Second Conference on Racism did, in fact, seem to reflect a position more in line with that of the large majority of countries in connection with the need to put an end to racism, which affected so many human

(Mrs. Warzazi, Morocco)

beings throughout the world. In addition, she welcomed the fact that the delegations participating in the Conference had acted in a spirit of conciliation, as a result of which the Programme of Action had been adopted without objections, and she noted with particular satisfaction the contribution made by a number of Western countries, particularly the Nordic countries.

20. Morocco would contribute to the successful implementation of the Programme of Action, which it had resolutely supported in August, as it had the Declaration, for her country realized that what had been achieved during the first Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination required improvement. It was necessary to attack the root of the problem, in other words, to begin with children whose attitudes were starting to be formed under the influence of their parents, of the communication media and of their surroundings. In recent years, attention had been focused on the educational system with a view to making improvements to that end. For example, foremost among the recommendations of the Second World Conference was that concerning the importance of education, teaching and training, which entailed an obligation for all States and for all those responsible for educating the new generations, since the fate of the world in the twenty-first century would be in the hands of future generations. They would determine whether mankind progressed or slid backwards, whether there was prosperity or poverty and whether there was peaceful coexistence between all members of the human family or destruction. Those generations must therefore be prepared to establish and administer a better world, a world which would at last be human and fraternal.

21. Mr. KHMEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that, during the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the international community had directed its efforts towards attaining the objectives of the Decade and that those efforts had culminated in the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. His country, loyal to the principles of internationalism and equality between peoples, had actively participated in implementing the objectives of the Programme. Despite the fact that racism and racial discrimination had increased throughout the world, the forces of those seeking to eradicate that scourge had obviously become stronger and solidarity with those struggling against foreign domination and racial discrimination had grown.

22. However, the main objectives of the Programme for the Decade had not been attained. Racism and racial discrimination still existed in the world and, at times, they acquired such monstrous forms as apartheid and zionism. Both systems employed the same means to attain their ends. The white minority régime of South Africa denied the most fundamental rights of the non-white population. It continued illegally to occupy Namibia and to subjugate the inhabitants by brute force, terror and repression. Israel was doing the same thing with regard to the Arab people of Palestine and the inhabitants of the occupied territories. Both used physical violence against anyone who opposed their domination and employed particularly brutal measures against SWAPO, ANC and PLO, organizations which the international community had recognized as the sole legitimate representatives of the people concerned.



(Mr. Khmel, Ukrainian SSR)

23. In order to keep the oppressed peoples in the situation of colonial pariahs, they tried to confine them to segregated enclaves. In South Africa, that effort was reflected in bantustanization and, in the Middle East, in imposed "autonomy" plans. Both régimes had turned acts of aggression against neighbouring countries into normal practice. South Africa was continuing illegally to occupy Angola and was conducting regular incursions against the front-line States. In the Middle East the Israeli aggressors, possessed by the zionist idea of creating a great Israel stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates, had unleashed three large-scale wars with neighbouring Arab States and not only had refused to withdraw from those territories but were seeking to expand the occupied area.

24. The domestic and foreign policies of both the Pretoria and the Tel Aviv régimes were identical and both were determined by the racist nature of the ideology on which they were based. Both sought to secure their position through an ideology of racial superiority. In the case of South Africa, it was the superiority of the South African whites and, in the case of Israel, the superiority of the Jewish nation. The same racist ideology also served as the basis for the right to a privileged, élitist status as the "chosen people", in relation to other peoples, and to indisputable domination over the peoples enslaved.

25. The ideological and political similarity between Pretoria and Tel Aviv had resulted in close and increasingly extensive co-operation in the economic and military fields, and even in efforts to acquire their own nuclear weapons. At the World Conference held in Vienna in 1983, it had been stressed that theirs was a deadly alliance, both for the oppressed peoples and for international peace and security.

26. Despite vigorous condemnation by most of the countries in the world community, whenever there was any mention of South Africa or Israel, the main imperialist Powers emerged as powerful defenders of the two régimes. For example, the United States was shamelessly supporting the Tel Aviv and Pretoria régimes. Others resorted to political mimicry and decried certain "excesses" committed by South Africa and Israel, while basically supporting them. That entire situation was clearly reflected in the position the imperialist States had adopted at the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The United States had refused to participate in the Conference, and the imperialist Powers which had done so had expressed their opposition to the most important provisions of the instruments adopted by the Conference.

