

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

FORTY-SECOND SESSION

*Official Records**



THIRD COMMITTEE
13th meeting
held on
Wednesday, 14 October 1987
at 3 p.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 13th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. RITTER (Panama)

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

AGENDA ITEM 87: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE SECOND DECADE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued) (A/42/3, A/42/492, A/42/493)

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AGENDA ITEM 92: ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued) (A/42/18, A/42/449, A/42/468 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

1. Mr. ABOU-HADID (Syrian Arab Republic) said that the realization of the right of self-determination of the peoples under the colonial yoke was a prerequisite for the enjoyment of the fundamental human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Syria condemned all forms of racial discrimination as an affront to human dignity.

2. His delegation endorsed the view expressed by other delegations that the information and education activities proposed for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (A/42/493) were important but not sufficient to eliminate the scourge of apartheid. In order to achieve that objective, comprehensive sanctions must be imposed and all types of co-operation, overt or covert, with the Pretoria régime must be opposed until the day when it was no longer necessary for the item to be included in the General Assembly's agenda.

3. The situation in South Africa had deteriorated since the imposition of the state of emergency and there were currently thousands of students, workers and opponents under detention; even children were victims of repression. South Africa was continuing to perpetrate acts of aggression against neighbouring States with a view to their political and economic destabilization. Some States and transnational corporations were still co-operating with the Pretoria régime in the financial, political, military and nuclear fields, and were thus helping to perpetuate the oppression of the black majority struggling to secure their legitimate rights. Some of those co-operating with South Africa claimed that through that action they were helping to improve the lives of the oppressed majority and humanize the system, but in reality they were protecting and strengthening the régime.

4. The provisions of article I, paragraph 2 and article III, paragraph (b) of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid were applicable to the institutions which provided assistance in one form or another to the Pretoria régime and thus promoted the continuation of racist practices. Comprehensive and mandatory sanctions must be imposed under Chapter VII of the Charter, and Pretoria must be compelled to respect the wishes of the international community expressed in many resolutions of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Abou-Hadid, Syrian Arab Republic)

5. The Syrian Arab Republic, for its part, had adopted laws providing for the boycott and complete isolation of South Africa as a means of contributing to the liberation struggle of the oppressed people. All Member States must work to ensure that their political will was translated into concrete action in accordance with the requirements of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The Syrian Arab Republic expressed solidarity with its brothers in the African continent and supported all the measures proposed by the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations to put an end to apartheid and secure the independence of Namibia in accordance with the plan drawn up by the United Nations for that purpose.

6. The Palestinian people were also being denied their inalienable rights, namely the right to self-determination, to return to their homeland and establish a sovereign State. The report of the Secretary-General (A/42/493) included Zionism as a form of racial discrimination. Zionism was a practice of oppression which, like apartheid, derived from a colonialist ideology. Israel and South Africa maintained relations of co-operation, particularly in the nuclear sphere; that situation threatened not only the security of southern Africa and the Middle East but also, indirectly, international peace and security.

7. Mrs. KING-ROUSSEAU (Trinidad and Tobago) said that Trinidad and Tobago's position on apartheid must be viewed in the context of respect for the dignity of the human person and the fundamental human rights enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic. The plight of the oppressed black majority of South Africa had deteriorated considerably since the imposition of the state of emergency in July 1985. Nevertheless, the oppressed majority had managed to maintain its dignity and the escalation of repression had led to greater solidarity and unification among all sectors of the black community.

8. The United Nations must not allow Pretoria to operate with impunity, for it was clear that it had declared war on the oppressed majority and was attempting to conceal the true situation through a severe crackdown on the domestic and foreign media. Trinidad and Tobago wholeheartedly supported the idea of proclaiming an academic year against apartheid which would serve to disseminate the necessary information to counteract attempts by the racist régime and some of its sympathizers to portray a more humane image of that vile system.

9. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago applauded the decision of the Economic and Social Council to accord priority in the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to activities directed towards the elimination of apartheid. The situation in South Africa and Namibia warranted such priority. Moreover, Namibia was the gravest example of the violation of the inalienable rights of a people to self-determination and independence. Comprehensive and mandatory sanctions must be applied against South Africa as the only effective way of contributing to a just and peaceful solution of the problem of southern Africa.

10. Forty years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, racism and racial discrimination still pervaded many societies. That situation

(Mrs. King-Rousseau, Trinidad and Tobago)

demonstrated that the international community should not confine itself to the mere adoption of international human rights instruments; the peoples of the world must become aware of international human rights standards and mechanisms so as to assist in the promotion and protection of those rights.

11. She endorsed the words of the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, who had referred to the harmonious way in which the different ethnic, religious and cultural groups coexisted in Trinidad and Tobago, with an increasing awareness of a shared identity of ideals.

12. Trinidad and Tobago welcomed the proposed plan of activities for 1990-1993 outlined in document A/42/493. If the proposed objectives were achieved, they should serve to sensitize world public opinion to the need to eradicate all forms of racial discrimination. It was to be hoped that the required resources would be secured for the effective implementation of the programme. It was also imperative to guard against politicization of the question.

13. As a former colony, Trinidad and Tobago was concerned about the rights of peoples who had not yet achieved independence. The United Nations must ensure that the mechanisms established to facilitate the decolonization process were functioning effectively. Administering Powers had a duty to ensure that the inhabitants of their respective colonies were cognizant of their rights; to ensure respect for those rights; and to keep the international community informed of developments in the Territories for which they were responsible.

14. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria) said that the entry into force of major human rights instruments and the launching of two Decades to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had brought about significant results. Much remained to be done, however, before racism vanished forever. The most pressing task in that regard was the total abolition of apartheid. The resolute struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and mounting international pressure had compelled the Pretoria régime to resort to increasingly deceptive tactics in an effort to perpetuate its criminal system. However, the international community had identified its vague promises and cosmetic changes for what they were and had rejected them, convinced that the elimination of apartheid was the only solution.

15. Bulgaria reiterated its full solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and deplored the fact that, despite universal condemnation of apartheid, Pretoria's traditional friends and supporters were pursuing a policy which reflected either a colonialist and racist mentality or an unbridled urge to plunder other peoples' wealth and natural resources. All support for apartheid had to be stopped, and mandatory sanctions applied against South Africa.

16. Bulgaria supported the measures and activities proposed in the Secretary-General's report on the implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (A/42/493). At the same time, it believed that a more action-oriented approach must be applied in order to achieve the desired results. Without such an approach, measures in the field of education and training would not be very productive.

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

17. Bulgaria appealed to all States which had not already done so 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, which were basic instruments in the struggle against racism and racial discrimination.

18. Turning to the financial difficulties of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Bulgaria welcomed the decision by some States to fulfil their financial obligations promptly and hoped that their example would be followed by all those who had not yet done so. Other measures could also be adopted to minimize the negative impact of the Committee's financial crisis. For example, the Committee could temporarily shorten its sessions or meet less frequently.

19. Activities under the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination should also address the situation of migrant workers and their families, who were often the targets of social, economic and political discrimination. Another cause for concern was the resurgence of neo-Nazi and neo-Fascist groups seeking to exploit the rising tide of xenophobia in some Western countries.

20. Turning to agenda item 91, the principle of respect for the right of self-determination, which was enshrined in the United Nations Charter and an integral part of many important United Nations resolutions and instruments such as the International Covenants on Human Rights, had evolved into a clearly defined set of norms of international conduct and, indeed, of international law. Bulgaria rejected attempts to redraft or redefine that principle, most of which sought to prevent the development of that principle into legally binding norms which would make it illegal for States to try to impose their model of development on others.

