



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 9th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. MADAR (Somalia)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 84: ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND OTHER FORMS OF ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO THE RACIST AND COLONIALIST REGIME OF SOUTH AFRICA (continued) (A/39/534; A/C.3/39/2; E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8 and Add.1 and 2)

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1. Mr. CERMAK (Austria) said that, if the struggle of the community against systems based on racism was to succeed, the action taken must be endorsed by the largest possible majority. Austria, which had voted in favour in both the Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted at the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, therefore appealed to all delegations to step up their efforts to find common ground. Governments still practising racism and racial discrimination would then be confronted with the condemnation of virtually the entire international community. Diverging opinions on the adoption of decisive action only served the purposes of those who practised racism and apartheid. His Government was convinced that those practices must be totally eradicated, for international peace and security were at stake. Early abolition of the system of apartheid was especially essential. In that connection, South Africa's new Constitution failed to meet the aspirations of the majority population of that country, as well as those of the international community, and lacked any internal support.

2. With regard to the draft plan of activities for the period 1985-1989 (A/39/167 and Add.1 and 2), his delegation considered the suggestions concerning education,

(Mr. Cermak, Austria)

teaching, training and the dissemination of information to be of vital importance. Education could play a crucial role in shaping young people's attitudes with regard to human rights and the struggle against racial discrimination. Austria therefore supported the suggestion that UNESCO should place particular emphasis on such activities at the primary and secondary levels. In that connection, the human rights instruments adopted by the United Nations must be presented to young people as effective instruments for the rescue of millions of people in distress throughout the world and as historical documents which had been ahead of their time.

3. His delegation had reservations with regard to several of the specific measures referred to in paragraph 9 of Addendum 2 to the draft plan of activities, especially some of those proposed in paragraphs 2 to 15 of the Programme of Action. He was referring in particular to measures which would interfere with the rights of individuals and private organizations provided for under the Austrian constitutional system and to the legitimacy of all available means of combating racism, including armed struggle.

4. Turning to the right of peoples to self-determination, his delegation wished to refer to two areas which had received world-wide attention for decades. With regard to the question of Namibia, there was no alternative to Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The international community must increase its pressure in order to convince the South African authorities that they had no choice but to renounce the apartheid system and permit the independence of Namibia. With regard to Palestine, the international community must constantly pursue a solution within the context of the right of peoples to self-determination. As Mr. Leopold Gratz, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria, had said, his country rejected policies based on military superiority and the occupation of foreign territories. Any solution must be based on the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories, the recognition of Israel as a sovereign, independent State within secure and recognized borders, and the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to its own State. The PLO must also be included in all efforts to find a just and peaceful solution for the region.

5. In conclusion, he hoped that the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination would bring more substantial results, based on shared efforts and a strong spirit of consensus among delegations.

6. Mr. SCHLEGEL (German Democratic Republic) said that the draft plan of activities for the period 1985-1989 (A/39/167 and Add.1 and 2) contained priorities which were imperative for the struggle against racism and racial discrimination. The document rightly focused on the rejection and final elimination of apartheid. It should not be forgotten that that particular target of the First Decade had not been achieved. Although apartheid had been condemned by the international community, that detestable system was still alive. His delegation had demonstrated the fascist nature of the Pretoria régime, which was based on terror and oppression of the majority population and on continued acts of aggression against neighbouring States. The recent so-called constitutional reform and sham elections in South Africa deceived nobody as to the real intentions of that régime.

(Mr. Schlegel, German Democratic Republic)

7. Israel's violations of human rights in the occupied Arab territories, in contravention of the United Nations Charter and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, as well as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, were equally intolerable. The occupying Power and its "strategic ally" were the only States to have voted against General Assembly resolution 38/79 on Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the population of the occupied territories. A comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict, including the question of Palestine, was decisive for the elimination of such practices. The six-point plan proposed by the Soviet Union was directed towards that end. Other supporting measures should also be adopted to supplement the plan of activities.

8. His delegation was especially concerned at the increasing activities of neo-Nazi and Fascist organizations, which were a direct consequence of the aggravated policy of confrontation pursued by imperialism. The United Nations must, as a matter of priority, act to counter in time the dangers immanent in such actions.