27. The Second Conference had revealed once again that the States on which the scourges of racism and racial discrimination largely depended under the systems of apartheid and zionism were continuing to defend those scourges. His delegation did not share the view that there had been general participation in the Conference and that the Programme of Action had been adopted unanimously. The fact that the United States had not participated and the position adopted by other Western States with regard to the provisions of the instruments adopted by the Conference were important facts which must not be overlooked. His delegation considered those facts to be a manifestation of the very nature of imperialism. The racism of South



(Mr. Khmel, Ukrainian SSR)

Africa and of zionism was a product of imperialism. For imperialism and, above all, for United States imperialism, the Tel Aviv and Pretoria régimes were used, first of all, as a strike force in their drive against the national liberation movements of the peoples of southern Africa and the Middle East and in their activities directed towards destabilizing the independent States of the region.

28. In the second place, the system of apartheid in South Africa guaranteed large profits for transnational corporations. According to information published in the American press, United States investments in South Africa totalled \$14.6 billion. More than 6,000 United States firms were co-operating with South Africa, and more than 400 firms had subsidiaries in that country. There were also a large number of British, Federal German and French firms in South Africa, in addition to those of other developed capitalist countries, and, despite the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, the number of such firms was increasing, instead of decreasing.

29. The foreign policy of States was determined by their domestic policy. Accordingly, the policy of States that supported and co-operated with the racist régimes in the economic, military and other fields was an expression of the racism and racial discrimination that existed within those States themselves. For example, in the United States, which played a major role in defending the racist régimes, official statistics indicated that unemployment among the black population was double that of the white population. If hidden unemployment was taken into account, one out of every four blacks was unemployed, a proportion that was even higher among young blacks. More than one third of black families had incomes below the poverty level, and the median income of indigent blacks was far below that of indigent whites. The median income of a black family in the United States was two thirds that of a white family. Americans of Hispanic origin were in the same situation, and the situation of the indigenous population was even worse.

30. All that was a direct consequence of racial discrimination. Imperialism supported the ideology and practice of racism in order to exploit the oppressed peoples excessively. At the same time, because of a monopolistic concentration of capital, that exploitation had increased and the racial and ethnic minorities were the first victims of that trend. For that reason, the situation of minorities was worsening on the one hand and, on the other, the racist activities supported by imperialism were intensifying. Those activities were assuming alarming proportions in the Western countries. There was a continued proliferation of organizations and groups dedicated to making open propaganda on behalf of racism, racial hatred, intransigence and terror, including organizations of a neo-nazi and neo-fascist type. In some countries, attempts had been made to falsify the history of the Second World War in order to rehabilitate the guilty, revive their slogans and methods and continue to keep the Nazi war criminals hidden.

31. That, in the opinion of the Ukrainian SSR, was the situation in the world with respect to racism and racial discrimination. In order to eliminate those evils, efforts by the international community were necessary and his delegation therefore supported the proposal to proclaim a Second Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The Declaration and Programme adopted at the Second World

(Mr. Khmel, Ukrainian SSR)

Conference would serve as a basis for the Second Decade, and it was important that Western States undertook to implement those documents in their entirety, including the basic provisions. The conditions necessary for the success of the Second Decade were the following: (1) all States, without exception, should become parties to the basic instruments of international law for the elimination of racism and racial discrimination. In that respect, it should be pointed out that the United States had not ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. With respect to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, no Western Power was a party to that basic instrument; (2) all States, without exception, must strictly comply with the resolutions of the United Nations, the Security Council and the General Assembly, with respect to South Africa and the Zionist régime of Israel, to guarantee the inalienable rights of the peoples oppressed by those régimes. The Ukrainian SSR supported the immediate application of broad and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter; (3) in pursuance of what had been proposed at the Second World Conference, States that had not yet done so should, as a matter of highest priority, take the necessary measures to prohibit and put an end to racial discrimination, in accordance with the principles of the basic documents of the United Nations and UNESCO on human rights and the elimination of racial discrimination.

32. The Ukrainian SSR fully supported the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the Second World Conference and would continue, as always, to participate fully in the activities of the United Nations and its bodies for the implementation of the instruments adopted. The rejection by the people of the Ukraine of any manifestation of racism and racial discrimination was determined by the very nature of its socialist system and its internationalistic convictions. For that reason, the Ukrainian SSR would always condemn racists and would support the peoples struggling for liberation.

