



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 18th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria)

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Distr. GENERAL  
A/C.3/35/SR.18  
17 October 1980  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

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

AGENDA ITEM 74: ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (A/35/419, A/35/462)

- (a) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (A/35/18)
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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 (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 (A/35/146, A/35/65, A/35/419)

1. Mrs. KARPENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) pointed out that in its resolutions on the question, the General Assembly had declared that co-operation with the racist régime of South Africa was a flagrant violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and stood in the way of the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

2. The assistance given to the racist régime by the Western Powers, particularly the States members of NATO and by Israel, despite appeals by the international community, had been condemned by every United Nations body. In his report (E/CN.4/Sub.2/425), the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities had adduced specific facts showing that most foreign capital invested in South Africa came from the Common Market countries. Those investments were constantly increasing and, as had been shown at the 451st meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid, direct investments by the United States in South Africa had increased fortyfold between 1943 and 1978.

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(Mrs. Karpenko, Byelorussian SSR)

3. With investments in excess of \$28,000 million, monopolies in the United States and other Western countries controlled the strategic sector of the South African economy -- construction of machinery, petroleum products, data processing, etc. The report of the Special Rapporteur showed that, with the assistance of certain American corporations producing military matériel, the South African racists had managed to acquire the most modern equipment for their army in a relatively short time. For example, Allis Chalmers had provided the Safari I reactor and Foxboro had sold two powerful computers to the atomic research centre at Pelindaba.

4. Having begun by using the apartheid system to exploit the natural resources of the country for profit, the Western monopolies in South Africa had proceeded to participate directly in the militarization of the régime and had thus encouraged its policy of aggression. That was the main reason for the failure of the efforts made by the world community to isolate and boycott South Africa.

Furthermore, the military aspect of that co-operation was expanding at a dangerous rate and South Africa was building more and more spare parts under licence. In addition, transnational corporations were engaged in the production of military matériel for the South African army and police force; that co-operation had extended to the nuclear field and to the exchange of military delegations, and mercenaries recruited in a number of Western countries were constantly arriving in Pretoria to suppress the national liberation movement.

5. The collusion between Western capital and the military and police apparatus of South Africa was causing grave concern throughout the world. For instance, a secret agreement between the South African subsidiary of General Motors and the racist authorities, made public by the American Committee on Africa, stipulated that General Motors plants were to be classified as key industries and that in the event of "trouble", they would be placed directly "under the protection" of the South African military authorities. Furthermore, the Western countries were making increasing use of the International Monetary Fund to finance the South African economy. Thanks to their support, the racists in Pretoria had received \$463 million from that Fund between 1966 and 1977.

6. With the increased economic, military and other assistance it received from the Western Powers, the racist régime had become more cruel in its repression of the indigenous populations of South Africa and Namibia. Half the death sentences in the world were imposed by the apartheid régime of South Africa and the African population suffered cruel torture in South African prisons. Every five minutes an African child died of starvation; over 200 so-called "laws" justified the political, economic and social repression of millions of Africans.

7. To justify their conduct, certain Western countries claimed that it was impossible to enforce the application of economic sanctions by private corporations. However, when it was in their self-interest, several of those States were quick to boycott progressive countries that practised anti-imperialist policies. The firm stand taken by the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic had been clearly set forth, particularly in document S/14092 of 5 August 1980. That

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(Mrs. Karpenko, Byelorussian SSR)

position had been duly noted by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination during its examination of the sixth periodic report of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

8. As the General Assembly had stated in resolution 33/23, "the States which give assistance to the colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa become accomplices in the inhuman practices of racial discrimination, colonialism and apartheid perpetuated by those régimes". The problem of eliminating racism and apartheid in southern Africa could not be resolved unless all States implemented United Nations resolutions aimed at isolating and boycotting racist régimes. Her delegation therefore vigorously condemned all those whose assistance helped to strengthen the apartheid régime and deny human rights and fundamental freedoms in that region, and thought that really effective measures on the question should be adopted by the United Nations, particularly the Third Committee.

9. Miss BROSNKOVA (Czechoslovakia) said that one of the most fundamental prerequisites for the realization of human rights was the recognition and implementation of the right of peoples to self-determination, to national sovereignty and to independence. Southern Africa, the Arab territories illegally occupied by Israel, and the military bases of some western States in small territories amply demonstrated the soundness of that principle.