21. Bulgaria condemned the denial of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and believed that any just and lasting solution must be based on full recognition of that people's inalienable rights, including its right to establish an independent State. An international conference on the Middle East must be convened under United Nations auspices, with the participation of PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

22. Similarly, there must be an immediate cessation of the undeclared war against the people of Nicaragua and a political settlement in Central America based exclusively on the wishes of the peoples of the region.

23. Lastly, Bulgaria welcomed the appointment of a special rapporteur on the question of the use of mercenaries. The action taken by the Commission on Human Rights, the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly on that question was a very important contribution to the promotion of the right of peoples to self-determination.

24. Mr. MORA (Cuba) said that Cuba supported the activities undertaken within the framework of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and

(Mr. Mora, Cuba)

Racial Discrimination. However, those activities alone would not achieve concrete results unless their objectives were defined more precisely.

25. The financial situation of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination was disturbing, for it could paralyse the functioning of the most important follow-up mechanism for the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. States parties to the Convention must make every effort to reactivate that important body. He wished to reiterate that the Latin American region was underrepresented on the Committee.

26. Racism and racial discrimination found their most abhorrent and inhuman expression in the apartheid system imposed by the Pretoria Government and in the racist, expansionist policies of the Israeli Zionists. Cuba would continue to denounce the repression unleashed by the Pretoria régime on SWAPO freedom fighters and reaffirmed its solidarity with the people of Namibia in their struggle for independence. The Pretoria régime must also put an end to its brutal repression in South Africa, allow exiles to return, open negotiations with the African National Congress, the people's legitimate representative, and free Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners.

27. It was only with the assistance of the United States and some of its allies and the economic co-operation of transnational corporations and financial institutions that Pretoria was able to maintain the shameful apartheid system and persist in its destructive acts of aggression against the front-line States. In that connection, Cuba noted with satisfaction that several countries, including members of the European Economic Community, had decided to adopt sanctions which, although limited, were a positive step towards the abolition of apartheid.

28. He reiterated Cuba's support for the Palestinian people and its sole legitimate representative, PLO, in the struggle to liberate its homeland and regain its inalienable national rights. Cuba condemned the alliance between South Africa and Israel, which was also pursuing a racist policy in the occupied Arab territories.

29. The international community must pay more attention to the growth or resurgence of racist and discriminatory tendencies against black peoples and ethnic minorities in various industrialized societies. Cuba was concerned at the socio-economic situation of ethnic minorities and large segments of the black population in the United States, who were frequently victims of physical attacks by racist elements.

30. Twenty-seven years since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, there were those who were trying to distort or limit the scope of the definition of self-determination and to ignore the fact that the principle also covered the right of every people to freely elect its system of development and form of government, a right which, like the right to development, was and should be included among the fundamental human rights. In the current year, an important step forward in the

(Mr. Mora, Cuba)

promotion of the right of peoples to self-determination had been taken in the form of the decision to appoint a Special Rapporteur on the use of mercenaries. Some imperialist Powers were creating and financing gangs of mercenaries to overthrow constitutional Governments in developing and non-aligned countries. Such was the case with the contra mercenaries in Nicaragua and the UNITA bandits, who had been described as "freedom fighters". Countries which maintained, trained and financed mercenary gangs which acted against countries with which they maintained diplomatic relations were violating both international law and their own domestic legislation.

31. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba reaffirmed its support for the just struggle of the Palestinian and Namibian peoples. It proclaimed the Latin American identity of Puerto Rico, its right to independently and sovereignly decide its own destiny and the undeniable fact that it was part of Latin America. Cuba also supported Argentina in its just claim to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands and hoped that a negotiated solution could be reached in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. He expressed his delegation's solidarity with Cyprus in its aspiration to live in peace, as an undivided and non-aligned republic, and its support for the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence. Lastly, his country denounced the United States Government's occupation of a piece of Cuban territory at the Guantanamo naval base, as well as the blockade imposed on his country by the major imperial Power.