33. Mr. KEYES (United States of America) said that no representative of his country could address the issues of racism and racial discrimination without being conscious of the critical role they had played in the experience of the people of the United States from the day of independence, through a terrible civil war and over the painful years that had finally permitted the removal of the legal structures of racial persecution. The struggle against the consequences of racial bigotry, fear and hatred had a special urgency for the people of the United States because it involved the integrity of the principles of human freedom and equal justice that were the very basis of the nation. Thanks to those principles, the United States had become a nation of nations with people drawn from every corner of the globe. From that perspective, the concept of humanity knew no boundaries of race, colour, religion or political creed. Experience had shown that in order to live in peace amidst such diversity, it was necessary to understand fully the universal concept of human dignity grounded in freedom, a concept that had inspired the Declaration of Independence. For that reason, the struggle against slavery, racial injustice and discrimination had not been a struggle of one race against another, but rather the realization of the American character as it had wrestled with the universal meaning of the nation's fundamental principles and its

(Mr. Keyes, United States)

inexorable obligation to the common identity of mankind. Motivated by a thirst for justice and a capacity for sacrifice which transcended all distinctions, black and white had worked and reasoned together to break down the structures of discrimination. The concern of the American people with human rights issues was therefore essential to its identity as a people.

34. Today, throughout the world, there were people struggling for their rights in the name of common humanity. Because it so profoundly challenged that concept by affirming distinctions of race or religion, racism impelled all to nurture that sense of common humanity as the one salvation from a pointless nightmare of fear, hatred and inhumanity. The struggle against racism had a positive aspect since, beyond the condemnation of racism, there was the task of establishing a basis for reconciliation that should free men and women from an obsession with those distinctions and open their eyes and hearts to the cruelty of injustice, whatever form it took and whoever were its victims. When faced with the suffering, fear or anger of the people of South Africa, people should react not in terms of black or white, but as fellow human beings who shared the fate of their oppressed humanity. Oppression was oppression, whether for racial or political motives. Torture, imprisonment or assassination of the organizers of a black trade union in South Africa or an independent union in Poland, the denial of economic rights in order to protect a racial elite or to consolidate the power of an exclusive self-styled vanguard party, were all cases of oppression. Tyranny might clothe itself in racism or supposedly objective political language, but it always represented the same denial of the worth and the human rights of the individual. Therefore words had no moral significance if they condemned only discrimination against blacks but were silent in the face of religious, tribal or ideological persecution. There was no sense in condemning the acts of violence committed against persons by some Central American Governments while refusing to discuss the denial of rights in Cuba or the progressive dismantling of freedom in Nicaragua. The blood of thousands of victims of aggression in Afghanistan and millions of victims in Kampuchea cried out as eloquently as the blood of Abel, reminding all human beings that they were the brothers and sisters of all who struggled for human dignity and against tyrannical injustice.

35. It was only by preserving the universal character of the concern for human rights that human rights abuses in particular areas could be condemned. If the General Assembly adopted resolutions only against racial persecution in South Africa while ignoring political suppression in the Soviet Union, if it deplored the terror in Central America while ignoring the terror that had claimed so many lives in East Africa or Eastern Europe, or in the skies above the Soviet Union, then the measures that it adopted would have no lasting appeal for the conscience of mankind. One was forced to wonder whether such resolutions arose from a desire to distract attention from the massive violations of those rights by some members of that body whose voices were loudest in the condemnation of South Africa or in slurring the aspirations of the Jewish people. Hypocrisy could become a crime against humanity and serve as a shield to hide the intention to construct a totalitarian machinery designed to stamp out the very memory of freedom, of human rights and human dignity. Some members were therefore more concerned with rhetoric

(Mr. Keyes, United States)

than with the task of improving the human rights situation, and seemed positively to welcome the perpetuation of injustices that created exploitable tensions and conflicts.