9. Apartheid, state terrorism, fascism, chauvinism, revanchism, right-wing extremism, and xenophobia in the capitalist countries were all manifestations of racism and of the imperialist ideology of exploitation and oppression. When racism took the form of an official ideology, as in the case of apartheid, it posed a threat to international peace and security. As a result, education, teaching, training and information measures, although important, could not replace the political struggle which must be waged against racism, especially against its socio-economic and political base. All States must accede to the relevant conventions in order to develop further the legal foundations of that struggle.

10. The objectives of the Second Decade were not being fulfilled effectively because any specific political or economic actions were being sabotaged by the strategic allies of the racist régimes and by their slogan of "constructive engagement". In particular, imperialist circles were seeking to exclude from the activities of the Decade the crimes perpetrated against the Palestinian people, as a prerequisite for achieving a consensus.

11. Since the German Democratic Republic had come into existence as a result of the elimination of one of the worst forms of racism, the struggle against oppression, racial discrimination and apartheid was a position of principle and an integral part of its foreign policy.

12. Lastly, referring to the statement made by the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany at the previous meeting, he said that any questioning of the political and territorial results of the Second World War and of post-war developments would conjure up great dangers for Europe and the world. There could be no "reunification". The people of the German Democratic Republic had irrevocably opted for socialism, and relations between the two States could be based only on international law and peaceful coexistence. The recognition of political realities was a prerequisite for fruitful dialogue and the conduct of normal relations.

13. Mrs. DE CROVATI (Venezuela) said that her Government could not accept that in certain parts of the world discriminatory policies were being practised that infringed the most fundamental human rights and were totally opposed to the principles of equality set forth in the United Nations Charter.

14. The National Constitution of Venezuela guaranteed such fundamental rights, including "social and legal equality, without discrimination as to race, sex, creed or social status" and categorically forbade such discrimination. Accordingly, Venezuela attached great importance to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and stressed that in order to make the Convention effective States should give it their full support by ratifying or acceding to it. Furthermore, the effective implementation of the Convention was the only means of achieving the goals of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, whose Programme of Action the Venezuelan Government fully endorsed. In addition to the recent proposals in the areas of education, teaching, training and the dissemination of information, the objective of the First Decade must be kept in mind, namely, the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms, without distinction as to race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin, especially by eradicating racial prejudice, racism and racial discrimination.

15. Her delegation believed it was important for the States parties to the Convention to consider the possibility of making the declaration provided for in article 14 of the Convention, regarding the willingness of States to recognize the competence of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination to receive and consider communications relating to violations of the rights set forth in the Convention. She announced that her country would be making such a declaration in the near future.

16. Venezuela attached importance to the reporting obligations of States parties under article 9 of the Convention. Reports from States parties were the most effective instrument for monitoring compliance with the obligations resulting from the Convention. However, very often the large number of reports requested meant that it was impossible to give them the close attention they deserved. It was important, therefore, to make reporting procedures less bureaucratic so that the spirit of the United Nations - respect for human rights and for the international instruments relating to them - could be observed. In order to facilitate the work of the members of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and of the States parties, consideration should be given to the possibility of adopting some of the suggestions made by the Chairman of that Committee in paragraphs 37 to 39 of document A/39/18.

17. Despite all the efforts of the United Nations, many States continued to lend assistance to the racist and colonialist régimes of southern Africa, thus becoming accomplices in the events taking place there. In that connection, her delegation appealed to those States which had not yet done so to ratify the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. In honour of the legacy of the Liberator Simon Bolívar in the sphere of human values, in 1978 Venezuela had, jointly with UNESCO, established an international prize named after him, to be awarded every two years to individuals who had made a contribution to the liberation of peoples. One of the persons chosen in 1983 had been Nelson Mandela, the distinguished Namibian leader currently held prisoner by the racist Pretoria régime.

18. Mr. MORAGA (Chile) said that Chile had a long-standing tradition of racial equality and had been the first Government in the Americas to abolish slavery. In that connection, he quoted from various chapters of the 1980 Political Constitution of the Republic, currently in force, in particular certain guarantees protecting all the inhabitants of Chile, including equality before the law, which corresponded to article 5 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and, provisions regarding the duty of the State to promote the integration of all groups in the nation. That accounted for the perfect harmony which prevailed between the various groups of immigrants which had come to Chile throughout its political and social history and the original inhabitants, a situation which was reflected in the country's literature, arts and public life. Thus, Chile rejected all forms of discrimination, and racial discrimination in particular.

