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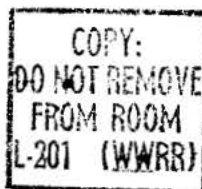
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION

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THIRD COMMITTEE

14th meeting

held on

Friday, 9 October 1981

at 3 p.m.

New York

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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 14th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. O'DONOVAN (Ireland)

later : Mr. ESQUIVEL (Costa Rica)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 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)

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- (a) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (A/36/18; A/C.3/36/L.8)
- (b) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/36/453)
- (c) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF APARTHEID: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/36/454 and Add.1)

1. Mr. CASCAIS (Portugal) stressed that the speedy elimination of all forms of racism and racial discrimination and of apartheid, as well as the exercise by colonial peoples of the right to self-determination, were subjects of vital interest to the United Nations. The Charter, the International Covenants on Human Rights and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination enshrined principles of a universal character, which provided the international community with the guidelines necessary to the pursuit of its goals. Although Member States had committed themselves, by accepting those principles, to respect the rights of citizens of their countries and of citizens of other nations, it seemed that much remained to be done for the promotion of human values.

2. It was frustrating each year to denounce apartheid and in the end to see no change. That disappointment should not, however, deter the international community from continuing the struggle against that policy. It was anachronistic that the majority of the population of a country continued to be deprived of its basic civil and political rights and that all those who tried to draw attention to their plight were banished, intimidated or imprisoned. The discussions in the United Nations and other international fora should be actively pursued, because they contributed to a growing awareness of the legitimacy of the struggle against all forms of racial domination and helped to maintain the pressure of the international community.

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(Mr. Cascais, Portugal)

3. Portugal recognized the right to self-determination, without qualifications, as one of the fundamental human rights. The situation of the Palestinian people, as well as that prevailing in Namibia, Afghanistan and Kampuchea, were in the forefront of the preoccupations of the international community, but other situations could unfortunately be added to that list. In several parts of the world, the right of peoples to self-determination was regarded with contempt, and the territorial integrity of sovereign States and their right freely to choose their system of government were blatantly disregarded. Repression and discrimination based on ancestry, race or religion continued to haunt the community of nations.

4. Those condemnable practices could be eliminated only if Governments displayed an unbending political will, particularly as regards the transformation of mental attitudes through education and information. In that connexion, his delegation attached particular importance to the goals of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, set out in resolution 3057 (XXVIII); it therefore regretted that it was unable fully to support draft resolution A/C.3/36/L.3, which contained political elements extraneous to the implementation of the Programme for the Decade. Portugal was currently in the final phase of the procedure of acceding to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which it considered to be a key contribution to the eradication of racism from the world. In fact, Portuguese legislation fully conformed to the Convention, since racism and racial discrimination had always been alien to the Portuguese people, who were themselves the product of intermingling with other peoples over the centuries. In addition, public opinion was mobilized against the evils of racism. In conclusion, the Portuguese delegation expressed the hope that international co-operation would make it possible to interrupt the cycles of political and racial intransigence in order to achieve the rights and principles set forth in the Charter.

5. Mr. CHUGHTAI (Pakistan), recalling that his country had acceded to independence and national sovereignty through the exercise of the right to self-determination, stressed that Pakistan had a special commitment to that principle, which was contained in the first articles of the International Covenants on Human Rights. It therefore welcomed the accession to independence of Vanuatu and Belize and their admission to membership in the United Nations. In that connexion, he emphasized the dynamic role played by the Organization in the decolonization process through the exercise of the right to self-determination. However, the international community had recently witnessed new situations in which independent peoples were deprived of the right to self-determination. Those developments were endangering international peace and security and posing a challenge to the world community.

6. The situation in the Middle East resulting from the denial of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination was a serious threat to world peace. Israel remained as intransigent as ever towards the Palestinian people and continued

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(Mr. Chughtai, Pakistan)

to occupy Arab territories, including Jerusalem, in defiance of United Nations resolutions and of world public opinion. The Zionist entity, in pursuit of its expansionist policy and forcible annexation of Arab territories, had embarked on new acts of aggression against neighbouring Arab States. Pakistan reiterated its total and unwavering support for the people of Palestine in its struggle for the restoration of its inalienable rights and for the establishment of an independent Palestinian State. As for South Africa, his delegation emphasized that the racist régime in Pretoria had, by continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia, despite numerous United Nations resolutions seeking to allow the people of Namibia to exercise its right to self-determination, and by pursuing its abominable policy of apartheid, created a most dangerous situation. Pakistan supported the Namibian people's liberation struggle under the leadership of SWAPO, and backed all efforts by the international community to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. In the case of both Afghanistan and Kampuchea, armed foreign intervention and military occupation had stripped the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples of their inalienable rights to be the masters of their own destinies. Brutal repression had led to a massive exodus of Afghans and Kampuchians, who had taken refuge in neighbouring countries. Two and a half million Afghans had sought refuge in Pakistan, which had extended to them every possible humanitarian assistance. Only the full restoration of their fundamental and inalienable rights would enable the refugees currently living in Pakistan and Iran to return voluntarily to their homes. Pakistan was resolved to seek a peaceful settlement to the dispute over the State of Jammu and Kashmir, in the spirit of the Simla Agreement and in the light of United Nations resolutions. It was convinced that the settlement of the problem would complete the normalization of relations between itself and India. In conclusion, he reminded the Committee of his country's unequivocal support for the peoples struggling to assert their right to self-determination, the exercise of which was an indispensable factor for international peace and security.

