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THIRD COMMITTEE
11th meeting
held on
Wednesday, 7 October 1981
at 3 p.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 11th MEETING

Chairman: Mrs. MASMOUDI (Tunisia)

later: Mr. O'DONOVAN (Ireland)

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Distr. GENERAL
A/C.3/36/SR.11
29 October 1981
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

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

AGENDA ITEM 74: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME FOR THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued) (A/36/75, A/36/116 and Corr. 1, A/36/515; A/C.3/36/L.3)

AGENDA ITEM 81: IMPORTANCE OF THE UNIVERSAL REALIZATION OF THE RIGHTS 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/36/116 and Corr. 1, A/36/403 and Add. 1, A/36/421 and Corr. 1; A/C.3/36/4)

AGENDA ITEM 82: ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (A/36/116 and Corr. 1, A/36/138, A/36/421 and Corr. 1, A/36/566)

- (a) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (A/36/18)
- (b) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (A/36/453)
- (c) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF APARTHEID (A/36/454 and Add. 1)

1. Mr. ODOCH-JATO (Uganda) said that since colonialism was one of the issues on the Committee's agenda, his delegation most heartily congratulated the Republics of Vanuatu and Belize on their accession to independence.

2. Despite the many resolutions of the United Nations and the adoption of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, racial oppression, far from disappearing, was growing still worse in South Africa and Namibia. The Government of South Africa was indiscriminately using its repressive machinery against men, women and children, as illustrated by the brutality with which it had suppressed the demonstrations by black students (most of whom were less than 10 years old) and black trade unions. Furthermore, in pursuing the Bantu Laws (Amendment) Act of 1964 and its policy of bantustanization, the South African regime had perpetrated a massive deportation of urban blacks to barren reserves. It used the Suppression of Communism Act, the Terrorism Act and the Internal Security Act to torture people, imprison them and condemn them to death. In addition, it continued systematically to muzzle the black press (as by banning the Post in February 1981) in order to silence the democratic majority in South Africa.

3. Equally bad was the treatment of the Palestinian Arabs by Israel, which, resolved to annex and dominate Arab lands through a massive programme of settlements on the West Bank, the Golan Heights and Gaza, continued to defy all the resolutions of the United Nations and the principles of international law. Like South Africa, Israel resorted to torture and intimidation in order to subjugate the indigenous people of the territory which it illegally occupied, and it constantly resorted to measures aimed at silencing the voice of freedom and equality.

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(Mr. Odoch-Jato, Uganda)

4. His delegation could not fail to emphasize the links which existed between racial oppression, colonialism and economic exploitation. Just as the racial domination of blacks in South Africa was based on the exploitation of their labour and of the country's natural resources by a privileged minority and transnational corporations, the colonization of Namibia was based solely on economic exploitation. Although in 1980 the racist regime had accepted provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the United Nations plan for Namibia, in 1981 it had deliberately wrecked the Geneva pre-implementation talks which had represented the last stage before Namibia's accession to independence. His delegation noted also that the negative votes of three members of the Security Council had blocked the consensus reached by the nations of the world with respect to the Council's application of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions. Some members of the Contact Group had even begun to think of modifying Security Council resolution 435 (1978) by offering safeguards to the racist minority in Namibia. The massive investments of transnational corporations and the technical co-operation between Western countries and South Africa encouraged South Africa day by day to strengthen its policy of apartheid and its illegal occupation of Namibia, a situation that threatened international peace and security which were already compromised by the constant aggression perpetrated by South Africa against Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe. For that reason, his delegation wished remind all countries that the General Assembly, in a resolution adopted at its most recent special session, had called for an end to all economic, military and diplomatic relations with South Africa. Uganda also condemned all acts of aggression by Israel and hoped that the measures adopted by the General Assembly against South Africa would be applied to Israel if it continued to defy the international community. In addition, it urged all States which still retained colonies to adhere to the terms of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, so that the right to self-determination might be universalized. Uganda strongly supported General Assembly resolution 35/35 A and pledged its solidarity with and assistance to all liberation movements recognized by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

5. His delegation noted with satisfaction that the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination reserved the right to recommend effective measures against the perpetrators of racism and racial discrimination. It also commended UNESCO, the Special Committee on decolonization and the Council for Namibia for their activities in the field of education and the dissemination of information with a view to contributing to the achievement of the objectives of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, to which Uganda fully subscribed. Lastly, the Republic of Uganda, which was already a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, was now preparing to ratify the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

6. Miss TUKAN (Jordan) said that Jordan condemned discrimination based on race, sex, colour or religion as a crime against humanity. Jordan was prepared to co-operate with all Member States in combating that scourge, which was rampant in certain racist regimes motivated by hate, particularly in South Africa and in occupied Palestine.