19. The fact that a large majority of nations had subscribed to the international instruments designed to end racial discrimination was a demonstration of the advance of civilization and the significance of the efforts of the United Nations. Nevertheless, it had to be recognized that there were still Member States which, though parties to those Conventions, in fact accepted a domestic legal system under which sizeable minorities had inferior status and, furthermore, kept in subjugation peoples living beyond their frontiers. That was an obvious example of discrimination which the Third Committee should consider in the course of its work to give practical effect to the principles by which it was inspired.

20. Mr. NGO PIN (Democratic Kampuchea), speaking on item 87, recalled article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and General Assembly resolutions 38/16 and 38/17. In resolution 38/16, the Assembly had requested the Commission on Human Rights to continue to give special attention to the violation of human rights, especially the right of peoples to self-determination, as a result of foreign military intervention, aggression or occupation. With regard to Kampuchea in particular, the Commission on Human Rights in resolution 1984/12, and the Economic and Social Council in decision 1984/148, had reaffirmed that the continuing occupation of Kampuchea by foreign forces deprived the people of Kampuchea of the exercise of their right to self-determination. Successive resolutions of the General Assembly, including resolution 38/3, and successive decisions of the Economic and Social Council, among them decision 1984/148, showed that the international community had been denouncing the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam since the start of that invasion on 25 December 1978. Those resolutions, though rejected by Viet Nam which refused to implement them, had contributed to the increasingly favourable development of the struggle for national survival waged on all fronts by the people of Kampuchea.

21. Despite the desperate situation of the Vietnamese in Kampuchea and increasing difficulties in Viet Nam itself, the Vietnamese authorities persisted in their war of aggression because the failure of that war would mean not only the failure of their dream of founding an "Indo-China Federation", including Laos and Kampuchea, but also the demise of the Hanoi régime.

22. During the five years since its invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam had employed various methods and techniques aimed at

(Mr. Ngo Pin, Democratic Kampuchea)

eliminating the Khmer national identity both physically and spiritually. Since 1978, they had massacred millions of Kampuchians by using both conventional and chemical weapons and the weapon of famine. In addition, there had been an intensive policy of Vietnamese settlement. Many thousands of Kampuchians living in the rich areas had been expelled from their ancestral lands to make room for Vietnamese colonists. The Vietnamese régime installed in Phnom Penh was directed from Hanoi. The puppet Kampuchian ministers had been indoctrinated with the spirit of the Indo-China Federation, which they sought to impose by every possible means.

23. The Vietnamese invaders had systematically destroyed Khmer culture and civilization. Even Angkor Wat, the soul of the Kampuchian people and nation, had not been spared from destruction. In the areas temporarily controlled by the invaders, Khmer children were forced to learn the Vietnamese language before they could read and write their mother tongue. The history of Kampuchea had been rewritten and deliberately linked to the history of Viet Nam. Although it was common knowledge that Kampuchea and Viet Nam had totally different civilizations, the Vietnamese expansionists were striving by every means to prove that the two peoples and nations had "a common root and a common origin".

24. His delegation called upon the Third Committee to put more pressure on Viet Nam so that it would join the civilized international community and implement all the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights, which reaffirmed the right of the people of Kampuchea to fundamental freedoms and inalienable rights, including the right to decide their own future, and which called for the withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces of aggression from Kampuchea. Only the implementation of those United Nations resolutions could lead to a genuine solution to the problem of Kampuchea.

25. The policy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in Kampuchea and the region of South-East Asia was in many respects not far removed from the policy carried out by the apartheid régime in South Africa. Being a front-line State in the Kampuchea zone, like the front-line States of Africa, Thailand had been the target of military attacks and acts of aggression by Viet Nam, and a refugee problem had arisen in the area following the invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnamese forces. Continued Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea had brought about famine and food shortages. A quarter of a million Kampuchians had been driven to the Thai border - a matter of daily concern to the international community.

26. The sole objective of the present struggle of the Kampuchian people and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea was the withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces, in conformity with United Nations resolutions on the situation in Kampuchea and the Declaration adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea. That was the sine qua non for enabling the people of Kampuchea to exercise their sacred right to self-determination. Furthermore, Kampuchea supported the struggle of the peoples of Afghanistan, Namibia and Palestine to exercise their right to self-determination, which was a fundamental human right and not the exclusive right of any one ideology.