7. Mr. ALLAFI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) remarked that the Pretoria régime practised the most baneful racist policy in history, which constituted the most glaring challenge to human rights and the international conscience. In spite of the hundreds of resolutions of international organizations condemning its loathsome policy and banning co-operation of any kind with the apartheid régime, that régime still denied the indigenous black population its most elementary human rights in defiance of the international community, which was unable to put an end to the situation. The apartheid policy practised by the racist régime in South Africa could not have survived without the limitless material and moral support given to it by the United States and certain Western countries. Not content with sustaining the Pretoria régime, those imperialists and neo-colonialists had taken another racist entity under their wing - the Zionist entity, set up by the forces of colonialism in occupied Palestine to fulfil Zionist designs in the region. That revealed the organic link between the racist régimes in South Africa and occupied Palestine - each as dangerous as the other since they

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(Mr. Allafi, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

harboured the same intentions and pursued identical racial policies right down to their day-to-day practices. In resolution 3379 (XXX), the General Assembly had determined that zionism was a form of racism and racial discrimination; it was surprising that certain Members of the Organization still chose to overlook that historic resolution. His country attached special importance to the implementation of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and praised the international community's efforts to conduct the campaign required to secure its application.

8. His delegation supported the proposal for a second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and called on the international community to ensure that the information media gave maximum publicity to the Conference, so as to make all peoples fully aware of the importance of the Decade.

9. The peoples' struggle for self-determination was an integral part of the fight against racism and racial discrimination. The Libyan people's sufferings under the yoke of colonialism had taught it that the will of the people must triumph, notwithstanding the opposition of the racist, colonialist forces and their arrogance. The noble struggle by the Palestinian people under the leadership of PLO, its sole legitimate representative, to liberate its territories and exercise its right to self-determination had been recognized by the international community. The establishment of Zionist settlements was a unique form of colonialism which involved driving the Palestinian people out of its territories and installing in them foreigners from all corners of the globe. By a tragic irony, those foreigners had settled on land which did not belong to them, while the true owners were living in refugee camps and exposed to the worst forms of repression. The constantly repeated claim by the Zionist entity, the United States and certain of their allies that the liberation movements of the Palestinian people and other peoples were terrorist bodies was intended to falsify the historical facts and hide the crimes of terrorism committed by the occupying forces.

10. The forces of imperialism and colonialism (above all, the United States and the allies of the Pretoria racist régime) would prove the greatest obstacle to the international community's efforts to help Namibia to attain its independence. The United States, which as a permanent member of the Security Council had the right of veto and thus bore a heavy responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, had abused its privileged position by opposing the imposition of sanctions against the South African racist régime. Not only had that stance reinforced South African apartheid, but it had also allowed the Zionist entity and the Pretoria régime to intensify their acts of aggression and terrorism against neighbouring peoples and countries. Day after day the international community witnessed the suffering of towns and villages in southern Lebanon and acts of aggression against the front-line States, particularly Angola. He appealed for an end to the arrogance of Zionist and racist imperialist forces throughout the world. His delegation, finally, wished to confirm that it endorsed

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(Mr. Allafi, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

the understanding attitude taken by the Moroccan Government and welcomed the resolution adopted at the Nairobi summit concerning a referendum to allow the Saharan people to exercise its right to self-determination.

Mr. Esquivel (Costa Rica) took the Chair.

11. Mr. ABAWI (Afghanistan) said that, guided by its noble basic principles, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, like the non-aligned movement and all peace-loving countries, would spare no effort to banish racial discrimination from the face of the globe, to eliminate zionism and the cruel system of apartheid, and to guarantee every people's right to self-determination. The international community should take decisive and concerted action if it wished to put an end to the disgraceful racist policies of the South African régime and of the Zionist entity, and should cease to tolerate Pretoria's subjugation of the black majority in southern Africa and its repeated acts of aggression against the neighbouring countries which opposed apartheid and racism (for the destructive effects of such loathsome policies extended far beyond the areas in which they were applied).