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(Miss Tukan, Jordan)

7. The inhuman practices of the Israeli military occupation authorities in the occupied Arab territories, directed against the local inhabitants in order to force them to leave their ancestral lands, should be strongly condemned by the international community. The collective punishments, the attempts made to eliminate national leaders, the restrictions imposed on the population, the integration of the economy of those regions with that of Israel, the confiscation of public property, the plunder of natural resources, the ill-treatment inflicted on the Palestinians, the fact that the municipalities did not receive financial assistance to enable them to continue providing essential services, and, lastly, the announcement made by the Israeli Council of Ministers on 4 October to the effect that the military authorities would be replaced by civilians were all within the framework of a conspiracy aimed at setting up autonomy and imposing it by force of arms. It was a new attempt by Israel to establish a fait accompli and impose changes contrary to the provisions of international law and to the resolutions of the United Nations.

8. Israel was not content with perpetrating inhuman acts within the occupied Arab territories but also had been attempting for some years to expand the field of its aggression, as shown by its continued incursions into Lebanon, its attempt to seize the southern part of Lebanon, and its unprecedented violations of all international laws and customs, in particular the attack launched against the Iraqi nuclear installations in June.

9. Mr. ASANTE (Ghana) said that once again the Committee was meeting to consider the issues of racial discrimination and racism practices which it would again condemn and on which resolutions would again be adopted. The question was whether, after all that, the men, women and children subjected to the system of apartheid in South Africa would be brought any nearer to living as human beings and whether the prestige of the United Nations as the protector of human rights would be enhanced. The statements made in the Committee showed that States unanimously and vehemently condemned racism and racial discrimination, which had no basis in morality or in law. But even though there was no doubt about the sincerity of such condemnations, he wondered whether they brought the world community any nearer to its goal of eliminating racism and apartheid. It was necessary to back up words with concrete action that reflected the firm determination of States.

10. The racist regime of South Africa could allow itself to flout world opinion, United Nations resolutions, resolutions of the Organization of African Unity and decisions of other international bodies because of the economic, military and political support it received from certain States Members of the United Nations. Those same States claimed that friendly co-operation would have a salutary influence on South Africa and that pressure would merely prompt the regime violently to resist any change. However, that kind of reasoning was belied by reality, since the entire history of South Africa had been one of suppression of the black majority. Since the beginning of the century, the groundwork had been laid for white power; such power had been strengthened through the "legal" separation and subjugation of blacks by means of various laws such as the Colour Bar Act of 1911 and the Native Land Act of 1913.

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(Mr. Asante, Ghana)

Shortly after the Nationalist Party had gained power in 1948, it had enacted a series of repressive instruments; the Group Areas Act of 1950, which defined the areas in which each racial group could live and work, had been followed by laws on mixed marriages, "immoral acts," and employment and residence restrictions. Even now, it was obvious that the white minority of South Africa could not tolerate any equality of the races, as was shown by its policy of bantustanization. In the absence of international pressure, it was pursuing its repression: bannings and detentions without trial were increasing, the black newspaper World, had been closed, and the list of victims was growing. However, the regime was trying to justify its acts by invoking the principles of law, for example, by stating that it had exercised its right of "hot pursuit" (a doctrine restricted to maritime law) in invading Angolan territory recently. It was thus clear from history and from the current situation that the South African regime would never agree to share power with the blacks unless very strong diplomatic, political and, above all, economic pressure was exerted on it from the outside. In that connection, the multinational corporations had thus far done more to encourage apartheid than to combat it. The time had come to listen to the voice of reason and to bring to an end that form of racism, which had been elevated to the rank of a political system and which violated one of the greatest principles of mankind.

11. Mr. Hamed OBADI (Democratic Yemen) said that the practices of racial discrimination and racism were among the problems that some parts of the world had face. Despite the adoption of a number of United Nations resolutions and despite the efforts made to eliminate racial discrimination and racism since the Organization had been founded, the scourge of racism, racial discrimination, colonialism, and foreign domination and occupation still existed, with the support of the imperialist forces and to the detriment of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, occupied Palestine and other parts of the world. The persistence of such practices was a source of extremely serious tension and threat to international peace and security.

12. The United Nations had repeatedly condemned the racist regimes of South Africa and Israel. However, they had paid no attention to the international community's condemnation and were pursuing their policy of repression, aggression and colonialism. It seemed that if they had not enjoyed the total support of the imperialist forces and if they had not received economic, military, nuclear and political assistance from certain NATO countries and from large multinational corporations, South Africa and Israel would not have been able to build up the military strength which enabled them to defy all the United Nations resolutions and to pursue an inhuman policy based on repression, oppression, terror and torture inflicted on the peoples of Namibia and Palestine. Moreover, South Africa would not have been able to commit countless acts of aggression against the neighbouring countries of Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and Botswana. So long as the imperialist forces collaborated with the racist regimes at the economic, military and nuclear levels and so long as foreign capital continued to flow towards Namibia and the Zionist entity, the United Nations would not be able to persuade those regimes to change their racist policies towards the peoples of Namibia and Palestine.