32. Mr. RAZZOOGI (Kuwait) emphasized the role of the international community and the United Nations in the elimination of racism and racial discrimination, as well as in the protection of the right of peoples to self-determination, and reiterated his country's support for United Nations resolutions on the protection of that right in the cases of the black majority in South Africa, the Namibian people and the Palestinian people. Those resolutions had not been implemented because of the intransigence of the South African and Israeli régimes, which were violating principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. After citing Chapter II of the Charter, in particular Article 3, he reaffirmed his confidence in the central role of the United Nations as an expression of the will of peoples to attain full enjoyment of their rights and fundamental freedoms and achieve the elimination of all forms of colonialism and racism.

33. The situation in southern Africa had worsened and the Pretoria régime, which was perpetrating actual genocide, continued to pursue its policy of aggression and destabilization against the sovereignty and the economies of the front-line States and other neighbouring countries fighting for the elimination of apartheid. There was no point in attempting to reform that system; it must be abolished. Some civilized nations which had launched campaigns in support of equality, law and justice in various parts of the world took a passive attitude when it came to condemning the policies of South Africa and Israel. Other countries co-operated with those racist régimes and helped them stay in power and apply their repressive policies. The only peaceful means of transition from the apartheid system to democracy in southern Africa was the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. Kuwait reaffirmed its solidarity with the people of South Africa and supported their struggle for self-determination in a united South Africa.

(Mr. Razzoogi, Kuwait)

34. Economic and military co-operation between the Governments of South Africa and Israel, especially in the production of nuclear arms, constituted a threat to international security and a danger for the African and Arab peoples.

35. Kuwait strongly condemned the occupation of Namibia by South Africa. Implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was essential, as was recognition of the full independence of Namibia and the integrity of its territory, including Walvis Bay and the offshore islands. Kuwait paid tribute to the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, which would surely bring them to triumph over racism and achieve independence and self-determination.

36. In the Middle East, Israel's presence at the heart of the Arab world was a manifestation of a long-standing imperialist plan to broaden the influence of colonialism. The philosophy of Zionism pursued the threefold objective of transforming the cultural and religious content of Judaism into a political content, reuniting world Jewry in the territory of Palestine and expelling all non-Jews from it. Israel had implemented that policy by occupying all Palestinian territories and other Arab territories, expelling a large proportion of the Palestinian population and subjugating those who remained, and constantly introducing new immigrants and creating new settlements in Palestinian territory. In order to attain its objectives, Israel practised a brutal policy which violated the human rights of the subjugated Palestinian population. Kuwait condemned such practices and was convinced that the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), would overcome tyranny and achieve its national aspiration to create an independent State.

37. No one wanted peace as much as the Arab peoples. Peace in the Middle East required that Israel withdraw from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967 and that the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, in particular the right to return to their homes and to national independence and self-determination without foreign interference, be restored. Kuwait supported the convening of an international conference on the question, with the participation of the Palestinian people represented by the PLO.

38. Mr. TREAT (United States of America) said that the right of self-determination was a universally recognized fundamental human right, the enjoyment of which was a pre-condition for the exercise of other human rights. Individual freedom was to a large extent defined by man's ability to exercise self-determination through acts such as participation in the election of his representatives in government or through freedom of travel, speech and assembly. Nevertheless, prevailing practices in Member States showed that those principles were often not respected. The concept of self-determination was supported by all, but it was necessary to define its content so that violations could be unmistakably recognized.

39. The current year marked the bicentennial of the United States Constitution. Although much debate by the finest minds in the American states had gone into the preparation of that document, it had evolved through the addition of major amendments. A written constitution was no guarantee in itself that the principles

(Mr. Treat, United States)

which it described would be followed by those in power. Many countries had constitutions which espoused freedom of the press and of speech and self-determination and yet those rights were consistently denied to their peoples.