12. He underlined the gravity of the developments in southern Africa since the previous session of the General Assembly: in addition to its many acts of provocation and aggression against the front-line States, the Pretoria régime had mounted a large-scale offensive which had permitted it to occupy an area of Angolan territory. Economic, political, diplomatic and military collaboration by certain imperialist Powers and their clients with the racist régime had increased still further.

13. The South African Government refused to put the United Nations Plan for Namibia into effect because it was counting on handing over power to an illegal administration in order to continue its exploitation of Namibia's human and natural resources. That was the idea behind the imperialists' efforts to win recognition for the legitimacy of the puppet administration, which enabled their transnational corporations to join in the exploitation.

14. Afghanistan declared its solidarity with the fraternal Angolan people and was supporting its struggle to defend its territory against the South African aggressor. Afghanistan demanded that the most stringent sanctions should be imposed on the Pretoria régime and rigorously observed. It supported implementation of the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity on the aparthe régime, the immediate granting of independence to Namibia and the transfer of power to SWAPO, the only authentic representative of the Namibian people. It also endorsed the decisions taken by the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa.

15. Implementation of the right of peoples to both political and social self-determination was among Afghanistan's fundamental principles. The Afghan Government was thus bound to support the Palestinian people's struggle against

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(Mr. Abawi, Afghanistan)

the Israeli aggressor and believed that a just settlement of the Middle East problem could be achieved by inviting to the negotiating table all parties concerned, including PLO, by demanding the withdrawal of all Israeli troops from the occupied Arab and Palestinian Territories and by recognizing the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

16. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan drew attention to the fact that the peoples of Territories in the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans and the Caribbean Sea were also unable to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination.

17. The idea of the right of peoples to self-determination was so generally recognized that even advocates of colonialism, neo-colonialism, aggression and domination did not have the courage to state their principles publicly and were shedding crocodile tears over the sufferings of oppressed peoples.

18. The revolution of April 1978 had been a brilliant manifestation of the exercise by the Afghan people of its right to self-determination. Some delegations had attempted to imply the opposite in order to divert the discussion from its real purpose, which was to examine cases of real denial of the right to self-determination.

19. Mr. GERSHMAN (United States of America) dedicated his remarks to the memory of President Sadat, who had wished his tombstone to be inscribed: "He lived for peace and he died for principles."

20. The recent admission of Vanuatu and Belize had brought the number of States Members of the United Nations to 156 - three times as many as had attended the San Francisco Conference; those figures demonstrated the evolution of world politics, which before the First World War had been essentially the politics of European States but which, with the accession of a large number of States to independence, had become much more global in nature. It should not be believed, however, that self-determination had been victorious everywhere in the world. It was undoubtedly the most cited principle of the United Nations Charter, but that did not mean that there was general agreement about its definition or that all Governments respected it in practice. Self-determination remained a much debated political question, which had profound implications for the future of mankind.

21. As a starting-point, it was important to recognize that two fundamentally opposed concepts of self-determination had emerged in the wake of the First World War; that of Woodrow Wilson and that of V. I. Lenin. Attempts to proceed as if there were a single universally accepted definition of that right had resulted in a good deal of misunderstanding and the conversion of self-determination into an instrument of oppression.

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(Mr. Gershman, United States)

22. For Wilson, self-determination had been above all a means to ensure peace through justice. It had been an attempt to apply the values of liberal democracy to international affairs and, to do that, it had been necessary to respect the rights of nations as well as the rights of individuals, the two principles being organically related since self-determination presumed the free expression of the will of the people. The right of self-determination could thus be infringed as much by the denial of democratic liberties as by the violation of national sovereignty.

23. Lenin's idea of self-determination had grown out of the desire to harness anti-colonialist movements to the Bolshevik Revolution. Lenin had come to that view following the failure of the proletarian revolution in the West, which he had always believed to be essential for the triumph of communism. In search of a new revolutionary class, Lenin had then turned to the East. Self-determination had been a useful slogan and a powerful weapon of propaganda for mobilizing "the revolutionary nationalist East" against "the counter-revolutionary imperialist West". Wilson and Lenin had thus had diametrically opposed concepts of self-determination. For Wilson, it had been the breakdown of international peace which had made self-determination an urgent necessity; for Lenin, it had been the failure of the revolution in the West. For Wilson, self-determination had aimed at establishing world order. For Lenin, its purpose had been to serve the triumph of world communism. For Wilson, the philosophical foundation of self-determination had been liberalism and respect for human rights; for Lenin, it had been Bolshevism and the "dictatorship of the proletariat".