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(Mr. Obadi, Democratic Yemen)

13. Although South Africa was the most flagrant example of racism and racial discrimination, the problem existed elsewhere and had extremely serious repercussions in other parts of the world, particularly in the Middle East. The deterioration of the human-rights situation in the occupied Arab territories, including Palestine, and the repeated Israeli aggression against Lebanese towns and villages and against the Palestinian camps were a source of deep concern to most of the States Members of the United Nations. The Zionist forces of occupation were continuing their arbitrary raids against civilian populations and were violating the fundamental rights of the peoples of the region, particularly the Palestinian people, which had been the victim of Zionist imperialism and colonialism for more than 25 years. Of course, the Zionist regime was directing its efforts mainly towards occupied Palestine, but the people of South Africa was also threatened by Zionism to the same extent as the Palestinians because of the close ties between Tel Aviv and the white minority in southern Africa.

14. He drew attention to the large number of United Nations resolutions, studies and reports denouncing the close ties between the Zionist forces of Tel Aviv and the racist regime of South Africa and to the collusion between Israel and South Africa in the fields of technology, air transport and sports.

15. It was incumbent on the international community, and on the United Nations in particular, to impose economic, political and military sanctions against those regimes and to take specific measures against States which failed to do so. By the same token, the international community must provide greater political and financial support and more assistance in the field of information to help the peoples living under racist regimes and foreign occupation to intensify their armed struggle. The international community should display greater solidarity with such peoples and should adopt resolutions directed towards ending the schemes woven by the forces of imperialism and their allies to mislead world public opinion.

16. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen had been among the first States to ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. It supported the goals and objectives of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination; moreover, it had participated in the work of the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination held recently at Geneva and in conferences of non-governmental organizations devoted to the struggle against racism. Those activities reflected the solidarity of the people and Government of Democratic Yemen with the cause of the peoples of the African continent. The Government of Democratic Yemen had supported all the resolutions adopted, at the preceding session, on the right to self-determination and on the struggle against racism and apartheid; by the same token, it would support any other resolutions adopted during the current session on such matters.

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(Mr. Bouffandeau, France)

17. Mr. BOUFFANDEAU (France), after expressing his condolences to the Egyptian delegation on the tragic death of President Sadat and after congratulating Vanuatu and Belize on their accession to independence, stated that his delegation again wished to be included among all those which condemned racism in all its forms. French legislation was fundamentally egalitarian and was based on the principle of non-discrimination; thus, it clearly illustrated how foreign the concept of discrimination was to France. However, it was not enough for the Constitution of a State to prohibit discriminatory practices, since they could be disguised as authorized practices which could be declared illegal only through the adoption of specific legislation. France had therefore adopted very comprehensive anti-racist laws which were strictly enforced, and it believed that all countries should do likewise.

18. France, which was committed more than ever to its traditions in the field of human rights, fully supported the objectives of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Accordingly, it strongly condemned the policy of apartheid, which sought to institutionalize racism, and took part in the pressure exerted by the international community on the South African Government, particularly as a member of the Contact Group.

19. The French delegation emphasized the outstanding role played by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in the struggle against racism. The Committee's report once more proved that it was discharging its task with objectivity and seriousness. The French delegation encouraged it to forge ahead and, in particular, to take advantage of the provisions of article 9, paragraph 2 of the Convention by making suggestions and recommendations of a general nature based on its examination of reports and information received from State parties. The delegation even thought that that should be the essential aim of the Committee's report, a review of country reports from which universally applicable lessons could be drawn. It would like the Committee to inform the General Assembly of its conclusions after having considered the question.

20. Mr. KUOJUN (China) said that many United Nations resolutions had reaffirmed the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, which was proclaimed in the United Nations Charter but which unfortunately was not always respected. Although most colonial countries had achieved independence after long and arduous struggles, some regions still had not been able to shake off the yoke of colonialism; some sovereign States had even lost their independence as a result of foreign aggression of a neo-colonialist nature.

21. The South African reactionary regime, the last bastion of colonialist and racist rule on the African continent, was continuing its domestic policy of apartheid and maintaining its brutal colonial domination in Namibia, the only country in Africa that had not yet achieved national independence. The racist regime's shocking crimes had been clearly exposed and had aroused public indignation. The South African regime had been increasing its armed incursions and subversive activities against neighbouring States. The recent incursion of South African forces into Angolan territory was a fresh attempt to obstruct

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(Mr. Kuojun, China)

the Namibian people's progress toward independence. The Chinese Government demanded that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) should be immediately implemented and reaffirmed its support for the resolution adopted by the special emergency session of the General Assembly. He hoped that the second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination scheduled to be held in 1983 would prove to be a success.

22. Since its first aggressive war against Arab countries in 1948, Israel had obdurately persisted in its aggressive and expansionist policies. By its ruthless repression in the occupied areas, Israel deprived the Palestinians of their basic right to existence. The Israeli authorities had repeatedly launched brutal attacks against Lebanon and the refugee camps there. The bombing of Beirut in July 1981 had caused many casualties among the civilian population. The cause of the Azanian, Namibian and Palestinian Arab peoples was just and he was convinced that, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the South West Africa People's Organization, the Palestinians and Namibians would succeed in winning their independence.