40. Self-determination was not achieved through a single event; rather, it was an evolving process. Some nations, after years of rebellion, had won the right to free election of their leaders with one vote per person, but after exercising that right only once had found themselves saddled with a dictatorship which annulled their political rights.

41. The United States population was made up of people of all races, creeds and nationalities, whom the Declaration of Independence assured of equality in a pluralistic society. The realization of that ideal required sustained and constant effort. In seeking to enlarge the freedom of all its citizens, the people of the United States had suffered the tragedies of a Civil War. In spite of occasional set-backs, undeniable progress had been assured by the commitment of the people of the United States to human rights. Foreigners often had difficulty understanding the constant debate that ensued at all levels of government and the tension that existed among the three branches of government. The strength of United States society lay in its ability to arrive at a consensus after all voices had been heard. And when the security of the country was challenged, internally or externally, its people united and many times its young men had crossed the oceans to defend the sovereignty of nations that were being threatened.

42. Although the political system of the United States was a source of pride, it was clear that cultural and demographic differences made it impossible to apply in all nations. Nevertheless, the principle of self-determination was a fundamental human right and must prevail in all nations if their peoples were to achieve a truly free society. The tragedy of the present age was not the lack of support for the principle of self-determination but the hypocritical attitude of totalitarian States which professed allegiance to that principle while openly flouting it. The autocrats of the world must realize that indulgence of such hypocrisies by free nations did not mean that they had succumbed to cynicism or forgotten their obligations. On the contrary, the United States renewed its pledge of support for the United Nations Charter and its noble aspirations.

43. A few examples were enough to show how often the principle of self-determination was being violated in the world today. The delegation of the United States had already made it clear that apartheid was an abhorrent violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and that the time was long overdue for action assuring for all the people of South Africa the constitutional guarantees of a democratic electoral system and an economic system based on a free and open market.

44. The presence of foreign troops in the territories of other nations was a shameful violation of the United Nations Charter and of the right to self-determination. Together with other Members of the United Nations, the United States condemned that practice and demanded the withdrawal of Cuban troops from

(Mr. Treat, United States)

Nicaragua and Angola, of South African troops from Namibia, of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia.

45. The recent violations of sovereignty in Afghanistan, Namibia, Nicaragua, Angola, and Chad, should not allow the international community to ignore the long-standing subjugation of the formerly free Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. It was a tactic of totalitarian régimes to count on time and apathy to "normalise" their acts of occupation and oppression. The free nations of the world would not permit time and indifference to provide a counterfeit legitimacy to the occupation of those oppressed nations.

46. The Government of the United States opposed the terrorism sponsored by the current Government of Iran and the suppression of liberty by the leaders of Nicaragua. The recent announcement by the President of Nicaragua that he would only allow the publication of a newspaper as long as it did not take exception to his régime was proof that freedom of the press was phony and temporary.

47. It was time for the Third Committee to take steps to prevent the repeated emasculation of language. It was necessary to "call a spade a spade" in order to avoid any misunderstanding of the guiding principles. The Government of the United States was pleased with the remarks of the Under Secretary-General for Human Rights, delivered at the first meeting of the Third Committee, on the need for awareness of human rights and of the existence of universally accepted standards and international machinery to which recourse was possible. He also recalled the words of the President of Cyprus at the 32nd meeting of the General Assembly to the effect that the principles enshrined in the Charter and other international instruments were being flagrantly violated in different parts of the world and that it was no longer tolerable that millions of people should daily suffer from gross violations of rights, which were recognized by all the members of the international community. The United States shared those sentiments and deplored the hypocrisy of the totalitarian governments that made a mockery of mankind's deepest convictions. Perhaps the greatest danger threatening the United Nations today was the tendency to endure silently the savaging of fundamental freedoms.

48. The United States, in spite of deep misgivings about the course that the United Nations had been following for the past several years, remained strongly committed to that Organization. His Government retained its faith in the desirability of an international organization based on universal human rights and in the validity of multilateral approaches to international problems. Mankind would free itself from the chains enslaving it in many parts of the world and the proud peoples of Cambodia, Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Libya, among others, would join the free world.