24. Ideas had practical consequences by which they could be judged. Those two concepts of self-determination had been the source of two streams of action and thought which had shaped the modern world, albeit in very different ways. Wilson's concept had led the Western countries to renounce their empires, which had brought many States to independence. After Puerto Rico, the right to self-determination was currently being implemented in Micronesia, where free elections and plebiscites were to be organized under the supervision of the Trusteeship Council. Wilson's internationalist ideals had also been reflected in the Covenant of the League of Nations and, later, in the United Nations Charter. To be sure, it could not be said that the principle of self-determination had been fully implemented. Namibia, for example, had still not achieved independence. Many countries still could not exercise their right to self-determination for want of procedures guaranteeing the political and civil liberties which were necessary for the free expression of the people's will. The link established in Article 55 of the Charter between self-determination and respect for fundamental freedoms was too often overlooked in the deliberations of the United Nations. So was the reference in Article 76 to "the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned".

25. The Leninist concept, on the other hand, had resulted in the consolidation and expansion of the last remaining empire on earth. The fact that that situation had been justified by presenting it as an exercise of the right to self-determination or, to use a modern expression, as national liberation was a

(Mr. Gershman, United States)

good example of the current perversion of language. The Bolshevik Revolution had inherited an empire in 1917 which Lenin and his successors had expanded still further.

26. Speaking in 1961 on the right to self-determination, Adlai Stevenson, the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations, had traced the growth of the Soviet empire after the Bolshevik Revolution. With the aid of the Red Army, Soviet power had been established in the Ukraine, in Azerbaidzhan, in the Khanate of Khiva, in the Emirate of Bokhara, in Armenia and in Georgia. Under cover of the upheavals of the Second World War, the Soviet Union had continued to expand its territory by absorbing the province of Karelia and other parts of Finland, the eastern provinces of Poland, the Romanian provinces of Bessarabia and Bukovina, the independent States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the Koenigsberg area, slices of Czechoslovakia, South Sakhalin, the Kurile Islands and Tanna-Tuva.

27. Mr. OGURTSOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), speaking on a point of order, said that he would like to know what question was under discussion and to which question the United States representative's statement related.

28. The CHAIRMAN requested the representative of the United States to restrict his statement to items 74, 81 and 82 of the agenda.

29. Mr. GERSHMAN (United States of America), having specified that his comments related to item 81 concerning self-determination, continued by stating that after the Second World War whole nations had been shut in behind the Iron Curtain in violation of agreements and without a free vote by the peoples concerned. Those nations were Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and Czechoslovakia.

30. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria) said his delegation very rarely raised a point of order, particularly in connexion with a statement by a representative of the United States. In the current instance, however, he wished to request the Chairman and, through him, the United States representative, to note the essential fact that the Bulgarian people had exercised their right to self-determination and constituted a free and independent nation; if the United States representative questioned that, his views would certainly be drawn to the attention of the Bulgarian Government, together with the observation that the United States representative in the Third Committee was trying to recreate the atmosphere of the cold war. He would bear the entire responsibility in that regard.

31. The CHAIRMAN requested the United States representative to continue his statement, confining himself exclusively to the questions under consideration.

32. Mr. GERSHMAN (United States of America) reaffirmed that his comments concerned the question of self-determination. Continuing his statement, he said that in the 20 years which had elapsed since the statement by Adlai Stevenson,

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(Mr. Gershman, United States)

the Soviet empire had expanded further: Cuba had become a Soviet colony, Vietnam and Laos had been absorbed, the same process was being pursued in Kampuchea, and of course there was Afghanistan, which the Soviet Union was occupying against the will of the entire Afghan population. Three million people had fled that country to escape the carnage, but those who remained still controlled 75 per cent of the country, despite the military and material superiority of the Soviet Union. Soviet personnel directed virtually all aspects of administration and commanded the Afghan army, whose collapse had compelled the Kabul régime to recruit by force boys who were only 12 or 13 years old. Whole regiments were deserting, while young men fled to join the resistance. Furthermore, the Soviet Union was exploiting the country's wealth and resources to finance the occupation. Thus, for example, the natural gas of Shibargan was being piped to the Soviet Union.

33. The only way out of the impasse was to reaffirm and defend the right of self-determination for all peoples, and the conspiracy of silence must therefore be ended. He cited the case of two Estonian dissidents, Yuriy Kukk and Mart Niklus: they had been arrested and the former had died after a four-month hunger strike in a transit camp; their case was far from unique. In that connexion, he recalled the words of Woodrow Wilson who had said that there was only one power to put behind the liberation of mankind, and that was the power of mankind, the power of the united moral forces of the world.

Mr. O'Donovan (Ireland) resumed the Chair.

34. Mrs. LEGHAILA (Botswana) expressed her condolences to the Egyptian delegation on the tragic death of President Sadat, and expressed the hope that his work for peace would be continued.

35. She welcomed Belize and Vanuatu, which had recently attained independence.

36. She congratulated the specialized agencies, Member States and non-governmental organizations on their reports on racism and racial discrimination. Her delegation had studied those reports carefully, but she found it disheartening that countries which actually practised racial discrimination had not submitted reports.

