



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 10th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. CHAVANAVIRAJ (Thailand)

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

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1. Mrs. OBANYE (Nigeria) said that the continued existence of racism and racial discrimination, particularly the practice of the obnoxious system of apartheid in South Africa, was a blot on the record of the United Nations in its struggle to promote and encourage respect for human rights throughout the world. That struggle, which was of fundamental importance to all humanity, was not being pursued with uniform enthusiasm. Time had proved that the optimism felt at the beginning of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had been unjustified. Apartheid had been aided and abetted with shameless and reckless abandon by some countries merely to protect their selfish interests, which to them were more important than respect for human dignity.

2. Some progress had, no doubt, been made during the Decade, in particular the establishment of a democratic and non-racial society in Zimbabwe, the categorization of apartheid as a crime against humanity and the increased information within the international community about the evils of apartheid, racism and racial discrimination. However, the major goal of the Decade, namely, the elimination of all racist régimes, still eluded the international community. Nigeria, which had always unequivocally condemned racism and racial discrimination

(Mrs. Obanye, Nigeria)

wherever it existed, believed that the only way in which the United Nations could effectively contribute to the eradication of apartheid was through comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the South African régime under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Failure to impose such sanctions meant that the international community would be inviting bloodshed in South Africa.

3. Unfortunately, the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had failed to become a rallying point for the international community to take stock of the progress made during the Decade. Her delegation was disappointed that the United States had not seen fit to participate in the Conference and that the Western countries which had participated in it had not been able to join in the consensus which the African countries had strenuously fought for. It was a pity that economic and other interests could make some Western delegates fail to recognize the danger which the obnoxious system of apartheid posed to international peace and security. Those countries that paid lip service to the struggle against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid had shown their true colours at the Conference by voting against, or making unnecessary reservations with respect to, the Declaration and the Programme of Action.

4. The proponents of a gradual change towards a more democratic and multi-racial society in South Africa had failed to state what should be done about those countries that openly collaborated with South Africa. For example, the Government of the United States had recently given approval to United States corporations to provide technical and maintenance services to South African nuclear facilities. It seemed unlikely that the so-called "security concerns" of the racist régime would cause it to change. Those who held to the view that only gradual change could result in the elimination of apartheid seemed to be pretending to be ignorant of the history of the struggle against the racist régime in Pretoria. Her delegation believed that nothing short of the application of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions would bring the racist régime to its senses. It hoped that the Programme of Action adopted at the Second World Conference would be endorsed by all as a sign of sincere commitment to the elimination of all forms of racism and racial discrimination and the total eradication of the inhuman system of apartheid.

5. Mr. SCHLEGEL (German Democratic Republic) said the fact that the important documents adopted by the Second World Conference had been supported by an overwhelming majority of the participants was an expression of the determination to continue to stand firmly against all forms of discrimination and oppression of people based on race, colour or ethnic origin. The Conference had called for measures against all racial ideologies and practices. That applied to both the terror of apartheid and the subjugation of the people living in the occupied Arab territories. It applied also to the oppression of large population groups in the Americas and to the incapacitation of foreign labour in the countries ruled by capital. Nazism, fascism and neo-fascism were also among the most dangerous forms of racism. It had been an act of unprecedented self-exposure and self-accusation for two of the major exponents of such policies to stay away from the Conference.

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(Mr. Schlegel, German
Democratic Republic)

6. The German Democratic Republic had been deeply committed to making an active contribution within the Preparatory Committee and at the Second World Conference itself in order to make it a success. In implementing the Declaration and the Programme of Action, the people of the German Democratic Republic would continue their active solidarity with the victims of colonial and racist subjugation. The German Democratic Republic understood quite well that the continued struggle against any form of racism and fascism went hand in hand with the struggle of peoples striving for peace, human dignity and social progress.

7. Several times during the discussion in the Third Committee, Western countries had asserted that it had not been possible to reach consensus at the Second World Conference on all provisions of the final document. The paragraphs that had failed to win a consensus had been those dealing with consistent and comprehensive steps to be taken against the apartheid régime and with ways of putting an end to acts of terror perpetrated against the Palestinian and Arab peoples in the Israeli-occupied territories. According to Western representatives, it was precisely the measures directed against the elimination of the remnants of racism which should be excluded from the programme of future action. The intent behind those positions was transparently clear. Those forces which had always proved to be accomplices of the apartheid régime and had never been prepared to rebuff the practices of the rulers in Israel were obviously trying to get a green light for their continued collaboration. His delegation strongly endorsed the suggestion that action-oriented measures should be taken against apartheid and all other forms of racism. The continued Western collaboration with the racist régime was one of the main reasons why substantial goals of the Decade had not been achieved.