23. Vietnamese armed forces were occupying Democratic Kampuchea and the Soviet Union had intervened in Afghanistan. The occupation troops were slaughtering those who defended their territory and were sabotaging production, creating famines and forcing the population to take refuge in neighbouring countries under threat of persecution and death. Defying the solemn resolutions of the United Nations, those colonial powers were violating human rights, trampling the right to self-determination under foot and threatening the peace and security of Asia and the world. The concepts of independence and human rights no longer had any meaning if strong hegemonist nations were allowed to treat weaker nations in that way. The Afghan and Kampuchean peoples were fighting not only for their own right to self-determination and national independence, but also to safeguard the dignity of the United Nations Charter and to defend international peace and security. The international community was therefore duty bound to support their just struggle.

24. Miss NAGA (Egypt) noted with regret that the question of action against racism and racial discrimination was still on the agenda of the Third Committee in spite of the efforts made by the international community and the campaign to eliminate the racist policies which continued to be pursued in a world proud of its progress, its prosperity and the triumph of the human intellect.

25. She considered that since the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination was coming to an end, the procedure to be adopted in accordance with the programmes of Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination should be evaluated. The Egyptian delegation believed that the International Conference on Sanctions Against South Africa held in Paris had been timely and was in fact the high point of the international struggle for action against the racist regime of apartheid. The international community must strengthen its efforts to force the regime to submit to its will, which it had repeatedly expressed in resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly.

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(Miss Naga, Egypt)

26. By committing acts of aggression against neighbouring countries, in particular Angola, the South African racist regime had challenged the international community. The latter should realize that and adopt the sanctions provided for under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

27. The convening of the second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination in 1983 would be an event of the highest importance because the Conference would work out a future programme of work for the elimination of all forms of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid throughout the world. That was why Egypt was supporting draft resolution A/C.3/36 L.3. The Egyptian delegation also believed it necessary to co-ordinate the efforts of the competent organs of the United Nations and their proposals and recommendations in connection with preparations for the second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and expressed its satisfaction at the activities undertaken by the ILO, WHO, UNESCO and UNITAR to that end. Egypt hoped that the Preparatory Committee for the Conference would be able to meet soon and that it would enjoy all the support necessary for it to discharge its responsibilities fully and ensure that the work of the Conference was fruitful.

28. Inspired by the principles of Islam, which prohibited any form of discrimination and considered all men to be equal, Egypt was giving moral and material support to the victims of those inhuman policies and to those fighting injustice. The great victory of the people of Zimbabwe had been a milestone along the road to complete liberation and Egypt hoped to see other victories of the same kind before the end of the Decade.

29. Egypt had been one of the first States to accede to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. It appealed to all States to become parties to that Convention if they had not already done so. The Egyptian delegation supported the recommendations in the Secretary-General's report (A/36/75) because it believed that they would contribute to the efforts aimed at eliminating racism and racial discrimination. The delegation deplored the fact that only a small number of States had so far acceded to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

30. She emphasized that the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had noted in its report that a great many Committee members had been absent during its last two meetings with the result that there had been no quorum. She considered that when States Members nominated their candidates to replace half the members of the Committee in January 1982, they should make sure that they would be able to attend meetings of the Committee regularly. She also requested that States Members should present their reports within the agreed time limits. She regretted that the Secretary-General had neither made the appropriate arrangements nor allocated the necessary resources for the Committee to hold a session away from Headquarters, as the General Assembly had requested in its resolution 35/40.

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(Miss Naga, Egypt)

31. Political independence was the first step to over-all development, which clearly underlined the importance of the relationship between the right to self-determination and the right to development. It was deplorable that, 40 years after the establishment of the United Nations and in spite of efforts at all levels, some peoples were still fighting for their right to self-determination. The wave of bloody repression against nationalist forces was continuing in southern Africa, and the question of Namibia demanded an immediate solution. Despite the efforts of the international community, the racist regime in South Africa, supported by a number of States, was applying all kinds of measures to continue its repression and exploitation of the Namibian people.

32. Because of its African roots, Egypt was making every effort to oppose the apartheid regime and to urge States to enforce comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. As a Middle Eastern country, it shared the tragedy of the Palestinian people. It was time that they recovered their rights so that they could take their rightful place among the free and independent peoples of the world. Finally, Egypt took a firm stand concerning the use of force, invasion and occupation and unequivocally condemned the situation existing in Afghanistan, Lebanon and Kampuchea.

33. Mr. RAZZOQI (Kuwait) pointed out that, although the Committee had adopted many important resolutions under the agenda item aimed at guaranteeing the right of peoples to self-determination, no practical measures had been taken to ensure even the partial implementation of those resolutions. That was due mainly to the opposition of the Western countries who saw them as an expression of utopian dreams which could not be realized in the modern world.

34. The principle of self-determination of peoples was, however, one of the basic tenets of the United Nations. That principle was set forth in Article 1 of the Charter, which stated that the purpose of the United Nations was to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.

35. That principle gave all peoples the right to choose freely their political, economic and social system. It aimed at eliminating the remnants of colonialism and freeing peoples from all forms of foreign domination and occupation, as well as eradicating apartheid and all forms of racism, including Zionism. Kuwait wished to emphasize the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples under colonial and alien domination to exercise their right to self-determination and independence by all necessary means at their disposal, including armed struggle. It had therefore supported all General Assembly resolutions to that effect.