37. Botswana, which was situated in an area where, towards the end of the twentieth century, racism remained a highly developed institution without which white men believed they could not survive, was a non-racial country. Its Constitution outlawed racial discrimination, which was punishable by law. Botswana had always deemed it its duty to combat racism and thus had never given comfort to apartheid; it was a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and was therefore obligated to carry out its responsibilities under that Convention. Racism, particularly the type practised in South Africa, could lead to a racial war, for as racial oppression

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(Mrs. Leghaila, Botswana)

intensified, resistance by the oppressed would also intensify. The war which had been going on for some time in Namibia resulted solely from the racism practised there during the past 60 years by South Africa, which had even introduced into Namibia the iniquitous racist laws that it applied in its own territory.

38. Revolted by the unjust treatment inflicted on the population by the white supremacists, Botswana would spare no effort to assist those who were combatting racism and racial discrimination and considered that if all the members of the international community combined their efforts, victory would be assured.

39. Mr. GANGAMBALA (Congo) said that the problems on the agenda of the Third Committee were part of daily experience for a large part of mankind.

40. Eight years after the proclamation of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, a review of the work done thus far showed that much remained to be done. Those who practised racial discrimination generally had a superiority complex, based perhaps on the colour of their skin but also on the material means at their disposal. The responsibility of transnational corporations in connexion with the maintenance of the inhuman system of apartheid had already been demonstrated clearly. The General Assembly had affirmed in one of its resolutions that the establishment of a new international economic order was essential to the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The reverse was even more true, and transnational corporations should begin by respecting human rights and fundamental freedoms, a course which would lead them to respect the right to development of each individual and each people and would thus make it possible to begin at last the process of establishing a new international economic order.

41. With regard to the right of peoples to self-determination, he observed that since Israel and South Africa were close associates it was hardly surprising that the United Nations had equated zionism with apartheid. Both régimes ignored all the decisions of the international community. Israel had proved that once again by bombing the Iraqi nuclear installations and targets in southern Lebanon, while the Pretoria régime had proved it by attacking Angola. It was true that a State that was ready to resort to any procedure, no matter how vile, in its dealings with own nationals could not be expected to show the slightest respect for international rules in its external relations. The victims of its aggression joined the list of those who had sacrificed their lives in the effort to free Namibia from the colonial yoke. Their sacrifice would not be in vain, for it would give fresh impetus to the struggle for national liberation being waged by fighting Africa. Certain Western Powers, thinking only of their own interests, continued to support the racist and colonialist Pretoria régime. The Namibian people counted on the support of the international community in their struggle for self-determination. The question was how the international community could help SWAPO to free its people from oppression.

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(Mr. Gangambala, Congo)

42. Still in the context of self-determination, his delegation wished to pay a tribute to Belize and Vanuatu, which had recently attained independence, and hoped that they would soon be followed by other peoples - the people of Western Sahara and perhaps the people of Namibia.

43. His delegation wholeheartedly supported the holding of the second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which would make it possible to heighten the awareness of international public opinion and to mobilize the forces necessary to combat that evil. His delegation was particularly interested in educational activities and mass media activities; UNESCO's action was essential in that area. Lastly, his delegation supported the draft resolution of the Economic and Social Council (A/C.3/36/L.3) and reserved the right to submit amendments to it at a later stage.

44. Mr. OGURTSOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) recalled that the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had noted the crisis in the system of colonialism and imperialism and stated that the process of liberation of peoples was irresistible and irreversible. In fact, 20 years after the adoption of that historic document, it could be said that colonialism had virtually disappeared. The peoples who had broken the chains of colonial slavery had nevertheless been obliged to fight bravely for their freedom and the unwavering support of the States of the socialist brotherhood had contributed greatly to their victory in their just struggle. The recent accession of Zimbabwe to independence had been a significant step towards the completion of one of the most important tasks of the international community, namely the liberation of all the peoples of Africa.

45. History had shown that the imperialist and colonialist forces did not willingly relinquish their empire and that they represented the national liberation movements by every possible means. It had been amply demonstrated that the assistance given to the fascist régime in South Africa by the United States of America and some other NATO countries in defiance of United Nations resolutions was the main reason for that régime's maintenance in power, its illegal occupation of Namibia, its military strength and the country's economic growth. Such assistance, which had brought untold suffering and heavy loss of life to the South African and Namibian peoples, was nothing but an attempt to impose neo-colonialist solutions in southern Africa. The Western Powers concerned were playing into the hands of the racist régime, helping it to resist the national liberation movements on the continent (the heroic struggle of the Namibian people would have succeeded long ago without such collaboration), and providing a means of economic pressure and, above all, of military pressure, as the repeated acts of aggression by the racist régime against Angola and the front-line States had shown.