8. Nevertheless, the German Democratic Republic could not share the view, expressed by some States, that the first Decade had been a failure. The Decade had clearly given fresh impetus to the movement of oppressed peoples for national and social independence. The successes and victories gained by the peoples that had achieved national independence during that period had been of historic importance. The creation and the activities of the People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique and the Republic of Zimbabwe had substantially limited the colonialist and racist rulers' room for action. Accordingly, his delegation endorsed the proposal, first made by the representative of Cuba, that the General Assembly should proclaim a Second Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted at the Second World Conference should form the basis for the future struggle against colonialism, racism, apartheid, fascism, imperialist aggression and foreign domination. The German Democratic Republic would actively contribute to their implementation.

9. With respect to agenda item 86, his delegation believed that unrealistic claims made under the cover of self-determination and denying past historical development, political facts and present international agreements were not designed to bring about positive results. History had proved that provocative demands for a change of the status quo in Europe had never served peace but had only paved the way for war.

10. Mr. NGO PIN (Democratic Kampuchea) reaffirmed his delegation's sympathy for and solidarity with the just cause of all peoples, particularly those of Namibia and South Africa, which were waging a difficult but resolute struggle against racism and racial discrimination to gain their freedom and independence.

Thirty-five years after the adoption and proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it could be hoped that the international community would endeavour to implement the recommendations of the Second World Conference effectively, so that the Second Decade would yield substantial results in the world's efforts to eradicate racism and racial discrimination. Despite all efforts, however, those evils continued to survive, not only in South Africa but also in other parts of the world; in Kampuchea, the war of aggression waged by the Hanoi authorities was in fact a war of racial extermination. Racism and racial discrimination still jeopardized international peace and security, and strong measures should therefore be taken against them.

11. The present war waged in Kampuchea by the Hanoi authorities was not an ordinary war of aggression. The Vietnamese aggressors intended not only to transform Kampuchea into their colony but to swallow the whole country and turn it into Vietnamese territory. It was clearly a war of genocide aimed at annihilating the national identity of Kampuchea.

12. Vietnamese hordes had plundered and devastated the economy of the country while cold-bloodedly killing hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans. Crops and foodstuffs were transported to Viet Nam to feed Hanoi's armies of aggression and its agents. Since 1980, the Vietnamese had resorted to chemical weapons to exterminate the Kampuchean people. In the areas under temporary Vietnamese control, Kampucheans were confined to villages which the Vietnamese cynically referred to as "strategic hamlets". Lacking food and being attacked by all kinds of diseases, the villagers were condemned to a slow death.

13. At the same time, the Vietnamese occupiers were systematically implementing an all-out policy of "Vietnamization" of Kampuchea. They had rewritten the history and geography of Kampuchea by attempting to demonstrate that Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam, together with Thailand and the southern part of China, constituted a single historical-cultural entity. In addition, they forced mixed marriages between Vietnamese and Kampucheans, so that the offspring would become Vietnamese citizens and the national identity of Kampuchea would disappear in a few generations. Moreover, Vietnamese settlers numbering more than 600,000 had been established in the richest regions of Kampuchea and had seized the most fertile lands.

14. He wondered whether that was what the representatives of Viet Nam and the Soviet Union meant when they stated in the Third Committee that they were fighting against racism and racial discrimination. His delegation believed that until all Vietnamese troops of aggression left Kampuchea, those expansionist aggressors had no right to speak of human rights or the rights of peoples to self-determination. Their words were nothing but lies. All friendly countries committed to peace and justice should take all possible measures to denounce and condemn those

(Mr. Ngo Pin, Democratic
Kampuchea)

expansionist aggressors and demand strict implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea calling for the withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops.

15. Mr. MI Guojun (China), speaking on item 86, said that the grave issue of denying and violating the right to national self-determination still existed. In the Middle East, the Palestinian people had been deprived of the right to self-determination for over three decades; that was historical evidence of Israel's wanton trampling upon the principle of national self-determination. Through several large-scale aggressive wars, Israel had forcibly occupied the homeland inhabited by the Palestinian people for generations. It had used every means to change the legal status, geographical character and demographic composition of the occupied territories in an attempt to perpetuate its occupation. Israel had launched an attack on the armed forces of the PLO in Lebanon, attempting to liquidate the Palestinian people's cause of liberation and deprive Palestinians permanently of their right to return to their homeland and their right to self-determination, and it had planned the sanguinary massacre in the Palestinian refugee camps.

16. The South African racist régime was the most obstinate stronghold of the remaining forces of colonialism in Africa and a serious obstacle to the realization of the South African and Namibian peoples' right to national self-determination. In Namibia, by intensifying the suppression of the armed struggle led by SWAPO, South African authorities had defied the relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and had obstructed the attainment of Namibian independence. Meanwhile, South African authorities had made repeated armed incursions against the front-line States, attempting to intimidate them into giving up their support of the Azanian and Namibian peoples in their just struggle.