10. In the United Nations, the codification of the right of peoples to self-determination had required immense effort, and the socialist States had played a major role in that process. When the Universal Declaration of Human Rights had been drafted more than 30 years ago, the socialist States had insisted that it should include the right of peoples to self-determination. It was, moreover, the initiative of the Soviet Union which had led to the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the twentieth anniversary of which was being commemorated during the present session. That instrument had provided the impetus for the attainment of independence by a large number of new States in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Indeed, the systematic efforts by the United Nations in that field had been extremely fruitful. The annual admission of new States to the United Nations proved that nations were determined to exercise their right to self-determination, and Czechoslovakia extended a cordial welcome to the two most recent members, Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

11. However, there were still millions of people who were being denied their most basic political, economic, social and cultural rights. As shown in the report of the Special Rapporteur (E/CN.4/Sub.2/45), the very States which set themselves up as the champions of human rights and dissociated themselves from the policy pursued by South Africa in words only, were helping to maintain the apartheid régime, which posed a threat not only to the security of neighbouring States, but also to international peace and security. It was outright hypocrisy to maintain that the activities conducted by the monopolies of certain States in southern Africa did not constitute support for South Africa's racist policies. The assertions of

(Miss Brosnakova, Czechoslovakia)

representatives of some western countries, which clung to the excuse that they had no power to induce private corporations to put a stop to their activities in States which were guilty of gross violations of human rights were equally unconvincing.

12. She profoundly deplored the fact that the Palestinian people was still being denied its right to national self-determination. Any separate talks which failed to acknowledge the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people were not only doomed to failure in advance, but would only serve to strengthen the aggressive policies of Israel. As she had repeatedly emphasized, her delegation was convinced that any settlement of the situation in the Middle East must safeguard the right of the Palestinian people, represented by the PLO, to self-determination, including the establishment of an independent State.

13. In concluding, she expressed the hope that the United Nations would take positive measures to safeguard the right of peoples to self-determination, and to eliminate all forms of assistance to colonial and racist régimes. Czechoslovakia, which protested against the gross violations of human rights recently committed in Kampuchea, would continue to support the just struggle of all peoples fighting to eliminate the vestiges of colonial rule, and for national liberation, and would continue to provide them with political and material assistance.

14. Mrs. ATKINS (United States of America) welcomed the representatives of the two new Member States, Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

15. With regard to the question of South Africa, she emphasized that her Government not only condemned the systematic violation of human rights and the repression inflicted on those who were struggling against apartheid, but had also committed itself to working for the establishment of a society which would grant all Africans the right to participate fully in all aspects of political, economic and social life.

16. South Africa faced critical choices. The United States, which opposed violence and therefore could not support resolutions which encouraged recourse to violence, ardently wished to see South Africa embark on the path of reform. As the front-line States had said in the Lusaka Manifesto, many of them stood ready to extend whatever assistance the South African Government and people needed if the parties could agree on establishing a fully representative Government. With its ample experience in the field, the United States understood the problems involved in building a multiracial society, the importance of eliminating racial discrimination and the need to establish dialogue and co-existence.

17. Zimbabwe, once torn by civil war, provided some encouragement and offered some hope for a peaceful settlement in Namibia. The United States was currently pursuing diplomatic contacts on that subject with South Africa. Only continued dialogue with South Africa offered any prospect that the initiatives taken to achieve independence for Namibia would culminate in success. The United States had urged South Africa to proceed without delay to a settlement of the question while there was still time.

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(Mrs. Atkins, United States)

18. As Vice-President Mondale had recently stated in Lagos, the main concern of the United States was to find ways of guaranteeing respect for human rights in Africa. The relaxation of certain segregation practices, planned by the Botha Government in South Africa, was not enough. Too many people were still under banning orders - more than 150 at the present time - including Winnie Mandela and Manphela Ramphele. Repugnant laws such as the Group Areas Act, the pass laws and the policy of bantustanization had led to the forced uprooting of 2,115,000 people in 1978, and millions of others were still being uprooted. Under the bantustans policy, millions of blacks had been stripped of their citizenship and forced to live in certain areas where they could not find work. They were therefore obliged to leave their families to earn a living elsewhere. In 1978 and 1979, more than 400,000 people had been arrested for violating the pass laws.