49. Mr. NAVON (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that repeated allegations had been made against Judaism, Zionism, the State of Israel, and its people and Government. Judaism had given the world monotheism and a valid code of ethics, and Zionism was one of the first national liberation movements in modern times.

(Mr. Navon, Israel)

50. The attacks against Israel and its Government would probably continue, in ignorance of reality and history, and the delegations making those attacks would probably also continue to disregard the fate of their Palestinian brethren. The Arab Governments had done their best to prolong the suffering of the Palestinians. It was an insult to the Palestinians to see their cause being defended by the representative of Syria, a country which had shown long-standing hostility to them and which had participated in crimes committed in Palestinian camps in Lebanon and in the assassination of Palestinian leaders. He cited, in that connection, speeches by Palestinian leaders and radio broadcasts from the "Voice of Palestine" in Baghdad.

51. Mr. ABOU-HADID (Syrian Arab Republic), speaking on a point of order, said that the representative of Israel should not be permitted to make references to questions outside of the agenda being considered by the Committee.

52. Mr. NAVON (Israel), referring to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, asked what could be expected from a country which attacked African leaders and called them "mere tame monkeys in the Garden of the Elysee". He referred also to comments made on Libyan television on 17 February 1987 in which similar disparaging names had been used and noted that those were genuine expressions of racism and bigotry.

53. The Shipping Research Bureau, an anti-apartheid organization which collaborated with the United Nations Centre against Apartheid, monitored tankers transporting oil to South Africa, a country which spent about \$US 3 billion annually for the purchase of oil. From 1980 to 1984, Arab oil exports to South Africa amounted to nearly \$US 10 billion. Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Kuwait, Iraq, Qatar, Bahrain and Iran had sold oil to South Africa and continued to do so. In 1981, 38 per cent of South Africa's oil reserves were supplied by Arab countries and Iran; in 1984, that figure increased to 76 per cent; and in 1985, 95 per cent of the oil imported by South Africa came from Arab sources. Those figures were confirmed in the statement made in July 1985 by Mr. Froyssnes, State-Secretary of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who affirmed that 95 per cent of the oil supplied to South Africa came from Arab countries of the Persian Gulf and that more than half was being sent there directly. Although Iran denied shipments of oil to South Africa, some experts considered that Iran had very good reasons to maintain secret business relations with Pretoria since the National Iranian Oil Company still owned a 17.5 per cent stake in the South African Oil Refinery NATREF in Durban.

54. The July 1987 newsletter of the Shipping Research Bureau published the findings of a recent investigation into the role of Saudi Arabia in the sale of oil to South Africa. That article stated that since 1979, South Africa had been receiving a steady flow of crude oil from Saudi Arabia. According to conservative estimates, at least a quarter of South Africa's oil imports originated in Saudi Arabia. The delegate of Israel said that the facts were clear and that, nevertheless, his country would continue to be judged by a double standard.

(Mr. Navon, Israel)

55. Apartheid was too great an evil to be cynically manipulated by a campaign of defamation and slander, particularly when the slander was an expression of obsessive hatred against Israel.

56. He urged that a common effort should be made to wipe out apartheid, anti-Zionism, anti-Semitism and all other forms of racism and intolerance that plagued the world.

57. Mr. RAZZOOGI (Kuwait), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he did not want to refute the lies which had been stated, but to recall that Kuwait had supported the oil embargo against South Africa and other resolutions on that matter adopted by the United Nations and OPEC. Moreover, in 1985 Kuwait had promulgated a law pursuant to which it had ended oil shipments to South Africa. The companies operating in Kuwait respected the restrictions on destination and the clauses on users. As was well documented, all sales contracts originating in Kuwait contained such restrictions. Israel's argument contained a very significant error, because it implied that oil maintained the nationality of the supplier, although it was sold to another country and transported on the ship of a third country. The obsession with determining the nationality of the oil was nothing more than an attempt to defame the Arab countries.