17. Another category of grave violations of the right to national self-determination was exemplified when one State, prompted by hegemonist ambitions, militarily occupied another independent State; that was what had happened in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. The external armed invasions and military occupations not only had brutally deprived the peoples of those two countries of the right to self-determination but also had endangered the peace and security of Asia and the world. The international community had strongly condemned the aggressors and demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign occupation forces from Afghanistan and Kampuchea. But the Soviet Union and Viet Nam had refused to withdraw their occupation forces and to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions. They had even made unfounded countercharges by labeling other countries' upholding of justice as "external interference". Over the past two years, the Vietnamese authorities had taken political, economic, social, cultural and educational measures in order to Vietnamize the occupied area of Kampuchea completely, and the continued immigration of Vietnamese into Kampuchea had driven many Kampuchean out of their homeland.

(Mr. Mi Guojun, China)

18. Those who went against the tide of national independence and liberation, such as the Israeli and South African authorities and those responsible for the atrocious occupation of Afghanistan and Kampuchea, had met with universal condemnation. In contrast, the just struggle of the Palestinian people and the peoples of the Arab countries, southern Africa, Afghanistan and Kampuchea enjoyed the sympathy and support of the broad masses of people the world over. The United Nations and other organizations had made unremitting efforts to support them and express solidarity with them in their struggle. Since the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, three important international conferences sponsored by the United Nations had made renewed efforts to resolve the problems of southern Africa and Palestine by adopting historic declarations, programmes of action and resolutions. The Secretary-General of the United Nations and the ASEAN countries had made constant efforts to achieve a just and comprehensive solution of the question of Afghanistan and Kampuchea. History would prove that the final victory belonged to the peoples of Palestine, southern Africa, Afghanistan and Kampuchea, no matter how many difficulties they might encounter.

19. Mr. AL-KALBASH (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) said that the four agenda items under discussion were among the most important items allocated to the Committee, since they were closely bound up with the elimination of one of the most disgraceful phenomena of the contemporary world, that of racism and racial discrimination. In spite of the progress made in decolonization, and in spite of scientific and technological progress, racism continued to be practised in various parts of the world by régimes which had arisen on the debris of colonialism.

20. The Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had been successful in spite of the difficulties created by some who had wanted it to fail. Non-attendance by the United States and by the Zionist entity and the reservations expressed by the Western European States in connection with the vote on certain paragraphs of the Declaration threw light once again on the positions of those States with regard to the question of racism, on the extent of their alliance with racist régimes and on their determination to defy the will of the international community and its efforts for the eradication of racism in all its forms.

21. Mr. BEIN (Israel), speaking on a point of order, said that the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya had referred to Israel as "the Zionist entity". He was in no way opposed to being called "Zionist"; on the contrary, he was very proud of that description. Zionism was the national liberation movement of the Jewish people. It was a positive movement, striving only for constructive development, and was not directed against other peoples or individuals.

22. He did, however, object to any reference to a State Member of the United Nations as an "entity". His delegation could also resort to calling the country whose representative had made that reference a "military, dictatorial, aggressor and racist entity", but it preferred not to do so. All Member States had names and should be called by those names even when being criticized. Members should refrain from name-calling and concentrate on constructive debate.

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23. Mr. AL-KALBASH (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) said that the results achieved by the Second World Conference were a landmark in the struggle of the United Nations to eliminate racism within the context of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, crowned the efforts made over the past ten years, and complemented the work of the First World Conference and the other international conferences on the subject. His delegation felt that the texts adopted by the Conference - which formed an integral whole - could, if their provisions were implemented, play a central role in the struggle against racism and the racist régimes.

24. The preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights stated that recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family was the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination had affirmed the necessity of speedily eliminating racial discrimination throughout the world. A number of agreements, conventions and declarations concerning the strengthening of human rights and fundamental freedoms had been concluded after the First and Second World Wars. Nevertheless, the practical application of those exalted principles remained beset by obstacles, the arrogance and dominance of the racist minority increased in strength from day to day, racial discrimination and apartheid continued to pervert human values, and oppression in South Africa and other parts of the world continued to increase, and so did the suffering of the peoples concerned. Accordingly, his delegation supported the proposal that the General Assembly should declare a second decade for action to combat racism and racial discrimination in order to achieve the total elimination of those heinous crimes against humanity.

25. By its practices under the policy of apartheid, the Pretoria régime was defying the international community and violating, on a daily basis, the principles of human rights. Black citizens, about 80 per cent of the population, were subjected to the most despicable forms of oppression and exploitation and were thrown in prison merely for demanding their rights to justice, equality and self-determination.