19. The United States was deeply concerned about the situation, and had protested to South Africa as well as in international forums and at regional and international conferences. It had encouraged the mass information media to condemn those abuses. In fact, the United States had been first to alert world public opinion to the situation in South Africa. It had supported the adoption by the Security Council of an arms embargo against that country. For its own part, it had prohibited all exports of equipment for the South African army or police and had urged all States to enforce the arms embargo to the letter. In 1979 and 1980, no loans or other financial aid had been made available to South Africa through financial institutions or banks. Other important steps had also been taken. While it was under no illusion that trade restrictions could bring about the dismantling of the apartheid system, the United States believed that such measures could still serve as a catalyst for change. That was why the United States would spare no effort to encourage business leaders to deal a death blow to apartheid.

20. In that connexion, the possibility of disinvestment was still being contemplated. Even black leaders had an ambivalent approach to the subject. As for the Soviet Union, its statements on that point were frankly hypocritical. In fact, it was well known that the CSO, a cartel which had its head office in London and was controlled by the South African company, De Beers, was engaged in major business dealings with the USSR. In 1978, Soviet exports through the cartel had amounted to over \$500 million. The United States had drawn attention in the Fourth Committee to the fact that the Soviet Union was exploiting fisheries off the coast of southern Africa, and most recently off the coast of Namibia.

21. In addition to measures to promote reform of the South African régime, the United States had increased its contacts with members of the black community, particularly those who had been banned, and had encouraged moderate white leaders to take action; many of them were already convinced of the need to liberalize the régime. The Committee must encourage South Africa, as the United States had endeavoured to do in the Security Council, to make a radical change in its policies. The first step must be to free those whose participation in administration was essential for the future stability of the country and to encourage exiles to return.

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(Mrs. Atkins, United States)

Such a gesture would create a favourable atmosphere for co-operation between the majority and the minority. It was necessary to encourage the use of mediation and the good offices procedure rather than to add to the long list of futile resolutions.

22. Turning to the issue of self-determination, she said that her country, which had come into being through the exercise of that right, had made it the basis for its foreign policy. Her country also recognized the abuses which had taken place under the façade of exercising that right, the killing of innocent women and children by terrorists and the threat to the security and safety of other States.

23. As the Commission on Human Rights had stated, the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union was a flagrant violation of the Afghan people's right to self-determination and a threat to peace. That action had been condemned by the overwhelming majority of Member States of the Organization. Soviet attempts to blame others for its violation convinced no one. Its action showed that the USSR had no respect for the United Nations and that it would not hesitate to flout the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination.

24. The situation in Kampuchea provided a further example of the violation of that principle. After invading that country, Viet Nam had installed a régime which paid little heed to the aspirations or needs of the Kampuchean people. The great majority of Member States, particularly in the Commission on Human Rights, had also condemned Viet Nam's violation of the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination.

25. Replying to allegations made by the representative of Cuba with respect to Puerto Rico and Micronesia, she recalled General Assembly resolution 748, adopted in 1953, which recognized that the people of Puerto Rico had exercised their right to self-determination in a referendum held in 1952. In 1978 the Fourth Committee had reaffirmed its view that the question of Puerto Rico was no longer on the General Assembly's agenda. Her country considered, however, that the existing political status of Puerto Rico was not immutable, and was encouraging the Puerto Rican people to decide themselves on the political status which suited them best, as had been indicated by President Carter on 25 July 1978 and by the United States Congress in a resolution adopted in 1979.

26. The situation in Micronesia, a Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands whose administration had been entrusted to her country in accordance with Article 83 of the Charter, was the concern of the Trusteeship Council, with which her Government was co-operating fully in the exercise of its responsibilities.

27. Mr. JANI (Zimbabwe), speaking on item 66, said that his country's victory over oppression and colonialism was also the victory of its friends and allies; without the grave sacrifices they had made on its behalf, the question of his country's independence might still be on the Committee's agenda.

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(Mr. Jani, Zimbabwe)

28. His country was still greatly concerned by the military, economic and other assistance which the Western States continued to extend to the racist régime of South Africa. The right of peoples to decide their own political status freely and without interference from outside, and to shape their economic, social and cultural development in complete independence, was a basic principle of international law. Peace and the progress of mankind could only come about if the oppressed peoples had the opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

29. The illegal and criminal occupation of Namibia by South Africa in contravention of various United Nations resolutions, could have disastrous consequences. Foreign interests continued to dominate and exploit the Namibian economy, in disregard of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia which the United Nations Council for Namibia had enacted in 1974. A number of South African and Western companies were illegally exploiting Namibia's vast reserves and were totally ignoring the interests of the African majority. Furthermore, international banking institutions continued to extend credit facilities to the illegal administration of the Territory. Despite the economic growth over the previous 20 years, Africans were still denied their proper share of the wealth thus generated. They had been relegated to the bantustans, where the great majority could only survive through subsistence agriculture, while such few of them as held jobs were savagely exploited in the mines, in commercial agriculture and in fishing.