58. The Embassy of Israel had submitted a list of 167 ships corresponding to the 1980-1984 period and an additional list of eight oil tankers corresponding to 1985-1986. The Permanent Mission of Israel had said that those lists had been drawn up on the basis of reports from the Shipping Research Bureau. However, if they were compared with the figures provided by that Bureau, it was clear that Israel's list contained numerous errors and inaccuracies. They were simply official lies.

59. Although Israel launched attacks in all directions, it did not refer to the real question, i.e. racism and the right of peoples to self-determination. Israel had said that the essence of Zionism was the concept that the Jews were a people and must have a Jewish State. The programme of immigration of Jews from any country in the world to a specific area resulted in the displacement of scores of non-Jews to make way for them. In Israel the Palestinians were expelled and the Jews were welcomed; Jews throughout the world could return, whereas Palestinians could not. Those who pointed that out were branded as anti-Semitic, although in reality the Israelis were the first to be so. Kuwait rejected the idea that Zionism was the Zionism of Judaism, because that was a false assertion. Moreover, it did not agree that anti-Zionist meant anti-Jewish.

60. The assertion that Zionism was a national liberation movement was interesting and surprising. That claim had been made at the Eighth World Zionist Congress held in 1968, which meant that it had taken Zionism 71 years to discover its true nature. At its inception it was called colonialism. Its very founder, Theodor Herzl, had called it so. He quoted a letter from Herzl to Cecil Rhodes requesting support for his colonial programme. Colonialism had been in style at that time, and Zionism had not run any risks in acknowledging its colonial nature.

(Mr. Razzooqi, Kuwait)

Currently, national liberation movements were in vogue, and zionism thus affirmed that it was a movement of that type. He did not object to its doing so, provided that it also recognized the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

61. Mr. ABOU-HADID (Syrian Arab Republic), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the list of Zionist crimes was too long to enumerate. They had already been sufficiently documented, as had been the violations of human rights committed by Israel inside and outside the occupied Territories. Its prisons were concrete proof of its inhumane practices and its brutal crimes against the entire world. The imperialist function of Israel in the midst of the Arab Territories was well known. Israeli practices in the Arab Territories, including genocide and the arrest of Arabs, had a specific purpose. Racism was not an end in itself, but a means to bring pressure to bear on the Arabs and to uproot them from their Territories and their homeland for the purpose of resettling Jews from the entire world. In Israel, which claimed to be a model State according to Ben Gurion's slogan, the Zionists were openly implementing their policy and affirmed that in so doing they were basing themselves on divine laws and on the fact of being a country without divisions.

62. The representative of Israel had reported that his country was promulgating laws to limit its relations with the apartheid régime. The only purpose of those laws was to cover up reality. The links between the racist régimes of South Africa and Israel had become strong, and both had numerous similarities: the objective of both was colonialism for the purpose of resettlement. Any future indication of the collapse of one of those régimes would lead the other to fear the same fate.

63. Mr. OMRAN (United Arab Emirates), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, emphatically denied Israel's accusation that his country maintained relations with Pretoria. The United Arab Emirates were linked to the rest of the African peoples by historical and cultural ties. It was Israel which maintained relations with the racist régime of South Africa. He quoted various articles from The New York Times and from other newspapers to prove his assertion. For example, Israel sold \$800 million worth of weapons to South Africa yearly. Moreover, Israel provided South Africa with mercenaries to perpetrate acts of aggression against other countries in southern Africa. For its part, South Africa provided cheap manpower to Israel, which exploited the black South African population, paying it an average of \$7 per week for its work.

64. The United States Government's decision to adopt measures against South Africa was a new challenge for Israel. It must now maintain its strategic relations with South Africa, while giving the impression that it condemned that régime. The restrictions which Israel had imposed on its trade and cultural relations with Pretoria only emphasized its desire to satisfy the Congress of the United States and the black leaders of that country.