36. There were many peoples still struggling to exercise their right to self-determination. His delegation drew particular attention to the struggle of the peoples of Namibia, South Africa and Palestine.

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(Mr. Razzoqi, Kuwait)

37. As long as the black majority in South Africa was deprived of its basic human rights, the racist policy of the Pretoria regime would constitute a threat to peace and security in southern Africa. It was almost inconceivable that the black population of 19 million inhabitants should occupy only 13 percent of the land, while the white minority, comprising only 4 million inhabitants, occupied 87 percent.

38. The policy of bantustanization carried out by Pretoria had as its sole object the consolidation of white minority rule in that part of the world.

39. The Kuwait delegation vigorously condemned the policy of racial segregation, which constituted a serious threat to international peace and security, and paid tribute to the black population which, despite cruel oppression, continued to struggle for the elimination of apartheid in its country and the exercise of its legitimate and inalienable rights. Kuwait called upon all countries, particularly the Western countries, who maintained close relations with the Pretoria regime to demand that the regime should put an end to its wave of repression against the national forces of South Africa.

40. There could be no just and lasting peace in Namibia until South Africa, which continued to occupy that Territory in defiance of United Nations resolutions, withdrew its illegal administration immediately and unconditionally and granted the Namibian people its inalienable right to self-determination, independence and regional security over the whole Territory, including the region of Walvis Bay. Kuwait called upon the Western countries to fulfil all their responsibilities by putting pressure on South Africa to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

41. Kuwait also unreservedly supported the just struggle of SWAPO for self-determination and the liberation of its people from the racist yoke of South Africa and paid tribute to the front-line States for the countless sacrifices they had made for the liberation of southern Africa.

42. On another continent, the Palestinians continued to suffer oppression at the hands of Israeli occupiers. The occupation of Palestine was not the only reason why Israel had been established in the heart of the Arab world. It was only the first step in the expansion of Zionist penetration in the world. Zionist ideology, based on occupation and expansion, had close historical links with colonialist and neo-colonialist ideologies. Zionism had two closely related aims: to gather the world's Jews in a specific region which would be baptized The Jewish State and, secondly, to expel all non-Jews from the region in order to achieve that aim. The principle of Zionism was actually based on the plundering of the Palestinian people and the usurpation of its land and rights.

43. To support that assertion, the representative of Kuwait quoted extracts from a long interview between Mr. Ben Gurion, former Prime Minister of Israel, and Mr. Nahum Goldman, former President of the Zionist movement, published in the September 1977 edition of the United States magazine Moment. During that interview, Mr. Ben Gurion said to Mr. Goldman, "... Why should the Arabs make peace with us? ... We have taken their country away from them..."

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(Mr. Razzooqi, Kuwait)

44. The policies of all racist regimes were basically alike and, in that respect, there was no difference between the Zionist regime in Israel and the racist regime of South Africa. Both usurped the legitimate national rights of the people of the territory they occupied.

45. There could never be any peace in the Middle East as long as the Palestinian people was deprived of its legitimate rights. The Camp David agreements, far from promoting peace in the region, further complicated the situation and encouraged Israel in its policy of aggression. Indeed, Mr. Vance, the Secretary of State of the United States, had himself stated before the General Assembly at its thirty-third session that there could be no just and lasting peace in the Middle East until the Palestinian question was resolved.

46. In conclusion, the Kuwait delegation listed the conditions that, in its opinion, had to be satisfied if real peace was to be established in the Middle East: Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem; participation of the main parties involved, and, most importantly, of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in negotiations; guarantee of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of its own State and the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions.

47. Mr. CORTI (Argentina) said that his delegation wished to express the sympathy of the Government and people of Argentina, who themselves had been victims of nihilist violence, to the people of Egypt on the assassination of Anwar Sadat, apostle of peace.

48. Turning to agenda item 81, he said that the international community rejoiced whenever a new State was added to the list of those who defended the principle of self-determination of peoples, their territorial integrity and their right to choose their form of Government as well as their political and social system. He stressed that the accession to post-colonial independence did not mean self-determination if it resulted in a new form of dependence. Respect for the right of self-determination was one of the cornerstones of international peace and security.

49. It seemed incredible that 30 years after its inception and after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the agenda of the world's largest international body should still contain questions such as those featured in items 74 and 82. The question of racism, which ought to be the preserve of historians and psychologists, was still the subject of discussion and of a series of resolutions which remained dead letters, while human beings were subjected to degrading treatment because of their religion, their origin or the colour of their skin. Those injustices and persistent violations of human rights showed a total indifference to the concern demonstrated by the international community. After the recent acts of aggression against certain countries, there was reason to fear not only that Security Council resolutions concerning Namibia were futile but that there was a new danger to peace on the African continent.

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(Mr. Corti, Argentina)

50. His delegation agreed with many of the conclusions reached in document A/36/75. It believed that the role of the information media should be strengthened and racism attacked at its root, namely, in the human heart. Current stereotypes should be challenged and that meant that there should be an analysis and an understanding of the historical background of racial problems and not a mere chronicling of facts. It was also necessary to study the attitude of the people engaged in the process of disseminating information they were the ones who determined the point of view from which events were perceived.