36. Such cynical ambition made it easy to mouth anti-apartheid slogans while avoiding any engagement in the painstaking process of bringing about meaningful progress towards justice. It was not surprising that those who relied on force to rule their own people or to commit aggression against their neighbours, or as a defence even against innocent civilian airline passengers, should see no solution but violence to the problems of southern Africa. But the principles of the United Nations Charter, as well as the experience of the United States, suggested that there was another way to foster opportunities that would permit the people of South Africa, black and white, to achieve a better destiny. Dr. Martin Luther King had expressed that idea when he had stated that the thirst for freedom should not be satisfied by bitterness and hatred. People of good will within the region of southern Africa and within the United Nations had had the courage to attempt to solve that problem, as was demonstrated by the co-operative effort made to achieve the independence of Namibia through a long and difficult negotiating process. The fulfilment of the hope for Namibian independence might be close at hand, provided that the people of southern Africa were allowed to decide their future without interference from those who were hostile to peaceful solutions and provided that all participants worked in a spirit of realism and reconciliation.

37. With regard to South Africa itself, many contended, because they were convinced that white South Africans were opposed to any change that would diminish their economic or political domination, that the situation there would change only through violence. Although it would not be easy to make changes in South Africa, the white community was not a monolith. There appeared to be some tendency toward greater racial equity in the economic sphere and, in some cases, it was recognized that such change would imply political change as well. It was even more important, in order to diversify the agrarian and mineral base of the South African economy, to upgrade the skills of black workers and significant segments of the white community therefore saw a rational self-interest in fostering improvement in the educational and employment opportunities of black South Africans. However, despite those economic incentives, many white South Africans had been slow to accept the modernization of their economy and had tried to limit its growth to maintain their political supremacy. But since the development of South Africa's economic potential was imperative, resistance to change was becoming increasingly less realistic. That suggested that change in South Africa was not only a matter of eliminating prejudices but of facilitating the conditions in which justice and self-interest ran along parallel lines.

38. That task required the formulation of programmes aimed at giving greater impetus to the objective forces of constructive change. Over the past several years the Reagan Administration had formulated various programmes of that type. Under a \$4 million-a-year scholarship programme, 100 black students were studying, mostly in the hard sciences, at institutions of higher education in the United States. By 1985 that figure would be 400 black South Africans, with the result that more black engineers, chemists, and computer engineers would be graduating

(Mr. Keyes, United States)

than now existed in South Africa. In co-operation with the AFL-CIO, programmes were being initiated to train South African labour leaders in skills which would improve the collective bargaining ability of black and mixed trade unions and strengthen the dialogue between the American and South African labour communities. The United States contribution would increase from \$190,000 in the current fiscal year to \$875,000 next year. In co-operation with the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce of South Africa, a project was to be initiated in 1983 to support small business development in the black community. Over the following two years, some \$3 million would be invested in that project. In conjunction with black community groups a programme was being developed to prepare black high school students for the matriculation examination which would determine their professional futures. That project, in which \$2 million would be invested in the next two years, should significantly boost the number of blacks eligible for university admission. Moreover, the United States Senate had expressed interest in setting aside \$5 million for an internal scholarship programme as a counterpart to the programme currently bringing black South African students to the United States. That programme, implemented through private South African institutions, could provide scholarship support to some 400 black South African students per year. With those programmes, the educational standards of the black population could be strengthened, and business and labour could be developed, thus helping to eliminate apartheid.

39. American corporations with subsidiaries and affiliates in South Africa had become a force for change also by offering equal employment opportunities. Corporate initiative, both foreign and domestic, had helped bring about changes in South African labour law, permitting blacks to organize trade unions. United States firms had had a significant impact on the well-being of black South Africans on the job, through the voluntary Sullivan Code of Fair Employment Practices.

40. Those efforts were not the key to progress in South Africa, since its future depended more on its own people than on anything outsiders could do. Americans knew that the reform of systematic racial injustice was an arduous task. That task was made even more difficult by the imbalance of political power in South Africa. Even when a people began to awaken to the futility of further oppression, resistance to change was strong. It would be easy for Americans to show their indignation at that situation and then wash their hands of it, but as long as there was hope that change could be wrought by constructive rather than destructive means, it would be immoral to isolate the world from all means of encouraging that hope. In building a brighter future for humanity, constant and sustained effort was needed, with all working together to produce a fruitful harvest.

41. Mr. PENN-NHACH (Democratic Kampuchea) said that his country felt a strong aversion for racial discrimination and expressed his satisfaction at the tireless efforts of the United Nations system, reflected in the reports prepared by its various organs.