27. Mr. LEBAKIN (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the existence of racism, apartheid and racial discrimination was unacceptable. The Ukrainian SSR had participated in the activities to implement the Programme of Action for the Decade. As a result of such activities, many States had become parties to the international instruments condemning racism and racial discrimination, and solidarity with the peoples struggling against racist oppression had been strengthened. Nevertheless, apartheid and zionism persisted, as did the Nazi and neo-Nazi organizations which were a cause of international tension. The most flagrant form of racism was the policy of apartheid pursued by the South African régime in defiance of United Nations decisions and resolutions. The régime continued to occupy Namibia and apply its racist policy, as it did its policy of massive repression, persecution and enforced displacement, bantustanization and attacks on neighbouring States. In that, it enjoyed the compliance of the Western Powers, particularly certain members of NATO, and Israel, which countries provided it with all kinds of assistance in contravention of the will of the United Nations.

28. The manifestations of racism were particularly apparent in the Arab territories occupied by Israel. In those territories people were subjected to the Zionist policy of repression, mass destruction and humiliation, with the aim of displacing the Palestinians from their territories. The close relationship existing between South Africa and Israel was based on common ideas and practices, so that it was possible to conclude that zionism was a form of racism. Moreover, racism was a daily phenomenon in the capitalist countries, where there was discrimination against immigrants and foreign workers, chauvinist polices were pursued against national minorities, and organizations advocating neo-fascism and neo-nazism flourished. Efforts were being made to cloak such ideologies in new-found respectability.

29. The eradication of nazism demanded the elimination of organizations advocating racial supremacy, hatred and intolerance. In the Ukrainian SSR racism and racial discrimination were prohibited by law, and everyone had a place in the economic, cultural and social life of the country. The Constitution prohibited racism, discrimination on national or ethnic grounds and expressions of hostility towards or hatred of different social groups. That sprang from the socialist nature of the system, just as the phenomenon of racial discrimination apparent in the West sprang from the capitalist system, since it had originated in the colonial past. The elimination of the exploitation of man by man led to fraternal relations between individuals and peoples.

30. General Assembly resolution 38/14 expressed the need to attain the objectives of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which had still not been achieved. Special importance should be attached to the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration and Programme of Action of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The Ukrainian SSR endorsed the severe criticism which had been levelled against the plan of activities for the period 1985-1989 submitted to the Committee. The plan having various defects, the Ukrainian SSR wished to see submitted a detailed plan against racism in all its forms and manifestations, taking account of the Programme of Action for the first Decade. It had been stressed during the session of the Economic and Social Council that greater efforts should be made to eradicate

(Mr. Lebakin, Ukrainian SSR)

apartheid, and activities towards that end should be included in a special section of the plan.

31. For the Ukrainian SSR, the attainment of the objectives of the Programme of Action would depend on how determined States were to apply the provisions of the Convention. His delegation attached particular importance to the activities of the organs combating apartheid and racial discrimination. The international community should expand the scope of the activities designed to attain the objectives of the second Decade.

32. Mr. CICANOVIC (Yugoslavia) said that the right to self-determination was derived from the fundamental rules of international law, had an obligatory character for all States and included the right to full independence and sovereignty. It was primarily the result of the historical struggle of colonial peoples for their independence against racism and all forms of racial discrimination. The realization of that right was thus linked to decolonization and primarily applied to peoples under colonial rule. Over the past two decades, since the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 1514 (XV) in 1960, the pace of decolonization had been particularly fast. Almost all the peoples under colonial rule had acceded to independence. That was one of the greatest achievements of the United Nations.

