



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 10th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria)

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ORGANIZATION OF WORK

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The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 67: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME FOR THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued) (A/35/371, A/C.3/35/L.3)

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AGENDA ITEM 66: ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND OTHER FORMS OF ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO COLONIAL AND RACIST REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (continued) (E/CN.4/Sub.2/425 and Corr.1-3 and Add.1-7, A/35/419)

AGENDA ITEM 75: IMPORTANCE OF THE UNIVERSAL REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF DETERMINATION AND OF THE SPEEDY GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES FOR THE EFFECTIVE GUARANTEE AND OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS (continued) (A/35/146, A/35/65, A/35/419)

1. Mr. SIGMUNDSSON (Iceland), speaking on behalf of Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden and Iceland, said that the Nordic countries considered that the combat against racial discrimination, racism and apartheid was one of the most important challenges of the present day. A unanimous and joint effort of the whole international community was required in that combat, but even so the fight might be long and exhausting.
2. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Nordic countries, at their meeting in Oslo the previous month, had reiterated their condemnation of the South African apartheid régime's oppression of the majority of the population. They had expressed deep concern at the latest developments in South Africa which were characterized by abuse of power and acts of violence on the part of the authorities against those who protested against and demanded the abolition of the apartheid régime.
3. Against that background it was even more necessary than before for the United Nations to bring increasing and effective pressure to bear upon South Africa; the Nordic countries would continue their policy of active involvement to make South Africa introduce genuine changes which could include, initially, the release of political prisoners and the lifting of restrictions on political and trade union activities.

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(Mr. Sigmundsson, Iceland)

4. The endeavours to put an end to South Africa's unlawful occupation of Namibia must be given the highest priority and the South African Government must be brought to realize that it must co-operate fully in the implementation of the United Nations Plan for Namibia. The unilateral measures South Africa had adopted with respect to Namibia must be rejected.

5. The Nordic countries had expressed their support for the closer co-operation which had been initiated between the independent States of southern Africa with the aim of reducing their economic dependence on South Africa.

6. Concerning the report of the Secretary-General on the status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Nordic delegations were glad to see that the numbers of ratifications, accessions and successions to the Convention currently totalled 107. Those States which had not yet acceded to the Convention should be encouraged to do so.

7. The Nordic delegations wished to express their appreciation of the valuable, thorough and conscientious work carried out by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which had created an atmosphere of confidence that was of vital importance. The Committee should play a central role within the United Nations system in the struggle against racism and racial discrimination. In that respect, the Nordic countries attached great importance to the Committee's co-operation with the International Labour Organisation and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. In addition, they noted with satisfaction that the current report of the Committee to the General Assembly was more detailed and was in a more easily accessible form than that of the previous year; that would certainly contribute to making the Committee's work more widely known.

8. As other delegations had pointed out, the Committee sometimes strayed beyond its terms of reference in a strict sense. However, at its two latest sessions it appeared that the Committee had sought to make a distinction between different forms of discrimination. However, some States parties also had a tendency to go beyond the Convention's terms of reference in their reports and answers to the Committee.

9. The Nordic countries had noted with particular interest the dialogue which had been established between the Committee and a number of States parties with respect to the complex question of the position of indigenous populations in modern societies and were pleased to see that the Committee supported the right of indigenous peoples to maintain their traditional structure of their economy and culture, including their own language, if they chose to do so.

10. Mrs. FLORES (Cuba) said that there was a close link between agenda items 66, 67 and 74, namely, the fact that the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination could not be implemented as long as the South African apartheid régime, with its cruel methods of racial extermination and repression, continued to subsist thanks to the political, economic, military and even nuclear assistance of the Western Powers.

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(Mrs. Flores, Cuba)

11. The joy and the hopes which had been awakened by the victory of the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front could not disguise either the magnitude of the problem of racial discrimination or the growing anxiety of the international community, whose conscience had recently received another shock at the reports of massive arrests and repression of South African students and of the people of Namibia - including many children under 12 - who had been imprisoned on Robben Island, or of Namibian prisoners who were being tortured in Hardap Dam detention camp.