51. After paying a tribute to UNESCO for its voluminous study which, even though controversial, had demonstrated that the existing system of information was not capable of coping with the situation in today's world, he said that he endorsed the suggestions in the study that it was not sufficient to print explanatory brochures; radio and television programs should be broadcast more widely. There should be concern not only about cases where racist practices were evident but also about fields in which they were unknown, because the prevention of racism was as important as its elimination if the world to be left to future generations was to be one in which man would never again be enslaved by man.

52. Mrs. El-ALI (Syrian Arab Republic), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of Israel had sought, by the statement he had made in the Committee, to deceive world public opinion and to distort reality. The Balfour Declaration, which called for the creation of the State of Israel, could not serve as a legal basis for the return of Jews to Palestine. Nor could Israel assert that its presence in Palestine was beneficial to the Palestinians, whom it was systematically massacring and forcing to flee.

53. The General Assembly had stated that zionism was a form of racism and racial discrimination and had condemned it on the same ground as the policy of apartheid of the racist South African regime. Israel therefore could not claim that it was the target of special discrimination within the United Nations or that the Arab countries had pressured the international community to go against the interests of Israel since that same community had also accused South Africa of practising racial discrimination and violating international instruments.

54. She wished to point out that there was racial discrimination in Israel with respect to the Sephardic Jews, as indicated in a recent article in The New York Times. With regard to the statement made by the representative of Israel on the status of Arab women, she was certain that Arab women enjoyed more extensive social, economic and civil rights than did Jewish women. The law of return gave all Jews the right to go to Israel and to settle there, but it did not grant that right to Arabs who had been expelled from their land. The law on nationality provided that all Jews were Israeli citizens by birth while an Arab in Israel had to acquire Israeli nationality. Was not that proof that Israeli society, which claimed to be democratic, actually practised discrimination? The law on agriculture provided that the borders of Israeli territory would be determined by the thrust of occupation forces. The fact remained that 80 per cent of Israeli lands were Arab lands, despite the expulsion

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of Arabs and the confiscation of their properties. Furthermore, the return of Arabs to their fatherland was a right enshrined in all international instruments. Quite recently, the Israeli Government had cut off the assistance provided to Arab inhabitants of Israel by Arab institutions and patriotic Palestinians living abroad. There was no denying that was discrimination, the more so since Israeli received material assistance from the United States which it used to establish settlements and to acquire the military equipment which had enabled it to destroy thousands of Lebanese homes.

55. Mrs. THANH (Viet Nam), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of China, when he had set himself as a champion of human rights and the right of peoples and accused Viet Nam of aggression against "Democratic Kampuchea" and genocide of the Kampuchean people, had omitted to mention the holocaust visited upon that people during the four-year rule of those whose very name aroused the indignation of international opinion and who had boasted of following the model of the Chinese great cultural revolution. The so-called "victories achieved by the people's patriotic forces of Kampuchea" were nothing but victories fabricated out of whole cloth by a radio station called "Free Democratic Kampuchea" which broadcast from Chinese territory. When the representative of China had stated that Viet Nam was sabotaging efforts to establish peace and security in Asia, he had omitted to mention that China had refused to resume the negotiations which it had unilaterally broken off. She hoped that Beijing would listen to the voice of reason and respond favourably to the offers for negotiations from Viet Nam to settle the differences between the two countries, for which the international community would be grateful.

56. Mr. CHRISTOPHER (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that racial prejudice was an odious form of mental aberration and the term should therefore be used with prudence, which was not always the case in assemblies like the General Assembly. In the United States, the variety of ethnic origins led to individualism, by virtue of which each person chose with whom he or she wished to associate within his or her own group as well as outside. Consequently, the subject of study should not be the behavior of individuals but the official policy of Governments. In the United States there was an official and deliberate policy aimed at eliminating past racial prejudices and discriminatory practices. After waging a civil war in the last century to guarantee the same rights to all its citizens, the Government of the United States now spend millions of dollars to enable citizens of foreign origin to vote in their mother tongue. How could one speak of racial prejudices and discriminatory policies when, throughout the United States, black men and women or people from Asia, Latin America and all corners of the world occupied important posts, to which they had been appointed or elected, in local governments and in State governments? United States citizens judged men and women by their value as individuals and not according to their origins or the colour of their skin. The United States was an open society, like no other in the world and unique in that it tolerated investigations of charges made against government practices and social conditions. Its Constitution and laws were not mere propaganda instruments as were the utopian manifestos of regimes quick to claim that they were progressive and socialist. They were real social contracts worked out through truly democratic process allowing for open debate and informing the public. The United States Constitution permitted foreigners as well

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as citizens to study the American society in great detail and to make public critical reports. It was that very freedom which had enabled American society, over the past decades, to achieve such progress in interracial relations, justice and equality, a progress which no reasonably honest and informed observer could deny. Non of the detractors of the United States, could claim to have made comparable progress in the area of rights enjoyed by their own racial minorities.