33. However, some peoples were still not allowed to exercise that right, for example, the people of Namibia, and the Arab people of Palestine. Ignoring all the relevant decisions of the United Nations, the racist régime in South Africa kept Namibia under illegal occupation and denied its people their right to self-determination, while subjecting them to the policy of apartheid, the worst form of racial discrimination, the crudest oppression, humiliation and denial of their human dignity. Furthermore, the racist South Africans, in league with transnational corporations, had ruthlessly exploited their labour force and rich natural resources, endangering the very future of the Namibian people. It was high time for the United Nations and the international community as a whole to extend effective help to the people of Namibia in their present struggle, under the leadership of their sole and authentic representative, SWAPO, through the adoption of specific measures for the immediate and effective implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

34. The Arab people of the West Bank and Gaza suffered a similar plight: Their territories were occupied and they were denied their right to self-determination. It followed that the current struggle of the Palestinian people was an integral part of the struggle of colonial peoples for their freedom and independence. All States, including Israel, were duty-bound under international law to refrain from any acts which might stand in the way of that right. In view of the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and other United Nations organs, the Organization had a special responsibility to help the Palestinians to exercise their right to self-determination. Together with other Arabs in occupied Arab territories, the Palestinian Arabs were being exposed to numerous acts of terror and repression by the Israeli occupation forces, including mass arrests, collective punishments, deportations, torture and ill treatment of prisoners, the expropriation of land and the establishment of Israeli settlements thereon.

(Mr. Cicanovic, Yugoslavia)

35. The Palestinian problem was at the core of the Middle East crisis and could be resolved only with the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories, recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish their own State, recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and the guaranteeing by all States in the Middle East of the right to existence within their national boundaries.

36. Moreover, the peoples in non-self-governing territories and other territories to which General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) applied were entitled to the right of self-determination. There had recently been a tendency to slow down or even to stop completely the process of decolonization of some of those territories. It was, therefore, the duty of the United Nations and the administering Powers to take the necessary measures to enable those territories to exercise their right to self-determination.

37. Finally, the right to self-determination of some independent countries had been seriously violated by the use of force, intervention and even occupation of some of them by foreign troops. There could be no justification whatsoever for such acts of violation of basic principles of international law and of the right of each country freely to decide its own future. Yugoslavia, together with other non-aligned countries, condemned such acts and supported and would continue to support the right of peoples to self-determination, convinced that such a policy contributed to the preservation of international peace and security.

38. Mrs. PAPAJORGJI (Albania) said that the ideology and practice of racism were still being fiercely pursued and remained a blot on contemporary history. Racial discrimination was still in force, as representatives of both African and non-African countries had testified. Its most savage form was apartheid, which had been raised to the level of a system by the racist régime of South Africa. The Azanian and Namibian peoples were being subjected to unprecedented oppression, with even the most elementary right denied to them. In addition, the Namibian people were being subjected to occupation and deprived of any of the attributes of nationhood. The mass violence and terror being practised against the Namibian people were aimed ultimately at their physical destruction.

39. Racial discrimination based on distinctions of race, nationality and cultural identity was also being practised in other regions. Racism and zionism were twins, with a similar if not identical ideological origin. The Israeli Zionists were committing frightful crimes against the Palestinian people in the occupied Arab territories with the unlimited support of United States imperialism. The fact that a country such as the United States did not hesitate to support racist régimes clearly showed that foreign policy was an extension of internal policy, since racial discrimination was practised within its frontiers in all aspects of life, as was revealed by official data and statistics.

40. Other refined forms of racial discrimination were to be found in the denial by larger nations of the rights of small nations or ethnic minorities to have their own language, teaching and cultural development, and in the efforts being made to

(Mrs. Papajorgji, Albania)

achieve their cultural assimilation by force, efforts which were contrary to the rights of peoples and to international law.

41. Racism and racial discrimination were inspired by reactionary theories and ideologies of racial superiority which had long been rejected by history. The support of the imperialist Powers, especially United States imperialism, was allowing those ideologies to be raised to the status of a political system.

42. Albania resolutely condemned the ferocious system of racial discrimination and any other manifestation of national discrimination wherever it was practised. It vigorously condemned the racist policy being pursued by the white racists in South Africa and in occupied Namibia and supported the liberation struggle being waged by the Azanian and Namibian peoples to erase the shameful stain of racism and overthrow the last bastion of colonialism.

43. Miss BROSNAKOVA (Czechoslovakia) said that in spite of all the efforts of the United Nations, racism and racial discrimination persisted in various forms, representing a threat to world peace and stability. The foremost example was South Africa, where millions of black people lived like modern slaves, subject to the domination of the white minority. The South African régime was being aided by certain States which, while they spoke in favour of human rights, considered their own profit motives more important than such rights. As was noted in the Special Rapporteur's report, the profits of transnational corporations were more than 50 per cent higher than in other countries as a result of the exploitation of the labour force, constituted by the black 80 per cent of the population, or 23 million people who were deprived of their fundamental rights. As her country's delegation had reiterated on various occasions, that was a fundamental point. South Africa would never, therefore, abandon the system of apartheid, and that was demonstrated by the manoeuvres undertaken to reinforce the system. Like the Security Council, her country's delegation had declared invalid the new constitution proclaimed and the elections held in South Africa.