12. Her delegation fully agreed with those who believed that the popular victory won in Zimbabwe was instructive. It constituted an inspiring example of a people which had secured its independence at the cost of untold sacrifices; because of its unshakable conviction of the justice of its cause, from whose objectives neither subterfuge nor pressure nor manoeuvres designed to obstruct real independence had been able to divert the Patriotic Front. In the process of national reconstruction, the people of Zimbabwe must be able to count on international assistance in tackling the many economic and social difficulties it had inherited from colonialism and those which had been caused by the long struggle, not to mention the threats of those who continued to encourage South Africa in its expansionist designs with a view to perpetuating South Africa's presence in Namibia and utilizing both countries as a springboard for attacking the front-line States.

13. She wished to repeat once again that since the historic triumph of the people of Zimbabwe, the fascist Government of South Africa had intensified its activities against the independent African States and, in particular, was venting its wrath on Zambia and Angola in order to prevent those countries from supporting the cause of the Namibian people. And all that was happening at a time when the twentieth anniversary of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was being celebrated and its principles were constantly being quoted.

14. Those principles established that the process of liberation was irresistible and irreversible and that, in order to avoid serious crises, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith. Yet the world was being shown the vulnerability of those principles, and there was a recrudescence of repression and an intensification of racist practices, particularly in southern Africa. The precepts of the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV), the recommendations in the Programme for the Decade and the innumerable resolutions, appeals and recommendations of the United Nations and the international community were being ignored.

15. Nevertheless, since the process of liberation was irresistible and irreversible and despite the defiant attitude of the racist régime in South Africa, the struggle of the national liberation movements was being intensified and they were obtaining resounding triumphs like that of the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe while the self-sacrificing and heroic fighters of SWAPO and the African National Congress were continuing their struggle in Namibia and South Africa, to achieve independence and free themselves from racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

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16. The price which those peoples had to pay to free themselves from the racist régimes was high. Recently, the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa, which was investigating violations of human rights in that region, had announced, on the basis of reliable evidence, the acts of repression and barbarity committed against those peoples, which did not spare old people, women and children, and had demanded that those acts should cease immediately and that all the children detained in South African and Namibian prisons should be freed, together with the Namibian prisoners, who were detained in subhuman conditions.

17. The violent repressive measures taken to suppress the students' and workers' protest demonstrations against racial discrimination in Cape Town and other South African cities which had nearly provoked another slaughter like that of Soweto were common knowledge.

18. It was well known that the policies of racism and racial discrimination did not only persist in southern Africa. Her delegation had repeatedly denounced the situation existing in the territories occupied by Israel, in which the Zionists were continuing its brutal practices to terrorize and oppress the long-suffering Palestinian people, which had been deprived of its territories by a cruel war of aggression, and had been subjugated, discriminated against and dispersed all over the world, despite the heroic struggle of the fighters of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

19. It was also alarming to note the proliferation of ideas and doctrines based on racial superiority and hatred and the resurgence of neo-Nazi and Fascist organizations whose tenets were founded on racial prejudice.

20. The segregation, the violation of their human rights and the injustices suffered by various sectors of the population in the United States itself must also be denounced, particularly the situation of the Indian, Mexican and Puerto Rican minorities. It should be asked what people in the world would renounce its ethnic unity and territory; what people would accept compensation for goods and property which had come down to them from their own historical past.

21. The three years remaining before the end of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination should be characterized by intensified efforts to eliminate all forms of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

22. There should be an appraisal of what had been achieved during the Decade, and in that connexion, she said that the Cuban delegation attached the greatest importance to the holding of a second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Adequate resources should be devoted to collecting the necessary experience, capabilities and will to enable subsequent action to be taken. Consequently, her delegation supported Economic and Social Council resolution 1980/7, in paragraph 17 of which the Council decided that that Conference should be held. In its view, the greatest stimulus for the Preparatory Committee of the Conference should come from the discussions and resolutions of the *Third Committee*.

(Mrs. Flores, Cuba)

23. To the numerous reasons in favour of the holding of that World Conference could be added those included in the conclusions of the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (A/35/18). That Committee, whose work was well known, should definitely contribute to the preparation and the holding of the second World Conference. Her delegation was prepared to consider suggestions that the Committee might carry out the specific studies which its members had considered advisable and which would enable the experts to provide a new perspective and a more complete picture of the contents of the Convention, particularly articles 4 and 7.