57. By what right did the representative of Albania speak of the "oppression of the non-white minorities" in an open society like the United States when the Albanian people still remained under the yoke of a Stalinist Government which was totally cut off from the outside civilized world? The hold of totalitarianism was so stifling there that an organization like Amnest International was not allowed to investigate human rights violations, cases of State terrorism and repression against those who sought to preach or practise their religion. It was interesting to note that unlike other regimes which, while suppressing religious freedom, continued to invoke that principle, Albania boasted of suppressing religion. Amnesty International was concerned about cases of torture at the hands of Albanian authorities, the lack of food and medical care in the labour camps to which many Albanian political prisoners were sent and the recent decree authorizing deportation without trial of persons who "presented a danger to the social system".

58. By what right did Cuba qualify the United States as racist by invoking the troubles in Miami where the generous population had done its best to accommodate tens of thousands of refugees, fleeing the totally bankrupt Cuban political and economic system, a large proportion of whom were black? By what right did Cuba arrogate unto itself the role of a moralist of the international community in the field of racial discrimination when 80 per cent of the Cuban armed forces in Angola were made up of blacks who in Cuba represented no more than a minority of 20 per cent? Did not that disproportion betray how little value was placed on lives of black citizens whom Cuba sent to be killed in the imperialist war it was waging in Africa?

59. Mr. BYKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the vehemence with which the representative of the United States had read a text prepared in advance showed that the criticisms made of his country had hit home. Whenever it was a question of political and economic co-operation of the United States and American transnational corporations with South Africa and their plundering of natural resources in Namibia, the United States tried, through slanderous insinuations, to create the impression that the Soviet Union had similar links with South Africa. It was not the first time that the Soviet delegation had been forced to reject such allegations. It wished to state formally, once again, that the Soviet Union had no direct or indirect commercial ties with South Africa or its corporations; there were precise directives on that subject in the Soviet Union which were scrupulously observed. The allegations of the United States delegation were therefore entirely without foundation, their sole purpose being to blacken the reputation of the Soviet Union. The representative of the United States had gone so far as to transform the transnational corporations installed in South Africa and Namibia for the sole purpose of exploiting

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human and natural resources into philanthropic organizations. Some Western Powers had argued that the activity of the monopolies had a positive aspect, an argument clearly exposed as false since the monopolies cared about nothing but plundering the population and exporting untold profits. The United Nations itself had reaffirmed on many occasions that the activity of those monopolies perpetuated the system of apartheid.

60. Mr. CHRISTOPHER (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, drew attention to the fact that the representative of the Soviet Union, an inexhaustible source of untruths, had referred to alledged violations of the human rights of non-white minorities by free capitalist societies. He called such allegations hypocritical and pointed out that the list of violations committed against the human rights and fundamental freedoms of people living under the Soviet regime was long and well-known, despite the brutality with which the Soviet regime sought to repress - on the basis of what it knew or merely suspected - those citizens who were trying to defend those rights.

61. During the discussion of agenda items 74, 81 and 82, his delegation had listened with great interest to a number of attacks made in bad faith against the economic relations between United States companies and South Africa. The attacks from the representatives of the Soviet Union, Cuba, Viet Nam and other members of the Soviet empire had been especially vehement and hypocritical. The United States did not think it needed to defend or to justify the fact that American citizens were free to maintain trade relations with South African citizens, and it was proud of the services and advantages derived from those activities by the entire population of South Africa, white and non-white alike. Amusingly enough, the Soviet representative's charges were clear but were based on the totally erroneous notion that the Soviet Union did not maintain any economic relations with the South African Government. In their cynical attempt to curry favour with certain delegations in the Committee, the representatives of the Soviet bloc had denounced all economic relations with South Africa, particularly those maintained by Western companies, and had sought to make the Committee think that the Soviet Union and its allies did not do business with South Africa. However, the facts were known, and there was still a vast difference between Soviet rhetoric and actual Soviet conduct. The Soviet Union was one of the principal diamond producers in the world and, as such, worked in partnership with South Africa to market its diamonds through the Central Selling Organization (CSO) cartel, that cartel controlled the world diamond market and was in turn controlled by the De Beers Group of South Africa. Both countries marketed most of their production through the cartel; since 1976, the value of the diamonds marketed by the Soviet Union had exceeded half a billion dollars a year, in other words, almost all the rough diamonds sold outside the Soviet bloc. Moreover, well-substantiated reports had been circulating for a number of years on the close relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union for purposes of marketing chromium, platinum and gold. All those transactions were part of the regular secret contacts between South African businessmen and Soviet officials and, unlike the transactions of American companies operating in South Africa, they did not in any way serve the interests of the non-white population of South Africa.

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In fact, through its economic and trade ties the United States sought to encourage social change in South Africa. By voluntarily adopting the Sullivan principles, American companies had committed themselves to eliminating racial discrimination in the work-place, in the organization and formal recognition of trade unions and in the renumeration of wages to their employees. American companies had undertaken to train black South Africans for supervisory, administrative and technical jobs and to improve the quality of life outside the work-place - in housing, transportation, school and health facilities - for their 150,000 employees, the majority of whom were non-white. The Soviet Union could not claim that its economic relations with South Africa offered such advantages for the non-white population of South Africa. As was often the case, the only thing the Soviet Union and the other members of its empire offer to the Committee and to the non-white population of South Africa was tired, false rhetoric.