26. While the white minority had a monopoly of all the resources of the country and of all sectors of production, black citizens had no choice but to become wage-earners in companies, farms and factories owned by whites. Thus, they were exploited as cheap labour, were denied their right to enjoy the wealth of their country and lived as strangers in their own land.

27. The racist régime in South Africa would not be able to persist in its policy of apartheid without the unlimited material and moral support it received from the United States and certain Western European countries and without the ongoing co-operation between it and the monopolistic companies established in those States. In spite of all the United Nations resolutions calling for non-co-operation with the racist régime, the United States and some Western European States still maintained close relations with it; they had even strengthened those relations in recent years and encouraged their companies to invest in South Africa. The number of such companies with investments in South

(Mr. Al-Kalbash, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

Africa had increased from 1,888 in 1978 to 3,035 in 1981. Known investments there by the United States and some of the European Common Market countries had reached \$11 billion by 1979 and had no doubt increased since then. Assistance, including technical assistance, received by the racist régime from the Western States and the Zionist entity, together with direct investment and investment through transnational corporations, had enabled the Pretoria régime to obtain the necessary technology to develop its military industries, making it self-sufficient with regard to much military equipment. It had, consequently, been able to build up its military capacity, to continue its occupation of Namibia and to violate the sovereignty of neighbouring African States.

28. The support of the United States and certain Western European States for the racist régime had gone beyond bilateral assistance and co-operation and had extended to the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The United States had continually used its veto in the Security Council to defend that régime and had prevented the Council from taking any deterrent action against it.

29. The alliance of the racist régimes was a grave threat to world peace and security, and everyone knew that whenever the oppressed peoples scored a victory, that alliance was strengthened and became more savage. Increasingly close co-operation between the racist régimes in South Africa and occupied Palestine had been observed in recent years. The international conference on the alliance between South Africa and the Zionist entity held at Vienna in July 1983 had confirmed the existence of such co-operation, particularly in the military and nuclear fields, and had condemned it as a flagrant defiance of United Nations resolutions.

30. Mr. BEIN (Israel), speaking on a point of order, requested the Chairman to emphasize to members of the Committee that Member States should be referred by their names and not in any other items.

31. The CHAIRMAN appealed to the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to exercise restraint.

32. Mr. RAZOOQI (Kuwait), speaking on a point of order, said that the representative of Israel was attempting to divert the Committee from its work by the use of improper debating tactics. His remarks should be reserved for the exercise of the right of reply. Any objection to the use of incorrect nomenclature should be addressed in the first instance to that representative himself and to his Government, since they habitually referred to the Palestine Liberation Organization as "the terrorist PLO". When they ceased doing so, others might then reconsider other aspects of the question of nomenclature.

33. Mr. AL-KALBASH (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) said he wished to make it clear that his country did not recognize the entity in question because it was not a State but merely an entity with a long record of terror, criminality and denial of the right of self-determination. That entity had come into being by expelling the

(Mr. Al-Kalbash, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

Palestinian people and occupying its land by force. No one would oblige his country to recognize such an entity.

34. The Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had, in its Declaration, condemned the existing and increasing relations between the Zionist entity and South Africa, in particular those in the economic and military fields. The similarity of those two régimes was apparent to all: both of them were based upon racist principles and laws discriminating between the original inhabitants of the country and immigrants, and both practised a policy of oppression and terror against those original inhabitants.

35. The racist régime in South Africa denied the black African majority its right to self-determination and to the enjoyment of basic freedoms. It oppressed the people of Namibia and denied it its right to self-determination and independence. The Zionist entity acted likewise, denying the Palestinian people its right to self-determination, to establish its own independent State and to enjoy its inalienable rights. Just as the racist régime in South Africa was occupying Namibia and a part of the territory of Angola, the Zionist entity was occupying the territory of a number of Arab States and had recently occupied Lebanon. Just as the Pretoria régime was depleting the resources of Namibia, the Zionist régime was depleting the resources of the occupied Arab territories.

36. The laws enacted by the Zionist régime, its continuing violations of the rights of Arab citizens, its invasion of Lebanon and the massacres that it had perpetrated at Sabra and Shatila were a decisive proof of the determination made by the General Assembly in its resolution 3379 (XXX) that zionism was a form of racism and racial discrimination. The international community must band together, regardless of differences in ideology, as it had against nazism and fascism, to excise the neo-nazi Zionist cancer which intended the mass extermination of the Palestinian people, threatened humanity in its entirety and endangered international peace and security.

37. His Government opposed racial discrimination in all its forms and would help and support all peoples languishing under the yoke of imperialism, foreign domination and racist régimes. Accordingly, it had ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. It condemned all forms of racial discrimination practised against migrant workers in Europe and black citizens in the United States.