42. However, the defence of the races of man and the protection of national and ethnic minorities was possible only to the extent that States and nations respected each other, and that was not always the case. The whole world was aware of the

(Mr. Penn-Nhach, Democratic Kampuchea)

fate of Democratic Kampuchea, whose territory had been occupied by more than 600,000 Vietnamese settlers sent by the Hanoi Government. The Vietnamization of the territory would create a demographic imbalance which could threaten the very existence of the nation, whose civilization and culture had already been undermined, since the population was forced to use the Vietnamese language in its studies and to marry Vietnamese women so that the individuality of Kampuchea was being stamped out. Those opposed to Vietnamization were being subjected to torture and hardships, and thousands of them had been forced to abandon their homes and take refuge in overcrowded camps. Those were not unfounded accusations; in the 17th century a similar intervention had been carried out in the ancient Islamic kingdom of Champa, now central Viet Nam. The indigenous population had disappeared, and that was what was happening in Kampuchea, for the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam had not confined itself to absorbing part of Kampuchean territory in the Mekong Delta. His delegation, along with the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, strongly urged the international community to concern itself with the problem and unequivocally condemn Hanoi's criminal intervention.

43. In addition to the Vietnamese settlers, there were 200,000 soldiers of the occupation forces and several thousand administrators and "advisers" in the territory of Kampuchea controlling the Phon Penh puppet government set up by the occupation forces. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam was unscrupulously flouting the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, and it continued to ignore the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and the Security Council which urged Viet Nam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea, so that the Khmer people could exercise their sovereign right to self-determination. It was inadmissible that those resolutions and decisions should be treated with such contempt when the country to whom they were addressed had committed itself, like all the other Members of the United Nations, to respect its Charter.

44. Lastly, he expressed his solidarity with the Afghan people and the people of Namibia, who had also been deprived of their inalienable right to decide their own future, and he joined the international community in calling for the total evacuation of foreign troops from their territories.

45. Mr. MASSOT (Brazil) welcomed St. Christopher and Nevis as a Member of the Organization, and noted that although its presence symbolized the fulfilment of national aspirations for self-determination, it also served to remind the Committee that the objective had not been reached by other peoples, such as those of Namibia and Palestine. Brazil had stressed on other occasions the urgent need to put an immediate end to the illegal occupation of Namibia, whose independence had been delayed by the obstinacy of South Africa, and to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978). He also reiterated Brazil's recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, independence and sovereignty, including the establishment of an independent Palestinian State in order to bring about the necessary conditions for all States in the region to exist in peace within internationally recognized borders.



(Mr. Massot, Brazil)

46. Brazil had participated actively in the work of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, in the process of consultations and in the work of the Drafting Group, and therefore took special interest in the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at that Conference. Its results had been positive, although not a complete success. Brazil would have preferred to see the final documents of the Conference, whose content was so closely related to human rights and of such universal concern, approved unanimously by the international community. None the less, Brazil was pleased that the Programme of Action had been adopted by the Conference without a dissenting vote. As stated in paragraph 11 of the Secretary-General's report (A/38/426), the final result of the Conference reflected a serious effort to be positive and constructive.

47. He commended the Organization's efforts to implement the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, especially the part played by the Centre for Human Rights, although the results of that intense activity still left much to be desired, especially as regarded the struggle against apartheid. It was unacceptable that in 1983, the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the end of a whole decade devoted to the elimination of apartheid, the apartheid system, based on false concepts of racial superiority which had been condemned over the years in various forms by the international community, should continue to exist. The mere existence of that régime was a direct insult to the principles of the United Nations Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and was an affront to all Members of the United Nations who demanded respect for those principles. His delegation expressed the hope that more action would be taken and more concrete results would be achieved in the near future, possibly within the context of a second decade to combat racism and racial discrimination, an initiative that had Brazil's full support.

48. He stressed the great importance of the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and its endeavours to promote racial harmony in the world, and emphasized the dedication and integrity of its members. Brazil categorically rejected any form of racism and racial discrimination. Its adherence to the Convention and support for the activities of CERD were a natural consequence of its harmonious racial and ethnic heritage. However, his delegation did not entirely agree with the system of summarizing the introductions to reports submitted by States parties or the replies of their representatives. In the case of Brazil, the lengthy introduction of the report had been summarized in only one paragraph, and some definitions quoted in their entirety from legal texts, such as Law No. 6001, had been misquoted in the process of drafting the summary, resulting in an incomplete text which did not faithfully reflect what was actually contained in the report. His delegation trusted that subsequent reports would more accurately reflect both introductory statements and replies.