30. Apart from depriving the Africans of any benefit from the exploitation of their national patrimony, foreign interests made no contribution to the development of the Territory as a whole. For example, under policies established by South Africa, foreign companies were allowed to export minerals in crude form for processing abroad, thus avoiding the expenses involved in establishing manufacturing plants in the Territory, and at the same time depriving the Territory of the benefits of a domestic manufacturing industry. In addition, such companies were not required to reinvest even the smallest part of their profits in the Territory for development purposes.

31. The global demand for nuclear power and the intensified efforts by some countries to acquire or develop nuclear weapons was being achieved at the expense of the oppressed and exploited people of Namibia. South African domination of the Territory's uranium reserves enhanced its capacity to manufacture nuclear weapons and seriously endangered the African continent as a whole.

32. The situation in South Africa, which was exemplified by massacres, arbitrary arrests and torture and the overcrowding of blacks in the bantustans, had taken a pathetic twist. The continuing decline in real wages paid to Africans and the accompanying starvation and deteriorating health standards were facts so well known that it would be pointless to give a detailed review of the political and socio-economic situation in the country. It would be more valuable to dwell on the consequences of that situation for those who were reinforcing the criminal policies of apartheid.

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(Mr. Jani, Zimbabwe)

33. The question of foreign investment in South Africa was just as disturbing as the issue of the exploitation of Namibia. There were those who maintained that such investments might bring about changes which would benefit the Africans and that South Africa might be induced to increase the wages of black workers and to improve their lot. Yet why was there no attempt to stop white immigration into South Africa? It would seem logical, if the purpose was indeed to provide better opportunities for local labour, to stop recruiting white workers in order to fill vacant posts in the South African economy. It was well known that the Pretoria régime needed a growing pool of white labour to ensure white domination of the black majority.

34. Foreign companies were thus helping to strengthen the apartheid system, both by depriving Africans of skilled jobs and by swelling the ranks of whites in the service of apartheid. By extending economic and military aid to South Africa, foreign interests were deliberately reinforcing the evil system of apartheid. His delegation felt that it would not be too much to demand that assistance should be rendered to the people thus oppressed by exerting the minimum pressure required to bring about drastic change and to ensure the gradual elimination of apartheid, namely, the application of a mandatory arms embargo, withdrawal of foreign interests, and the severance of economic relations.

35. Would the international community prefer to wait until the already explosive situation in South Africa culminated in full-scale conflict and the possible intervention of the great Powers? Unless conspicuous progress was made without delay, the ghastly consequences would have to be faced before long. Resolute steps must be taken to end the hateful system and its threat to international peace and security.

36. Zimbabwe would fight relentlessly in OAU and the United Nations to put an end to apartheid in South Africa and to Pretoria's illegal occupation of Namibia. It would support the sole true representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO, and the legitimate liberation movements in South Africa, ANC and PAC, in their just fight to eliminate the apartheid system. He firmly believed that the struggle against apartheid was just, that it would be victorious, as it had been in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and that it should be pursued until the whole of Africa was freed.

37. Mr. PHEDONOS-VADET (Cyprus) welcomed the two new member States, Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and hoped soon to see Namibia represented in the Organization.

38. With reference to agenda item 67, the Cyprus Government did its utmost in both national and international forums, to further the implementation of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination; it would therefore vote in favour of draft resolution A/C.3/35/L.3, which had been recommended by the Economic and Social Council.

39. With regard to item 74 and especially the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (A/35/18), since the adoption by the

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(Mr. Phedonos-Vadet, Cyprus)

Committee of decision 1 (XXI), the situation appeared to have improved with the resumption of the dialogue between the two communities. Consequently, as indicated by the Foreign Minister of Cyprus in the General Assembly on 2 October 1980, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, his delegation had decided not to insist on the endorsement of that decision.

40. Turning to item 66, he said that his country was not included in the list of countries furnishing any assistance to the Republic of South Africa. Cyprus vehemently condemned racial discrimination, South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, its acts of aggression against Angola, Zambia and Mozambique and the violation of the Azanian people's fundamental rights and freedoms.