38. His country attached particular importance to respect for the right of peoples to self-determination as one of the basic principles of contemporary international law and as a pre-condition for the exercise of other human rights and fundamental freedoms. The international community must take action to see to it that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was fully implemented. In that connection, his delegation supported the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people, the people of Namibia, the people of South Africa and all peoples struggling for freedom and independence.

39. Mr. CHIKETA (Zimbabwe) said it was generally agreed that all human beings were born equal in dignity and rights, that the doctrine of superiority based on racial differentiation was false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous, that the practice of racial discrimination was an obstacle to friendly and peaceful relations among nations, that apartheid was the worst form of racism and that racism, racial discrimination and apartheid must be speedily eliminated by all appropriate means. It was with that aim in view that the Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had been launched and the First and Second World Conferences had been held. The adoption of a Programme of Action at the latter Conference without one dissenting voice had been a positive and noteworthy step forward. It was regrettable, however, that certain countries had been conspicuously absent for dubious and unconvincing reasons. Even more regrettable was the attempt by those same countries to suggest that their protective policy of "constructive engagement" was the panacea that could eliminate apartheid. In Zimbabwe's view, that policy was neither speedy nor appropriate; indeed, it was a prescription for a disastrous and dangerous course towards a racial war.

40. He described apartheid as a set of policies and practices which excelled in the production of victims, and which controlled every bit of the daily life of non-whites. It included four distinctive but converging dimensions: racial prejudice and discrimination, racial segregation and separation, economic exploitation of natural and human resources, and legal, administrative and police terror. Zimbabwe felt that the Programme of Action adopted at the Second World Conference at Geneva was the most appropriate method to eliminate it. The code of conduct, the Sullivan doctrine and the "constructive engagement" policy not only were unsuitable but actually sustained and encouraged the Pretoria régime.

41. Although the maintenance of the repressive apartheid machinery was expensive, the policy of constructive engagement had helped South Africa resist the challenges from the international community, and the régime had won political support and sympathy because some countries had a stake in its economy. Money being given to the racist régime was also being used to train and arm dissident troops, who were then sent out to destabilize the region.

42. Chapter I of the Programme of Action concentrated on measures for eliminating the apartheid system. A number of paragraphs were commendable, particularly those advocating assistance to victims of apartheid and to independent States in the sub-region which were also victims of South African aggression. Zimbabwe also identified itself with the educational part of the Programme of Action, because education for all, not just for the privileged, would go a long way towards bringing justice, respect, security and peace to the region. Furthermore, as a victim of the hostile propaganda war beamed by the apartheid régime with ever-increasing virulence, Zimbabwe was conscious of the role the mass media could play. It also welcomed the progress being made to protect the rights of indigenous populations and peoples and of migrant workers, who were also victims of racial discrimination.

43. Mr. ZURITA (Spain) said that his country had always repudiated all forms of racism and racial discrimination and all theories and policies based on the superiority of one race over others. That feeling was deeply rooted in the Spanish people and enshrined in Spanish law at the highest level. It was also demonstrated internationally by Spain's interest in participating in the efforts being made by the international community to eradicate racism in the world.

44. One of the objectives of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had been to review and evaluate the activities and achievements of the Decade. Despite the unquestionable progress made in combating racism during that period, the problem persisted. In view of the attitudes which had impeded the success of the First Conference, his delegation had called for consensus in the preparation and development of the Second Conference, so that the Decade could conclude on the same basis of consensus as it had begun. The holding of the Conference showed how difficult that effort had been. The results of the Conference had unfortunately made it clear that the phenomenon of racial discrimination had not been studied in sufficient depth and that the condemnation of racist practices had not been general but had been limited only to the practices of South Africa and Israel.

45. Spain vigorously condemned the racist practices of the South African Government, but it felt that the only type of co-operation with the régime which should be condemned was the type that could be used to perpetuate its racist policy and the apartheid system. Similarly, Spain had joined in drawing the international community's attention to the existence of discriminatory practices applied to the population of the territories illegally occupied by Israel; however, it believed that those practices did not in themselves represent a definite apartheid-like racist policy on the part of the Israeli Government but were the result of a state of war and military occupation. Even so, Spain condemned such practices and called for their immediate cessation.

46. The fruits of the Decade appeared to be few in relation to the expectations awakened by its proclamation. There had been a lack of consensus in the two final documents of the Second Conference, the Declaration and the Programme of Action, although the final adoption of those documents had been unopposed.

47. In comparison to the 1978 Conference, the Second Conference appeared to have constituted a step forward, and he expressed the hope that the spirit of participation shown might bring about a desirable reshaping of consensus in the Second Decade.