24. Article 41 of the Cuban Constitution stated that discrimination on grounds of race, colour, sex and national origin was prohibited and punishable by law. In view of those principles, her country would greatly welcome the preparation of studies reaffirming the punishable nature of the dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority and hatred and the illegality of organizations and propaganda activities which propagated or incited racial discrimination.

25. The work of the Committee had been and would continue to be hard. Although it had not been satisfactory in all respects, it must be recognized that the Committee had had to face difficulties of its own as well as those caused by a large group of States which had not fulfilled their obligations as parties to the Convention and those which not only had not signed it, but had also rejected its principles through fallacious interpretations of the rules.

26. With regard to the possibility that in future the Committee should hold sessions in developing countries, her delegation supported the suggestions made in document A/35/414, which were not conflicting but complementary alternatives, in particular the suggestions made in paragraphs 7 (b) and (c). Some of the future sessions of the Committee should be considered as part of the programme of activities for the second half of the Decade, perhaps, the last session before the World Conference to be held in 1983. Consequently, it would be appropriate to suggest to the General Assembly that it might wish to authorize a one-time expenditure, whereas the expenses of any other session for which a developing country might offer to be the host could be borne by the States parties according to the procedure set out in paragraph 7 (b) of that document.

27. She regretted that her delegation's comments on document A/35/18 could not be exhaustive because it was not yet available in Spanish and other working languages. Due account should be taken of that fact in the subsequent evolution of the Committee's work.

28. The assistance and co-operation received from the Western Powers by the racist South African régime was perhaps the most reprehensible act with which mankind was currently faced. The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries had made a detailed analysis of that situation and had pointed out that if the co-operation of the Western countries with those shameful régimes was to continue, it would inevitably mean that the members of the Non-Aligned Movement would adopt, either individually or collectively, whatever measures were appropriate.

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(Mrs. Flores, Cuba)

29. The Special Committee against Apartheid had endorsed the proposal submitted by the Organization of African Unity to hold an International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa. In its report the Special Committee emphasized that it was not only necessary but imperative that sanctions be imposed against South Africa. Although certain delegations might be shocked by such a statement, it had to be pointed out that many very eminent spokesmen had reached that conclusion, taking into account that three permanent members of the Security Council, representing countries which supported the apartheid régime, systematically opposed applying sanctions, although all mankind had for so long been clamouring for them.

30. The list prepared by Mr. Khalifa, the Special Rapporteur, set forth in detail the many corporations, banks and other entities whose continued assistance to racism and colonialism in southern Africa ran into four figures.

31. Without the assistance supplied by the Governments of capitalist developed countries, by some South American régimes and certain transnational corporations, which constituted solid moral and material support to the racist régimes, the latter would not have been able to hold out for so long nor would the extermination of patriots in the national liberation movements have been so gory. Although some of the Governments included in Mr. Khalifa's list had provided explanations which appeared to exonerate them from any blame, their statements did not seem very convincing in the light of the notorious mechanisms of collusion of those financially powerful States. An exception must, however, be made for statements which clearly revealed a willingness to search for alternative trade links, communications or the like, thereby making it possible for help or support to the evil South African régime to be immediately suspended.

32. In conclusion, her Government reaffirmed its conviction that only effective measures, concrete action and real sanctions could bring an end to racism everywhere.

33. Mr. SCHLEGEL (German Democratic Republic) said that the elimination of racism and racial discrimination in all its manifestations constituted one of the basic concerns of international politics of the present time. The struggle against racism, apartheid and colonialism had increased in intensity, assumed greater dimensions and gained strength. Responsible action on the part of the majority of States Members of the United Nations and by numerous international and national non-governmental organizations had unmasked and confined the criminal racist practices, particularly their most brutal manifestation, apartheid, which was the state doctrine of racism.

34. Peoples, by their resolute struggle, illustrated their determination to eliminate the racist policy as one of the most disgusting forms of imperialism's striving for power. At the same time, the growing solidarity displayed in that struggle reflected increasing awareness that the extirpation of racism and racial discrimination constituted the basic prerequisite for paving the way to independence, self-determination, equality and social progress for peoples.