44. Zionism was among other overt and covert manifestations of racism. Former victims of the Nazi régime were now depriving the Palestinian people of their rights by practising a policy similar to that of Nazi Germany. In some West European countries which had not learned the lesson, the existence of racist organizations was considered compatible with democratic practices.

45. Czechoslovakia, as a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, had presented its eighth periodic report and regretted that some Western States had still not ratified the Convention, since that was an obstacle to the active struggle against racism and racial discrimination. As one of the first victims of Nazi racism, Czechoslovakia believed that racism and racial discrimination could be eliminated only through continuous efforts by the international community and not by words alone. It therefore advocated that the measures envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations should be applied.

46. Mr. JALBANI (Pakistan) said that the abominable system of apartheid, which was based on the doctrine of racial discrimination, had long been the focus of

(Mr. Jalbani, Pakistan)

international concern and condemnation. The racist régime of South Africa had imposed that system on millions of indigenous people, depriving them of their basic human rights in blatant defiance of all norms of justice and human equality. Ever since its inception, the United Nations had been constantly endeavouring to put an end to South Africa's policies, which the General Assembly had repeatedly condemned as a crime against humanity.

47. Since gaining independence, Pakistan had remained staunchly committed to the eradication of apartheid, which was abhorrent to the concept of universal brotherhood and equality enshrined in its Islamic ideology.

48. The Pretoria régime was continuing to intensify its odious policies of oppression, apartheid and racial discrimination in defiance of resolutions of the Security Council, as a result of which the credibility of the United Nations had been eroded. The international community must respond by intensifying its struggle against racism. To that end, his country had supported General Assembly resolution 39/2 entitled "Situation in South Africa". In accordance with the precepts of its faith, Pakistan had traditionally lent its full moral and material support to the cause of all peoples struggling against oppression, alien domination or discrimination.

49. Apartheid could not be reformed: it could only be completely destroyed. That could be brought about only by a collective and determined effort by the international community, including the imposition of mandatory sanctions on South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter and the strict enforcement of the mandatory arms embargo imposed under Security Council resolution 418 (1977).

50. The report of the Special Rapporteur on the adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the racist and colonialist régime of South Africa (A/39/534) provided useful information about the countries which collaborated with the minority régime. Nevertheless, his delegation noted with regret that in document A/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8 and Add.1 and 2 Pakistan was accused of providing assistance to South Africa through the company Gulf Shipping. That information was erroneous because the company referred to was not registered in Pakistan, was not based there, and was not owned by that country.

51. Pakistan supported the activities of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and welcomed the draft plan of activities contained in the report of the Secretary-General submitted in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/14 (A/39/167 and Add.1 and 2).

52. His delegation could not discuss the question of the elimination of racial discrimination without condemning the inhuman and oppressive policies of Israel against the Arab and Palestinian populations in the occupied territories. He expressed his country's solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their inalienable rights and urged the international community to demand that Israel should put an end to that situation in order to bring about lasting peace in the Middle East.

(Mr. Jalbani, Pakistan)

53. With regard to the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (A/39/18), his delegation supported in particular the recommendations on the publication of two studies on articles 4 and 7 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the suggestion that one of the Committee's regular sessions should be held in Africa.

54. Pakistan noted with satisfaction that the Working Group on the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families had completed the first meeting of the draft convention; it attached great importance to the speedy elaboration and adoption of that convention. Lastly, Pakistan expressed its full support for the objectives of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

55. Mr. AL-BOAININ (Qatar) said that his country was opposed to the apartheid régime, which violated the human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The aberrant apartheid system had produced an intolerable situation. As a result, violence was constantly increasing, which was a natural consequence of that practice. The international community could not remain indifferent to that dangerous situation or to the support which certain Powers provided to South Africa. All nations, therefore, should support an economic boycott against South Africa. In order to carry out its moral and international obligations, Qatar had promulgated decrees under which economic sanctions were applied, particularly with regard to oil, and all relations with South Africa were severed. It had also participated in the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa held in Paris in 1981 and the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination held in Geneva in 1983, and had expressed its solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Namibia and southern Africa to gain their independence.