48. Speaking on item 87, he said that his delegation recognized the central role which the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had played in the common effort to do away with racial discrimination in the world. He noted with satisfaction the increase in the number of States parties to the Convention, which had reached 121 in September.

49. He reaffirmed Spain's support of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in the exercise of its functions; those functions emanated from the

(Mr. Zurita, Spain)

mandate which it had received by the Convention and to which it should therefore limit its actions, without imposing on the Governments any obligations or guidelines which were not included in the text of the Convention.

50. Speaking on item 86, he said that it would be difficult to guarantee respect for human rights if the world's peoples could not exercise their primary right of acting as peoples and determining their own destiny.

51. His delegation felt that the solution to the problem of the Middle East must be based on respect for the legitimate rights of all parties, including that of the Palestinian people to self-determination, and on the security of all the States of the region.

52. Spain had repeatedly condemned the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and the practices used by the South African Government to delay the independence of Namibia. The only just solution would be one based on the plan contained in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978) and 532 (1983).

53. Lastly, he said that Spain firmly supported the United Nations resolutions on Afghanistan and Kampuchea, for only by their implementation would it be possible for the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples to exercise their right to self-determination.

54. Mr. DE FIGUEIREDO (Angola) said that racism and racial discrimination were inextricably bound up with the denial and violation of human rights. Those who supported racist régimes, those who did not condemn those régimes and those who protested verbally but continued to co-operate with them were accessories to the crime. Principles were not divisible and human rights could not be reinterpreted or adapted at will to serve the interests of alien societies and Governments.

55. The régime which claimed to be the strongest in southern Africa, the bulwark of Western, so-called "Christian" values and civilization, practised the most virulent form of racism and racial discrimination in Africa. Its system of apartheid, its military brutality, its intransigence, its militarist adventurism, all bespoke a racism that was at the heart of its policies, whether domestic, regional or international.

56. In the Middle East, the ideological, political, economic and social twin of South Africa, the Zionist State of Israel was engaged in an equally systematic racist brutalization of the Arab people, in particular the Palestinian people.

57. His delegation called upon the Committee to adopt more concrete proposals than it had in the past for the elimination of racism and racial discrimination. The Committee should recommend that action be taken not only on the issue of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence, but also on the violation of the human rights of peoples under illegal foreign military occupation, namely, the population of parts of southern Angola and Namibia now occupied by South African forces and the people of the Palestinian homeland, the Syrian Golan Heights and

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(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

parts of Lebanon now occupied by the Israeli armed forces. The very fact of foreign occupation was a violation of the inalienable human right to freedom and dignity within national sovereign borders and of all other fundamental human rights.

58. His delegation invited all those who wished to put an end to racism and racial discrimination and who supported the observance of human rights to join Angola in strongly condemning the racist apartheid policies of South Africa and Israel and in demanding an end to the acts of aggression perpetrated by those racist régimes.

59. Mr. GOMES (Guinea-Bissau) said that the Second Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination proclaimed in General Assembly resolution 2191 (XXVII) had achieved some progress, but much remained to be done if racism and racial discrimination were to be eliminated once and for all. His delegation had participated in the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination; it warmly congratulated the President and Secretary-General of the Conference for their valuable contributions and supported the Programme of Action which had been adopted. It also thanked the Secretary-General for his valuable report (A/CONF.119/26).

60. The people of Guinea-Bissau, having endured five centuries of colonial rule which had ended only after a long and bitter struggle, condemned all forms of racism and racial discrimination wherever they occurred. Despite the many efforts being deployed to combat those evils, no lasting solution could be achieved so long as certain Governments continued to institutionalize racist practices. The South African régime, for example, continued to deny the majority of that country's own citizens their legitimate rights under the system of apartheid. The ruling minority should be reminded of the lessons taught by recent history: the former rulers of Zimbabwe and Guinea-Bissau had never believed that their régimes, backed by impressive military might, could have been overthrown by national liberation movements. The racist rulers in Pretoria must realize that they could not, despite the violent oppression which they perpetrated, prevent the black peoples of South Africa from achieving their victory.

61. Guinea-Bissau continued to support ANC and SWAPO in their struggles for independence in South Africa and Namibia; it vigorously condemned apartheid, racism and racial discrimination as flagrant violations of human rights which posed a grave obstacle to political, economic and social development. The indefensible policy of the South African régime - oppression of the South African and Namibian peoples and of aggressive acts aimed at destabilizing neighbouring States such as Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho - gravely threatened peace and security in the region. Measures aimed at prolonging South Africa's colonial domination, and particularly the absurd notion that Namibian independence should be linked to the withdrawal of Cuban international forces from Angola, merely postponed the day when victory for the national liberation movements was finally achieved. Moreover, the bogus political and constitutional schemes proposed by the Pretoria régime, which would have the effect of prolonging foreign influence and exploitation in Namibia, amounted to flagrant violations of the Charter.