62. Mrs. FLOREZ-PRIDA (Cuba), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the United States had the habit of diverting attention from the questions under discussion by making false charges against Cuba. The United States had not made any reference to the facts cited by Cuba about the close diplomatic, political, economic and military ties which the United States Government maintained with the racist regime of South Africa through those ties, it became an open accomplice of South Africa, encouraging its acts of aggression against neighbouring countries, such as Angola, and using its veto in the Security Council to block condemnation of such acts. She asked whether the United States representative could deny that, as a result of the meeting between Reagan and Botha, South Africa had assurances that the United States was counting on it as a strategically important country in the warmonger alliance they wanted to impose on the whole world. Could he also deny that, in the United States, racial discrimination was being stepped up daily against the Indian, Chicano and Puerto Rican minorities and that racial violence was increasing against black citizens, particularly in Atlanta? Quotations from the Bible did not solve the problem of racism and racial discrimination. The Committee was not a theological society; it was a body that must find practical solutions to specific problems of concern to the international community.

63. With regard to the recent emigration of Cuban antisocial elements to the United States, she pointed out that economic emigration from under-developed countries to developed countries resulted from the poverty which the brutal system of imperialist exploitation imposed on their world countries and from the fact that they were not equally endowed with natural resources. Millions of people had left Latin America for the United States, and other wished to do so, because of the dreadful economic and social conditions in which they lived and in the hope of finding the non-existent El Dorado in the United States. In Cuba before the Revolution, there had been movement emigration of the United States, but the United States had at that time imposed severe restrictions on the entry of Cubans. Only now had it opened its heart and its doors to them.

64. In 21 years of revolution, no country in the hemisphere had done more than Cuba to eliminate unemployment, poverty, ignorance, disease, gambling, drug abuse

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and prostitution. None had done more to eliminate the social and economic factors that produced a lumpen proletariat and emigration. None had done more to overcome economic and social under-development. However, no country had done more than the United States to sabotage Cuba's economic plans and social development efforts, to destabilize the revolutionary Government and to weaken the country by a food embargo. The United States representative had been careful not to mention the fact that, for 20 years, the United States had sold neither food nor medicines to Cuba, that it still occupied part of its national territory - the Guantanamo naval base - against the will of the Cuban people, or that spy planes overflew Cuban territory on a daily basis. Nor had he mentioned the situation in Puerto Rico, or the large number of interventions which the United States had organized throughout history against all countries, in flagrant violation of the right to self-determination. Suffice it to mention the seizure of Louisiana and Florida in the nineteenth century, the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 which could be summed up in the words "America for the Americans", or, in other words, America for the United States - the attempt made in the nineteenth century to convince the world that the United States had a "manifest destiny" to inherit a large number of countries in the Western hemisphere, the alternating "stick and carrot" policy in the twentieth century and between 1845 and 1848 the annexation - to the detriment of Mexico - of vast territories rich in oil, gold and other natural resources which had become the states of Texas, New Mexico and California, the bombing of Veracruz at the turn of the century, the backing given to the mercenary, William Walker in 1855 for his intervention in Nicaragua, which had resulted in the assassination of Augusto Cesar Sandino, the gunboats sent to Santo Domingo in 1870, the 1898 intervention in Guam, the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico and Hawaii, the colonialism to which the Puerto Rican people was currently being subjected in its own territory, the colonial presence imposed on the Panama Canal at the start of the twentieth century and, after the Second World War, the expansion of the United States Navy and of the military bases it established throughout the world.

65. Cuba was proud to have a multiracial society, in which all individuals, without distinction, enjoyed the same rights and opportunities.

66. Mr. BYKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, strongly rejected the slanderous remarks which the representative of the United States had directed against the Soviet Union. The aim was to mitigate the criticism and indignation of the many representatives who had spoken out against the military, economic, political and other assistance and support which the United States was providing to the Pretoria racist regime it was protecting. The United States remained deaf to world public opinion and refused to respect the many United Nations decisions on the issue. It refused to adopt strong measures, including global sanctions, aimed at isolating the racist regime entirely. Despite its rhetoric, it did not want to participate in the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and had not acceded either to the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination or to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, did not fail to invoke. The United States admitted that,

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(Mr. Bykov (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics))

for the past several years, there had been a few minor incidents of racial discrimination in the United States, but it never specified what was being done to eliminate them altogether. It was hardly appropriate to speak of minor problems when the Ku Klux Klan was still active when there was more unemployment and delinquency among blacks than among whites, when veritable genocide was being committed against the Indian population (the sterilization of women, hunger on the reservations) and when Nazi and neo-fascist organizations were allowed to pursue their activities.

67. He rejected the slanderous allegations made by China in connection with Afghanistan and Kampuchea as a malicious attempt to divert the Committee from its work and to camouflage its own policy of hegemony, expansion and aggression against Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Viet Nam, Laos and other countries, a policy which generated international tension and threatened world peace and security.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.