46. While hypocritically condemning apartheid and declaring their readiness to spare no effort to bring colonialism to an end, those same Western Powers were

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(Mr. Ogurtsov, Byelorussian SSR)

seeking by various means to circumvent the Security Council's decisions, and particularly resolution 418 (1977). South Africa was able to modernize its military arsenal through sales contracts and manufacturing licences obtained in the West; it was obtaining United States aircraft through third countries. Such purchases were described in the magazines Africa Confidential and Arms and Weapons. The Space Research Corporation affair had shown the astonishing ability of the weapons industry magnates to equip the Pretoria racists. The Israeli Government was providing the South African army with machine guns, torpedo launchers and Gabriel missile launchers; huge Western companies were taking part in the production of military equipment in South Africa. Every shot fired on a Soweto insurgent, a SWAPO partisan or an Angolan peasant carried the trademark of a Western firm.

47. Referring to a number of small colonial territories and enclaves in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans and in the Caribbean Sea, he observed that the 1960 Declaration officially extended to the territories under United States administration, and, in particular, to the Trust Territories of Micronesia. What conclusion was to be drawn from the fact that in 1980, instead of granting them their independence, the United States of America had arbitrarily separated the 2,100 islands and atolls forming the territory of the Pacific Islands into four administrative units of a semi-colonial type and had declared them to be States which had "freely associated" with the United States, while Washington was, as before, exercising full economic and political control over such so-called "States"? The United States Government had acted in the same way with respect to Puerto Rico in 1952. And what was the position with respect to the rights of peoples to self-determination when the United States declared any area of the world to be a "vital sphere of interest for the United States of America", and when certain imperialist Powers accorded "special status" to small islands and used them as military bases and as nuclear test sites?

48. With respect to the Middle East, he said that the Camp David accords were designed only to encourage the Israeli aggressor in its expansionist policy, and that they represented a further attempt to prevent the oppressed peoples from realizing their right to self-determination. His country demanded that there should be a negotiated and just settlement of the Palestinian problem, with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO, that Israel should withdraw from the Arab territories it had occupied in 1967 and from the eastern sector of Jerusalem and that the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, and the right of all States in the area to an independent existence and development, should be respected.

49. The list of denials of the right of peoples to self-determination did not end there: against the express and fully justified wish of the Cuban Government and people, the United States of America refused to withdraw from its military base at Guantanamo.

(Mr. Ogurtsov, Byelorussian SSR)

50. The international community must not forget that, contrary to General Assembly decisions, United States troops continued to be stationed in South Korea, where the puppet Seoul régime, with the blessing of the United States of America, was denying the right of the Korean people to reunite democratically, without foreign interference.

51. The representative of one Member State in the Third Committee had deplored the fact that the international community was more concerned with apartheid in South Africa than with any other form of racial discrimination. The international community, however, was concerned precisely with the most odious manifestations of racism. It had, for example, been deeply shocked the previous year by the brutality with which the demonstrations of discontent among the black population of Miami and other United States towns had been suppressed. Some delegations, whose attitude was strange, to say the least, had blamed the particular tyranny of apartheid only for disturbing the ethnic balance of the country. Apartheid was the cornerstone of a policy designed to bring enormous profits at the cost of the pitiless exploitation of the non-white population. Ninety-three per cent of the foreign capital invested in South Africa came from NATO countries. That was why the representatives of certain Western countries were trying to divert the discussion from its real object.

52. The decisions to be taken by the Third Committee on the questions under consideration should conform to the objectives of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and should genuinely contribute to the elimination of the vestiges of racism and colonialism throughout the world.

53. Miss ABU-LUGHOD (Observer, Palestine Liberation Organization), replying to a statement made at the 10th meeting by the Israeli representative, said that that representative should follow the advice he had himself given to the Ukrainian delegation and refrain from rewriting history by leaving out Israeli participation in reactionary and racist ideologies and practices. For example, the Israeli representative had not even referred to the deplorable racist régime in South Africa or expressed any support for Namibian independence, on account, of course, of the cultural and trade collaboration, and now the military collaboration, uniting Israel and South Africa, particularly in the field of nuclear weapons. In fact, historically, the two régimes supported each other in propagating racism; that explained why, in 1975, the General Assembly by more than a two-thirds majority, had described zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination. How could the Israeli representative speak of the positive and historic accomplishments of zionism when it maintained relationships with the champions of apartheid?