41. With reference to the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination, he expressed the solidarity of the people and Government of Cyprus with peoples struggling for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from alien domination or occupation. They deplored the continuous violations of the human rights of the Palestinian people, and the illegal change in the status of Jerusalem. They deplored the continuing occupation of the Golan Heights and the establishment of foreign settlements which ran counter to the basic human rights of the Syrian population. They also strongly supported the respect of the human rights of the Lebanese people.

42. After commending the efforts of the Commonwealth, the United Nations, OAU and the front-line States to bring about a solution of the situation in Zimbabwe and expressing the hope that a peaceful solution would soon be found to the situation in Namibia and Western Sahara, his delegation expressed its confidence that the process of decolonization, started after the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the twentieth anniversary of which was being celebrated in 1980, would be successfully concluded and all vestiges of foreign domination eliminated.

43. Mrs. RUSSELL (Barbados) said that her delegation heartily welcomed UNESCO's participation in the difficult task of the eradication of racism, and believed that knowledge of the diverse cultures, ethnic origins, history, traditions and habits of people was a vital prerequisite for the total eradication of the diseases of racial prejudice, racism and apartheid. It attached particular importance to the work which UNESCO had begun on the revision of history textbooks, which was referred to in paragraph 36 of the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

44. For generations the children of Barbados, like those of other Caribbean countries, had been given only textbooks written by the colonizer. Her delegation was therefore convinced that education, and where necessary re-education, was one approach towards solving the problem of racial discrimination. It also welcomed the involvement of the International Labour Organisation in the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Like the inhabitants of many other Caribbean countries with slender economic resources, Barbadians had had to emigrate in large numbers.

(Mrs. Russell, Barbados)

While it might actively seek labour markets abroad, the Barbadian Government wished to remind the Committee that a human being did not give up his dignity simply because he left his native land to work in an alien country. The right to work was also a basic human right and the protection of migrant workers from all indignities, including racial prejudice, must be the concern of the Third Committee.

45. With respect to the crime of apartheid, the Barbadian delegation urged those nations which so hastily disclaimed association with the perpetrators of apartheid to act honestly in their economic and military policies. Apartheid must be totally removed before it became an epidemic.

46. Just as it had unreservedly supported the just and legitimate struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for their independence, Barbados would continue to support the right of the people of Namibia to freedom from white racist colonial rule. The importance it attached to the realization of the rights of peoples to self-determination did not end with southern Africa, but extended to all those areas in the world still "cribbed and confined" by the shackles of colonialism. With a sense of indignation it deplored the fact that Belize lingered under the colonial yoke, blocked from independence by the spurious claims of Guatemala. The Barbadian delegation would not flag in its determination to rid the Caribbean region of the last vestiges of colonialism and would be actively seeking the support of Member States for a resolution calling for the independence of Belize not later than 31 December 1981.

47. Mr. KABBANI (Saudi Arabia) said that his country attached vital importance to the four agenda items before the Committee, especially the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. Saudi Arabia considered that that objective could be attained only by isolating those which practised racial discrimination and applying sanctions against them. South Africa could persist in its apartheid policy only with the help given by a certain number of foreign corporations and countries, including Israel, which in fact applied a similar policy in the Arab occupied territories.

48. Israel itself benefited from the financial and military assistance of various countries, especially the United States. It had been flouting United Nations resolutions for years. Recently, its Minister for Foreign Affairs had declared that Israel would ignore Security Council resolutions 476 (1980) and 478 (1980) on the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem.

49. Saudi Arabia therefore considered that Israel did not deserve to be a Member of the United Nations and protested against its participation in the thirty-fifth, as well as all other sessions of the General Assembly. A true peace could not be established in the Middle East until the Palestinian people's right to achieve self-determination and to establish an independent State had been recognized and Israel had withdrawn from the occupied territories.

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(Mr. Kabbani, Saudi Arabia)

50. He also wished to reaffirm that the Soviet Union's armed intervention in Afghanistan was unworthy of a country which professed to be the champion of the right to independence, and he denounced that invasion. Saudi Arabia demanded the withdrawal of the aggressor and appealed to all countries of the world, including the Moslem countries in particular, to adopt decisions in support of the Afghan people in their struggle to free their territory and exercise their right to independence. It also denounced Viet Nam's interference in the internal affairs of Democratic Kampuchea and called for the withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces from the territory of that State.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.