49. Finally, his delegation considered that the United Nations, and in particular the General Assembly, was the most august forum in which to denounce apartheid, racism and racial discrimination and in which annually to renew the collective effort to find ways and means to put an end to such practices.



50. Mrs. KUROKOCHI (Japan), speaking on agenda items 82, 83 and 87, said that although equality and freedom had been enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations as its fundamental principles, there were unfortunately places in the world today where they were not recognized. The institutionalized racial discrimination practised under the apartheid policy of South Africa constituted the most serious and systematic denial of freedom and equality anywhere in the world today. Japan, which had experienced racial discrimination, abhorred it and had consistently adhered to a position of uncompromising opposition to all forms of racial discrimination. The Government of Japan had therefore made every effort to induce South Africa to respond to the appeals of the international community and abandon its practice of apartheid, and had put as much pressure on the Government of that country as had been possible and practicable.

51. The celebration in 1983 of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provided a good opportunity to recall that the United Nations had, in addition to that Declaration, drafted and adopted a series of international legal instruments and declarations for the promotion of human rights in general and the elimination of discrimination in various areas. Japan, which was already party to a number of those legal instruments and faithfully implemented the provisions of the Declarations, was contemplating acceding to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in the near future.

52. The Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had provided an opportunity for all the participants to ponder the basic causes of racial discrimination and racism, which were present in various forms in every society. As the Secretary-General had pointed out in his address to the Conference, it was necessary to get to the root of the problem. Racial prejudice and discrimination frequently stemmed from ignorance, fear, misunderstanding and misinformation. That was why her Government attached great importance to education and information as tools to be used to eradicate those prejudices. She emphasized in that context the importance of comprehensive education programmes and public information campaigns aimed at achieving international understanding of and respect for fundamental human rights. The younger generations had to be made aware that the variety of elements of which mankind was composed were all interrelated by the very fact that they had a single origin. In the Japanese legal system, the Fundamental Law of Education and the School Education Law prescribed respect for human rights and the equality of races as the basic principles of education.

53. In an interdependent world, public information played a role as important as that of education in fostering a global sense of justice and equity, which explained why the great majority of nations had censured South Africa. The United Nations had played a useful role in disseminating information against racial discrimination. It should always be borne in mind, however, that such information should be impartial and factual in nature. Her Government had therefore extended its co-operation to the United Nations in that task, through its support and contributions to the Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid.

(Mrs. Kurokochi, Japan)

54. Although the desired consensus had not been achieved at the Conference, her delegation noted with satisfaction the Declaration and Programme of Action, which emphasized the importance of education and information. Although her delegation had certain reservations, it supported the basic objectives of those documents, which reflected the commitment of the international community and constituted a major contribution to the enhancement of the joint struggle to eliminate all forms of racism and racial discrimination.

55. Turning to item 86, she said that in the view of her delegation human rights could not be effectively guaranteed until respect for the universal right of peoples to self-determination and the independence of all colonial countries and peoples had been achieved. There were still parts of the world in which the right to self-determination was being denied or had never been recognized. The problems of South Africa, the Middle East, Afghanistan and Kampuchea were closely linked to recognition of that right.

56. Japan once again strongly urged Viet Nam to end its military intervention in Kampuchea, and to agree to enter into negotiations to achieve a comprehensive political settlement which would include the withdrawal of all foreign forces and the holding of free elections under the supervision of the United Nations. Similarly, her Government urged the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan, restore the right of self-determination to the Afghan people and expedite the safe return home of Afghan refugees. The problem of the Middle East could be resolved only through recognition of and respect for the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people, which included the right to establish an independent State. At the same time, the right of all the States concerned to exist had to be respected. She reaffirmed Japan's position that South Africa should withdraw from Namibia at an early date in order to allow the Namibian people to exercise their right to self-determination and gain their independence in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

57. Her delegation believed that measures to achieve the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples should be practical and peaceful.

#### ORGANIZATION OF WORK

58. The CHAIRMAN read out a communication from the Under-Secretary-General for Public Information stating that, unlike the summary records, press releases were not official documents, nor were they issued in a provisional form; consequently, it was not possible to issue corrections which might be requested, other than those relating to errors of fact.

59. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia) urged those who drafted the summary records to take the greatest care to reflect speakers faithfully, since it was impossible to correct press releases.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.