56. The racist practices of Israel against the Palestinian people in violation of resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council should not be ignored. The United Nations had equated zionism with a form of racism, and for that reason the international community had the responsibility of helping the Palestinian people gain independence and set up their own State.

57. With regard to item 87, he said that Qatar supported the right to self-determination and national liberation movements, and, therefore, the Palestine Liberation Organization and the liberation movements of Africa. It considered the use of mercenaries against liberation movements a criminal practice and felt that legal instruments prohibiting the activities of mercenaries and all other activities involving the use of mercenaries should be enacted.

58. Mr. JONES (Sierra Leone) said that, in spite of the condemnation of all forms of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid by the international community, efforts to combat those evils were still ineffective. It was hoped that the Programme of Action for the Second Decade would constitute the basis for the adoption of new measures in the future. South Africa, the only country where racism was institutionalized, continued to deny the majority of the population its most basic human rights. It was clear that the apartheid régime persisted in its

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policy because of the encouragement and support of friendly countries which preferred to sacrifice the principles upheld by the international community to the huge profits which they obtained from the system of exploitation.

59. The policy of constructive engagement adopted in certain circles had proved a failure because a close examination of the aims of the régime showed that South Africa was interested not in achieving peace but in dominating the region.

60. The so-called constitutional reforms and the recent elections held in South Africa demonstrated the dogged determination of the Pretoria régime to ignore the appeals of the international community. The boycott of the elections by the majority was a resounding rejection of the so-called reforms. No constitutional reform which excluded the majority of the population from full participation in the Government could be considered legitimate.

61. Twenty-four years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples there were still peoples under colonial domination struggling for national liberation. The exercise of the right to self-determination was a prerequisite for the exercise of other rights. The heroic people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, were continuing their struggle for independence. His delegation rejected any linkage between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of foreign forces from Angola. In Namibia there were discriminatory practices relating to the right to housing, public health and other services; there was security legislation providing for arrest without a warrant, detention without trial and other arbitrary acts which severely restricted the freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

62. The just demand of the Palestinian people for a homeland of their own had also been denied. His delegation supported the rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to territorial integrity, national unity and the establishment of their own State. The current expansionist policy of Israel did not augur well for peace in the area. Although the problem of colonialism had been solved to a large degree, new forms of subjugation of formerly independent States had unfortunately come about as a result of foreign occupation, interference and pressure. The United Nations should devote its efforts to combating those new forms of domination and intervention.

63. With regard to the draft plan of activities for the period 1985-1989, it should be pointed out that, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/14, education, teaching, training and the dissemination of information were vital elements in the struggle against racism. His delegation felt that UNESCO and the Department of Public Information had a crucial role to play in that regard. They should set up appropriate programmes for the promotion of activities to combat racial discrimination, particularly at the primary and secondary school level.

64. Mrs. CAMARGO VILLAREAL (UNESCO) said that the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had reaffirmed and solemnly declared the value of education and information as effective means of action to combat racism and racial discrimination. The Governments of Member States attending that Conference had supported UNESCO's efforts to ensure the most effective use of both

(Mrs. Camargo Villareal)

means of action. The Programme of Action adopted at the Second Conference had called upon all States to apply strictly the principle of non-discrimination and equality in the matter of education, as set forth in the Convention against Discrimination in Education. The principle of universal respect for justice, law, human rights and fundamental freedoms, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, had been recognized in the Programme of Action adopted at Geneva, which urged UNESCO to continue its work in the field of human rights education, teacher training, curriculum development and other undertakings. The Programme of Action took due account of the conceptual framework proposed in the 1978 UNESCO Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racism, Apartheid and Incitement to War.

65. UNESCO's activities to combat racial discrimination comprised:
(a) international normative action against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid; (b) assistance to African liberation movements recognized by OAU; (c) research and study activities and social science or educational publications devoted to the issue; and (d) international prizes for the promotion of peace and understanding among peoples. Some new activities were envisaged in the second medium-term plan for 1984-1985 adopted by the General Conference, in particular the elimination of prejudice, intolerance, racism and apartheid.