(Mr. Gomes, Guinea-Bissau)

62. Guinea-Bissau reiterated its solidarity with the peoples of Namibia and South Africa and their national liberation movements. It supported the front-line States in their efforts to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity against the South African régime's aggressive policies.

63. The people of Palestine continued to suffer under occupation by the Zionist régime of Israel, which was striving to consolidate its presence in the occupied Arab territories. Guinea-Bissau supported the Palestinian people's struggle, led by the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole legitimate representative.

64. Guinea-Bissau also supported the resolution adopted at the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination aimed at promoting implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and many other international human rights instruments.

65. Mrs. SHERMAN-PETER (Bahamas) said that the experience of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had shown how difficult it was to make progress in the absence of a consensus in the approach to the problem and concerted international action.

66. Although urgent attention had been focused for decades on South Africa's policy of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid, and it had been unanimously condemned by the international community, the institution of apartheid remained entrenched in South Africa. Some Member States in a position to exert pressure on the South African Government continued to provide it with support - thus appearing to sanction the status quo at the expense of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Contacts with South Africa had effected only cosmetic changes after three decades during which the black majority in South Africa had been treated socially and economically as sub-human and had fewer rights in their own country than white immigrants. Black citizens were confined to Bantustans; 87 per cent of the land was reserved for 20 per cent of the population - the white minority. Political, trade union and religious leaders were executed or imprisoned, despite world opinion, because of their quest for freedom and equality. One of the obstacles to achieving an international consensus against apartheid was the feeling, in certain quarters, that the concern expressed about the humanitarian problem might be politically motivated.

67. The Bahamas as a former colonial and minority-dominated society, associated itself with those Member States which generally supported the South African black majority's aspirations for democracy, equality and freedom as a matter of priority; it shared the frustration felt at South Africa's blatant disregard for international opinion, the provisions of the Charter and common decency. Apartheid was an unconventional problem; it could not be solved by conventional means. The universal condemnation of apartheid should now take the form of energetic and concerted action overriding narrow self-interest. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Bahamas had stated in the plenary, the South African Government's philosophy had a dangerous appeal to those forces in the world which still believed

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(Mrs. Sherman-Peter, Bahamas)

some men to be more equal than others - a threat which must be removed by means of broad agreement on a programme of practical measures.

68. The Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had been far less controversial than the previous Conference; the Final Declaration had been adopted by a significant majority, and the Programme of Action had been adopted without dissent. The degree of success achieved was a tribute to the work of the President and Secretary-General of the Conference. The Bahamas would endeavour to implement the Programme of Action at the national and international levels.

69. The third and fourth periodic reports of the Bahamas on its implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination had been presented earlier in the year and had had a positive reception. The CERD's comments and requests would be taken into consideration when the Bahamas prepared its fifth periodic report. The Government of the Bahamas had embarked upon a programme to educate its citizens, particularly its youth, to the evils of racism and racial discrimination, with emphasis on apartheid. In the private sector non-governmental organizations such as the Committee on South Africa stimulated interest and mobilized opinion against those evils. The Government would continue to give material and moral support to the peoples of southern Africa and wholeheartedly supported military, economic and cultural sanctions against South Africa.

70. Her delegation thanked the Secretary-General for the reasonable suggestions contained in document A/38/393; it particularly welcomed the suggestion that reports should be submitted at four-year intervals and that technical assistance could be made available for the preparation of reports. It was right that the issue of reporting on the implementation of all the various human rights instruments should be dealt with collectively in order to reduce difficulties and avoid discouraging States from acceding to or ratifying conventions. It was hoped that the difficulties which some States had found in acceding to the Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid could be overcome.

71. On 25 May 1983 the Bahamas Parliament had unanimously adopted a resolution against apartheid in sports, and had taken other steps to express its opposition to South Africa's activities in international competitions. That action was consistent with its position in the United Nations, the Commonwealth and the Caribbean Community.

72. The growth in the number of independent States since the formation of the United Nations showed that the Organization's decolonization efforts had not been in vain. The Bahamas welcomed Saint Christopher and Nevis, a sister Caribbean State, to membership in the Organization. It regretted, however, that Namibia had not yet achieved independence and hoped that the efforts of the Western Contact Group would enable Namibia to achieve democratic rule and independence in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

(Mrs. Sherman-Peter, Bahamas)

73. All countries valued their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and all States were obligated under international law not to threaten or violate the territorial integrity of others. But many States, such as the front-line States of southern Africa, suffered from such violations. Since most of the international community believed that human rights applied equally to all peoples, that belief must be asserted through co-operative endeavours and resistance to all forces which jeopardized the self-determination of peoples or undermined the existence of independent sovereign States.

74. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) said that his delegation associated itself with the President and Secretary-General of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination in calling upon the General Assembly to give priority to the Programme of Action of the Second Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. It hoped that the Programme of Action would be adopted by consensus, particularly since it had been adopted by the Conference without a dissenting vote among the 128 participating States. It was of extreme importance to forge a harmony of views concerning the Programme of Action since the Conference had acknowledged that, in spite of the efforts made by the international community over the first Decade, racism, racial discrimination and apartheid had not been eliminated and there was no indication that their manifestations had decreased.

75. The Secretary-General had stated in his report (A/38/426) that the successful conclusion of the Conference had created a favourable atmosphere, within which context greater efforts could be made for the attainment of a global consensus on matters relating to racism, racial discrimination and apartheid. His delegation called upon all Member States to work together for the achievement of that goal and for the establishment of an international community governed by justice, equality and peace.

76. It was to be regretted that in an age of scientific and technological progress there still remained peoples which had not yet obtained their right to self-determination and independence, régimes still practising a policy of racial discrimination and apartheid and independent States suffering from the effects of armed aggression against their territory and foreign intervention in their internal affairs. The racist régime in Pretoria continued, in spite of universal condemnation, to impose its racist policies on the peoples of Namibia and South Africa, thereby defying the will of the international community and ignoring all the resolutions of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Egypt, proceeding from its firm position in support of the recognized liberation movements, wished to express its support for the heroic struggle of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa against the Pretoria régime and to reaffirm its determination to do all in its power to continue its material and moral support until such time as Namibia achieved independence and the policy of apartheid was eradicated.

77. The people of Palestine also continued to be deprived of its right to self-determination and to suffer from Israeli practices which had been condemned in

(Mr. Khalil, Egypt)

all forums by the entire international community. The Israeli authorities continued to violate human rights in the occupied territories, the most serious of such violations being the implementation of the settlement policy in the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan and the imposition of repressive measures. His country would continue to work for the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and called upon the international community to assist that people to obtain those rights, chiefly the right to self-determination.

78. The people of Lebanon continued to suffer from the effects of the Israeli aggression against their territory. His delegation therefore also called upon the international community to intensify its efforts to bring about a complete Israeli withdrawal from all Lebanese territory, to ensure respect by all parties of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and to put an end to all forms of foreign intervention in its internal affairs.

79. His country looked forward to the day when the peoples of Palestine and Namibia would attain their right to self-determination, when an end would be put to the policy of apartheid in South Africa, when a solution would be found to the Lebanese problem and when the legitimate rights of the peoples of Kampuchea and Afghanistan would be restored. It also looked forward to the success of the international community in eradicating all forms of racial discrimination, including discrimination in the treatment of migrant workers and minorities.

80. Ms. KOUYOKILA-SOUMINA (Congo) said that the international community viewed racism and racial discrimination as the most odious forms of denial of individual human rights, and for the past decade had sought to eliminate those anachronisms at the national, regional and international levels.

81. Apartheid had for years been deemed a crime against humanity, yet many countries still maintained relations, including military ties, with the South African régime and sought to defend its policies. Because of their support, the sanctions widely advocated by the international community, including the arms embargo decreed by the Security Council in 1978, had remained without effect and the South African régime had continued to flout world public opinion - for example, through its continued occupation of Namibia.

82. Only a firm policy of sanctions could bring the apartheid system to an end - but it would never end so long as the international community was divided on enforcing them. There were some who said that South Africa's policies would gradually become more liberal and that the struggle waged by national liberation movements was unjustified. But deprecation of Pretoria's policies was not enough; firm measures must be applied. Her country upheld the right of SWAPO and other national liberation movements to take all possible measures to free the peoples of South Africa and Namibia from their oppressors.

83. In Palestine also, the international community must strive to end a situation in which a people was being deprived of its own homeland. Congo could not acquiesce in the policy pursued by Israel in the occupied Arab territories. That

(Ms. Kouyokila-Soumina, Congo)

policy, made possible only because of support from outside, flouted many relevant international resolutions and had led, inter alia, to racial discrimination, even in matters such as water supply, in the occupied territories.

84. The international community must speak out in protest wherever national communities and minorities were denied the right to assert their rights.

85. The Congolese delegation thanked the President and Secretary-General of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination for their reports and their valuable contributions to the work of the Conference, which had adopted its Final Document by consensus and without a dissenting vote. Although the Congolese delegation would have preferred more specific recommendations, the Programme of Action was capable of generating a number of practical steps which could result in further progress. It was to be hoped that the Second Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination would result in the final eradication of such practices and their evil effects. Only effective action, including information about racism and racial discrimination, could destroy those barriers and promote the harmonious relations essential to the development of all peoples.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

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