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(Mr. Schlegel, German Democratic Republic)

35. The numerous decisions, programmes and activities of the United Nations had proved weighty and important in activating the movement to combat racism. The goals and objectives formulated by the United Nations and set for the whole Decade continued to be of the utmost topicality.

36. The forces of imperialism and racism, acting in clear opposition to the will of peoples, were intent on preserving and extending their domination over strategic raw materials, particularly in southern Africa and the Middle East. Striving for maximum profits, they flagrantly violated human rights. They trampled upon the human dignity of millions of oppressed people and employed the most brutal methods of neo-colonialist and racist exploitation. The list of racist crimes was endless and the misery and suffering of the afflicted peoples were immeasurable. The crimes ranged from the disfranchisement of all non-whites to mass murder of peaceful demonstrators and patriots. They included military attacks launched against peaceful African States and mass and systematic violations of human rights in the occupied Arab territories. There was documentary evidence of discrimination against national minorities and natives as well as of the situation of foreign labour deprived of any rights in the capitalist world. In a number of countries racism, hatred among nations and racial hatred flourished in the form of increasing Fascist and neo-Nazi activities. With every justification paragraph 15 of the programme of activities to be undertaken during the second half of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (resolution 34/24, annex) called upon all States to prohibit racist, neo-Nazi and Fascist organizations. The United Nations, which had itself emerged as a result of the struggle against fascism, should take concrete steps against the renewed increase in that danger to peace and to the enjoyment of human rights.

37. A number of States, including the German Democratic Republic, had repeatedly furnished proof that racism, racial discrimination and apartheid could never be reduced merely to violations of individual human rights. They were crimes against humanity, deeply rooted in the society of exploitation and perpetrated with the aim of protecting the profit interests of international monopoly groups, of preserving colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation and oppression, as well as of inciting peoples and nations one against another. It was an urgent imperative to extirpate those roots of racism, in order to wipe out all its forms and manifestations.

38. Reports from South Africa continued to be alarming. Now, as before, apartheid, terror and violence were still widespread in that country. The régime did not even shirk from using military force against juveniles, students and school children. Compulsory resettlements were still part of everyday life in the apartheid State. Already more than 2 million people had been forced to leave their ancestral areas of residence. Thanks to the comprehensive collaboration of Western circles with the racists, the latter had at their disposal an appallingly large arsenal of highly sophisticated weapons, which they used against patriotic forces and in acts of aggression perpetrated against African States. It was a well-established fact that the illegally occupied Territory of Namibia was used as a starting-point for such acts of aggression, as a springboard for launching attacks against peaceful neighbouring States.

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(Mr. Schlegel, German Democratic Republic)

39. The President of the African National Congress of South Africa, Oliver Tambo, had recently declared that the constant upgrading of the material and technological basis of South Africa, facilitated by the imperialist forces allied within NATO, served simultaneously to intensify the exploitation of the people, to increase the immense profits and to expand opportunities for South Africa's own production of war material. South Africa already ranked among the 10 largest arms manufacturers in the capitalist world. Referring to statements by scientists from South Africa, The Times of London had reported that that country was definitely capable of manufacturing nuclear weapons because of its close collaboration with the member countries of NATO in the field of nuclear technology and because of its important uranium production. Nuclear weapons in the hands of the racists would mean a further increase in the threats to international peace emanating from the apartheid régime. It had therefore become urgently necessary to adopt appropriate and effective measures to counter that situation and to implement steadfastly all United Nations decisions calling for sanctions against South Africa.

40. In the quest for the elimination of racial oppression and exploitation, the struggle against racial propaganda played a significant role, since propagating racism in all its forms and manifestations constituted a characteristic element of the oppression which was part and parcel of racial discrimination. The dissemination of racist ideas was in direct opposition to understanding among peoples: such ideas undermined the exercise of human rights and, being transmitted by mass communication media beyond national borders, became a threat to peace and an ideological instrument for the preparation of wars of aggression.