66. Such activities were aimed at implementing UNESCO resolutions 12.1, 12.2 and 12.3. New education, teaching and training programmes were also envisaged to promote the study of factors which contributed to peace.

67. Rather than a response to resolution 38/14 and to the invitation in operative paragraph 8 thereof to participate in the observance of the Second Decade by intensifying and extending their efforts to ensure the rapid elimination of racism and racial discrimination, UNESCO's efforts represented an attempt to translate into other activities the confirmation of a commitment which revolved around its fundamental mission, that of building the defences of peace within the minds of men.

68. Mr. YAKOVLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he could not remain silent in the face of certain harsh and far from courteous statements made about his country in the current debate. In some countries whose actions were totally at variance with their words, a consistent pattern of aggression, hostility and revanchism towards other countries could be observed which violated the right of peoples to self-determination. A case in point was their assistance to the counter-revolutionary groups who were co-operating with the racist South African régime, particularly in the territory of Angola. Before one could talk about other countries one must be aware of the situation in one's own country. Attempts to justify Pol Pot's murderous gangs and the anti-revolutionary groups that were trying to undermine the freedom of some independent States could be regarded as a negation of the right of self-determination. In its statement, the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany had omitted to mention a matter which was cause for concern for the world community: the policy of fomenting a revanchist mentality, a mentality which had helped trigger the Second World War. Recent events showed that there were

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revanchist Fascist and neo-Fascist organizations such as the Democratic National Party, the German National Alliance, the National Socialist Activists' Front and other neo-Fascist groups whose activities were on the increase and whose members openly proclaimed their adherence to Nazi and Fascist ideologies. Their main objective was to revive past systems. The existence of such groups could not be passed over in silence. They had more than 25 newspapers, with an annual circulation of nearly 500,000 copies. He wondered whether the activities of those groups and the distribution of their newspapers could be reconciled with the right of self-determination. The SS veterans' group, which acted legally and disseminated neo-Nazi propaganda, played an important part in those activities. What was even more disturbing was that some top officials occasionally participated openly in such activities. He urged the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany to ensure that its country took measures to eradicate that evil.

69. Mr. BORCHARD (Federal Republic of Germany), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the matter which the Soviet representative had just raised had been touched on in his statement and recalled that, at the previous meeting, he had expressed concern at the continuing occupation of Afghanistan and the resultant political crisis. That country's reply had not provided a satisfactory explanation of the situation. Instead, groundless charges had been levelled at a number of countries, in particular the Federal Republic of Germany. As for revanchism in the Federal Republic of Germany, he wished to refer to the statement by his Minister for Foreign Affairs advocating peace in Europe and the creation, with other States participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), of a peaceful order in which, as advocated in the Helsinki Final Act, countries could, inter alia, decide their own future and enjoy their rights. The Federal Republic of Germany advocated a climate of peace in which the German nation might be reunified by means of self-determination. In the 1970s, agreements signed between the Federal Republic of Germany and neighbouring countries in Eastern Europe, in particular the Soviet Union and Poland, had paved the way for the CSCE. His country respected the territorial integrity of all States, accepted the status quo and made no territorial claims of any kind. Nor would it do so in the future. It considered State frontiers to be inviolable and appealed to all countries to educate their young people in the ways of peace and respect for all countries. As for the existence of neo-Nazis, it was well known that the record of the Federal Republic of Germany showed that there was no place there for either left-wing or right-wing extremism. He called on the Soviet delegation to think of that fact before making unsubstantiated comments.

70. Mr. YAKOVLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that it was not his country but other delegations that had started the war of words in the Third Committee. He requested the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany to attend to its own affairs. That country's situation, at the heart of Europe, was particularly important. He wished to repeat the information on Fascist publications. He had not invented that information; it was all available from official sources. There was a revanchist organization with a membership of over 2 million. Revanchism posed a serious threat to mankind and had caused two world wars; that Nazi and Fascist evil must be eradicated by observing its manifestations and taking the necessary action.

71. Mr. BORCHARD (Federal Republic of Germany) said that it was unfortunate that the Soviet representative had not taken up his invitation to read the record of the Federal Republic of Germany before going into that subject at length.

72. The CHAIRMAN made a statement and reminded delegations that the deadline for draft resolutions on the items under consideration was 6 p.m. on Wednesday, 17 October.

The meeting rose at 6.12 p.m.