54. Contrary to what the representative of Israel had stated, the Zionists had come to desire the elimination of the Arabs when, faced with the presence of 4 million Palestinians, they had sought in vain to drive them across the frontiers

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(Miss Abu-Lughod, PLO)

in order to establish a homogeneous and exclusive State in accordance with the wishes of Theodore Hertzl, the founder of the Zionist movement and friend of the prototype imperialist Cecil Rhodes. The Zionists had, for example, resorted to policies of "dispersion of non-Jews" as planned by Koenig, the Israeli Commandant in Galilee, or to policies of "positive discrimination" against the Arabs as proclaimed by Sharon, the consultant on Arab affairs to Menachem Begin, in 1979. Even Shimon Perez, the leader of the opposition, was against the integration of the Arabs on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip which, according to him, would make Israel a bi-national country and not a Jewish State, and would be the end of the Zionist project. It was, in fact, obvious, as observed by Ahad Ha'am, that the idealized reconstruction of the Jewish nation could not take place in a country already inhabited by another people. The Palestinian people were part of the history that the Israelis felt themselves obliged to rewrite, first by denying the very fact of the Palestinians' existence and then, with the Palestinians' valiant self-assertion, by viciously threatening their future. Meir Kahane, the infamous leader of the Gush Emunim, asserted that coexistence was not possible and that since Israel was a Jewish State, the Arabs would never be equal and must be satisfied with the food and education that would be provided to them, without claiming any democratic participation. Being incapable of pacifying the Arabs, the Israelis were concerned that the Arabs might become too numerous and might eventually overwhelm them. That was why the Israelis were trying to bring the Arabs into submission or to expel them, taking all kinds of illegal and arbitrary measures against them, from land seizure to arrests, harassment and even deportation.

55. Racist indoctrination in Israel began with the education of children, and affected many aspects of daily life. In 1980, 64 per cent of high school students had considered that Palestinians in Israel did not deserve to enjoy equal rights. Practices imposed with respect to land and water use not only discriminated against Arabs but encouraged the idea that Jews were superior. Children were taught that the Israelis had made the desert bloom, while land held by the Arabs was misused or neglected. As Arabs in Israel, the Palestinians had no right to equal access to certain educational establishments. For so-called security reasons, they were forbidden by the racism régime to pursue their studies in certain physical and social sciences. The military Government on the illegally-occupied West Bank censored books, destroyed equipment and circumscribed fields of study, and teachers were harassed or deported for dubious reasons.

56. She was shocked by the United States representative's statement, and she urged him to renounce his vain attacks against the USSR and against the pride and sovereignty of many States which desired to establish a world in which human rights and the rights of peoples would be exercised by all. She deplored the fact that the United States continued to support South Africa and Israel, and she called on all countries present to assist the Palestinian people in their liberation struggle. She thanked all who had supported the Palestinian people in their statements and those who aimed in a practical way to combat racism and racial discrimination, which should be eliminated.

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57. Mr. AL-MADFAEI (United Arab Emirates) said that the United Arab Emirates had made its position clear at the various international conferences and was a party to all the conventions aimed at the elimination of racism. In accordance with resolution 35/35, his Government supported the States which were fighting for their independence and the national liberation movements combatting colonialism and foreign occupation. It also condemned the acts of aggression committed by South Africa against neighbouring States. It was shocked by the material and moral support that certain States continued to give South Africa, showing thereby that they attached more importance to their strategic and economic interests than to the right of peoples to self-determination. It was convinced that freedom would triumph in the end for all the African peoples and for all the other countries suffering under colonialism.

58. In Palestine, injustice, violations of human rights, and the torture practised by the Israeli racists were a challenge to international public opinion and to the United Nations resolutions. His delegation appealed to all peace-loving peoples to support the just struggle of the Palestinians against Israeli aggression and injustice and for the recognition of their fundamental rights. Peace was impossible in the Middle East without the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories and without the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinians, including the right of return and their right to establish an independent State in Palestine, under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative. That objective was dictated not only by the pressure of international opinion but also by concern for respect for the principles of justice, equality and peace. His delegation hoped that the second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, to be held in 1983, would give a new impetus to the liberation struggle of the African peoples and the people of Palestine.

59. Mr. JESS JANI (Zimbabwe) said that the search for peace, security and international détente was inextricably linked to the inalienable right of all peoples to freedom and government by consent. It was deplorable to note that, despite the provisions of the Charter, the Third Committee was required once again to affirm the necessity of eliminating apartheid, and it was disturbing to see that civilized countries were openly flouting well-documented codes of international behaviour by associating with a régime which continued to indulge in that practice.

60. South Africa was a society governed by the materialist greed of the whites and the poverty, bitterness and despair of the blacks. Ironically, however, the country's leaders had chosen adaptation as their strategy in order to survive and had led their potential allies to believe that they regarded many aspects of apartheid as unnecessary and reform as vital for the survival of the whites. That strategy of the Botha party had been found to be credible, as was demonstrated by the favourable attitude towards South Africa manifested in certain Western capitals and the "constructive engagement" which they had seen fit to enter into in that respect. The South African Government wished

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(Mr. Jess Jani, Zimbabwe)

to give the impression that, in order to resolve the impasse between increasing black militancy and white vested interests, it was currently attempting to implement major constitutional reforms, such as the abolition of the Senate, and the creation of a Presidential Council consisting of 59 members (43 whites, 10 coloreds, 5 indians and 1 Chinese) to advise the Government on constitutional matters. It was remarkable, however, that there was no African member.