41. The socialist States had always stood for the prohibition of racial propaganda and the punishment of those who practised it. The German Democratic Republic therefore attached great significance to the demands embodied in General Assembly resolution 34/24, which called upon all States "to declare punishable by law any dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority or hatred and to prohibit organizations based on racial prejudice and hatred, including neo-Nazi and Fascist organizations". Keeping the mass media free from such ideas was an important task to be fulfilled during the Decade.

42. The people and the Government of the German Democratic Republic would never forget the international solidarity shown and the assistance rendered to them in their struggle against the enemies of the people, for the construction of a socialist society. It was therefore a matter of principle for his country, and its political and moral responsibility, to display active solidarity with all peoples fighting against racial oppression, apartheid and colonial enslavement in order to attain self-determination, national independence and social progress.

43. Mrs. TASHIBEKOVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the consideration of questions related to racial discrimination at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly was particularly important, because the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination was drawing to a close and because of the necessity of mobilizing all resources to attain the aims of the Decade. It was imperative to implement fully the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and United Nations resolutions to that end.

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(Mrs. Tashibekova, USSR)

44. The Soviet Union welcomed the developments that had enabled certain peoples to rid themselves of the yoke of colonialism and to secure independence. It welcomed in particular the independence of Zimbabwe, whose leaders had been congratulated by President Brezhnev.

45. It should be borne in mind, however, that the manifestations of racism and racial discrimination still persisted. The Pretoria régime, with its policy of apartheid, continued to perpetrate a crime against humanity, systematically disregarding the rights of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa. Examples of that policy were the acts of police brutality against Africans in Cape Town in June 1980, which had claimed a number of lives and caused thousands of other casualties, the Soweto massacre, which had taken place four years earlier, and the acts of aggression against Angola and other States of southern Africa. The Security Council was now obliged to consider on a continuing basis attacks by South Africa. Clearly the South African authorities would be unable to maintain their policy without foreign backing. Certain Western countries of NATO, which, for economic, political and social reasons, wished to maintain the racist régime, were using every possible pretext to avoid implementing the measures adopted at the international level against the Pretoria régime. They thus became its accomplices.

46. The Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination stressed the need to apply stringently the measures already adopted and to take further action to eliminate racism.

47. The Soviet Union considered that Israel's occupation of Arab lands constituted another form of racism. By depriving the Arab population of Palestine of a homeland and denying the right of the Palestinians to nationhood, Israel was demonstrating the true racist nature of zionism.

48. The exploitation of man by man in the form of racism occurred in other places, where there were periodic manifestations of racism. The causes of racism had to be eliminated, and one key measure to that end would be the prohibition by law of Fascist and neo-Nazi organizations and other racist organizations, such as the Ku Klux Klan, which continued to operate and flourish in many countries.

49. The Soviet State had always been against racism and the exploitation of some peoples by others. That position of principle derived from the nature of the Soviet State, which had put an end to the exploitation of man by man by ensuring, inter alia, equality among the various nationalities. The Soviet Constitution proclaimed that one of the principles of Soviet foreign policy was support for peoples struggling for national liberation and social progress.

50. The USSR attached great importance to the measures adopted by the United Nations to combat all forms of racial discrimination, supported all the liberation movements of southern Africa and demanded an unconditional end to the practice of apartheid and the transfer of power to the true representative of

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(Mrs. Tashibekova, USSR)

Namibia, SWAPO. The USSR condemned the racist policy of Pretoria and all policies designed to support it. It was imperative to comply with the provisions of the Programme for the Decade and to take effective action under the Charter against the Pretoria régime. The Soviet Union's reply to the Secretary-General's questionnaire provided detailed information on the measures taken by the USSR.

51. The importance of 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 had to be stressed. It was also worth stressing that not a single Western State was a party to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The General Assembly should appeal to all States which had not already done so to become parties to the Convention.

52. Her delegation supported the draft resolution on the implementation of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination recommended by the Economic and Social Council and invited all States to help to expedite the adoption of measures.

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53. The CHAIRMAN said that he wished to exercise the flexibility which had so often been referred to at the current session. Accordingly, if he heard no objections, he would add to the list of speakers, which had been closed in principle at 1 p.m. on the previous day, three African delegations which, for reasons beyond their control, had been unable to join the list and had later asked to be included.

54. It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.