61. It was still a far cry, therefore, from the radical changes needed to secure long-term political stability in South Africa. The South African Government, instead of bowing to the irrefutable logic history, was following the dictates of temporary political imperatives. The homeland policy had been a failure, with the homelands turning out to be little more than rural slums. Botha himself had declared that it was impossible to consolidate the geographical area of each national group so as to make it economically viable, but of course it was out of the question for the whites to abandon the whole of South Africa simply in order to create economically viable black States. Thus, policy had shifted from the allocation of land to economic coexistence with the homelands and a system of regional co-operation between peoples from separate political entities. It was proposed to encourage economic co-operation while at the same time maintaining the fiction of discrete political institutions. Given the limited resources of the homelands, however, a massive injection of capital was needed to avert impending starvation and disaster.

62. In reaction to the shortage of skilled manpower needed to maintain the high rate of growth regarded as vital to the country's development, and the necessity of manning the expanded military machine created to defend the Republic against a "total onslaught", the labour laws had been slightly relaxed and African unions had been legalized. Nevertheless, those unions must undergo a long and cumbersome registration process and only a few - obviously those unions which practised segregation - had been approved. Clearly, it was no longer a question of a simple labour struggle but a part of the political struggle. It was still too early, moreover, to judge the effects of the educational reform, and, no matter what South Africa's apologists claimed, the Cabinet changes did not signify any abandonment of basic principles. In short, there was nothing to suggest that the racist ideology was undergoing fundamental change.

63. It was hard to see how voluntary commercial involvement in South Africa could be compatible with the search for a lasting political solution in that country, or how such commercial involvement did not constitute a violation of the Charter. The least that could be said was that such flouting of the provisions of the Charter could only delay the elimination of the scourge of apartheid. South Africa's commercial associates should be reminded that they bore a heavy share of responsibility for the wretched conditions in which the black people of South Africa were forced to live and the blind oppression of which they were the victim. The beleaguered whites had heaped up weapons, but that had not prevented an escalation of the conflict. Only the political will of the international community and the major economic Powers could ameliorate

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(Mr. Jess Jani, Zimbabwe)

the situation, not a mere short-term gamble lacking long-term economic and political realism. The so-called reforms that had been enacted were in fact merely a disguised reinforcement of the status quo.

64. Regardless of the policy of certain Governments, the blacks of South Africa would continue to fight for their economic and political rights. In the last analysis, outside influence in that regard would continue to be secondary. Despite the governmental repression which had decimated SWAPO, it was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain a balance between the intransigence of the whites and the aspirations of the blacks, and the Pretoria administrators in Namibia would never succeed in squaring the circle. South Africa, buttressed by the support of its allies, was more than ever determined to retain power. Yet that support, far from being a trump card, might cost those Powers dearly and, unless South Africa agreed to proceed with the pragmatic reforms expected of it, the game would be over before it was begun. The Powers in question would lose any influence in Africa and their policy would no longer be either "constructive" or "engaged". The leaders in Pretoria were in fact not ready to dismantle the citadel of apartheid, because they lacked the necessary imagination and intelligence. In order to speed the process of change, educational and information activities in support of the struggle against racial discrimination must be intensified, and his delegation applauded the efforts of UNESCO and other bodies to that end.

65. Mr. HOUFAN (Djibouti), speaking on agenda items 74 and 81, said that although 33 years had elapsed since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and nearly 10 years had gone by since apartheid had been declared a crime against humanity, despite the resolutions adopted by the United Nations in the framework of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, as well as those of the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Islamic Conference, South Africa still pursued its policy of bantustanization and continued to deny the black majority their rights, to commit aggression against the neighbouring African States, and to threaten international peace and security.

66. Israel continued to pursue its Zionist policy in Palestine and the occupied Arab territories and, defying the injunctions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, refused to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, independence and the return to their homeland, and continued to refuse to withdraw from the occupied territories. The General Assembly had recognized that Zionism when made into a State policy constituted racial discrimination, and the international community had on many occasions condemned the practice of that policy by Israel, as well as its crimes against the Arab States in the region, most particularly Lebanon and Iraq.

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(Mr. Houfan, Djibouti)

67. The sufferings of the Palestinian people, the people of Namibia and the black majority in South Africa had gone on too long. Because the resolutions relating to them had not suffered, the international community must take more concrete and effective steps to bring an end to that tragedy as well as to the co-operation between Israel and South Africa in all fields.

68. His delegation condemned the racist regimes of South Africa and Israel, their practices which denied the peoples of Palestine, Namibia and South Africa their rights, and the acts of aggression and provocation perpetrated against neighbouring States in both South Africa and the Middle East. It supported the struggle being waged by the peoples of Palestine and of Namibia under the auspices of the Palestine Liberation Organization and SWAPO.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.