65. He requested Israel to explain to the Committee how it expected to help put an end to apartheid when in reality it maintained all types of links - military, commercial, cultural, technological and nuclear - with the régime which practised it.

66. Mr. NAVON (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, congratulated the representative of Kuwait on having addressed the delegation of Israel directly. That was a constructive step which could some day make it possible to begin negotiations for the achievement of peace and peaceful coexistence. For the time being, he wished to explain to the representative of Kuwait that zionism dated back to the exile of the Jewish people in Babylonia in the sixth century BC. He also congratulated him on having undertaken a reading of the works of Theodor Herzl. He hoped that some day the representative of Kuwait would be transformed into a defender of zionism. If the desire of the Jewish people to have a State of its own could be called racism, the Arabs were 21 times more racist than the Israelis.

67. Addressing the representative of Syria, he said that Alois Brunner, a former SS official condemned to death in France in 1954 and sought by the Federal Republic of Germany in 1984, continued to enjoy asylum in Syria without the Government of that country having replied to date to extradition requests.

68. Mr. AL-HAREEM (Oman), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that Israel's accusations against Arab countries, including Oman, were false and groundless. Oman implemented the United Nations resolutions on South Africa and did not maintain any trade relations or any other type of relations with that country. Israel had already expressed those false accusations in the Fourth Committee, and the representative of Oman had refuted them.

69. Mr. HASSAN (Bahrain), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the accusation of the representative of Israel regarding alleged exports of oil from Arab countries, including Bahrain, to the racist régime of South Africa were quite untrue and without foundation. Bahrain had strictly observed the total embargo imposed against that country; some years earlier, it had promulgated a law prohibiting oil exports to racist South Africa and would continue to apply that law until the régime had been totally eliminated. The representative of Israel had made use of such accusations in order to obscure the Israeli Government's close co-operation with the racist régime of South Africa in every field, commercial, economic and military, the most striking example being the nuclear test carried out jointly by the two racist régimes in 1979.

70. Mr. RAZZOOGI (Kuwait), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that a reading of the writings of the founder of zionism was very illustrative. In an article published in 1898, Theodor Herzl had spoken of 2000 years of intolerance in referring to the period of Christian domination and, referring to Jesus Christ, had added that the dreamer of Nazareth had done nothing except provoke hatred.

71. The history of the doctrines of zionism was educational but the Arab peoples, and particularly the Palestinian people, knew them because they suffered from them. An article published in April 1987 by The New York Times, had related an incident which had taken place on the West Bank. A young Palestinian had been wounded by a shot from an Israeli guard who thought that the small object which the youth was carrying in his hand could be a grenade. On closer inspection, he realized that it was a copy of the Koran. Such events aroused complex feelings of hate for the attack and joy for the Palestinian youth's faith in his principles.

72. Miss AL-TURAIHI (Iraq), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the statements made by the delegation of Israel were incorrect and had been answered by her delegation in the Fourth Committee. There were no links between Iraq and South Africa. Iraq was a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, regarding which the position of Israel was not known. The attitude of the delegation of Israel had no other purpose than to distract the Committee's attention from the issue of the links between that country and South Africa.

73. Mr. NOHANNA (Saudi Arabia), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that his country supported the resolutions regarding the severing of relations with South Africa. Any smuggling of oil from Saudi Arabia to South Africa was a crime which was punished severely. The allegations of the representative of Israel could not conceal the close links between that country and the racist régime.

74. Mr. AL-ALI (), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the repeated violation of United Nations resolutions by the Zionist entity must be remembered.

75. Mr. ABOU-HADID (Syrian Arab Republic), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the delegation of Israel had assumed a disingenuous innocence when it had spoken of the search for peace in the region. Such statements were not serious because it was impossible to achieve peace with the Zionist entity, which was intrinsically aggressive. Its policy of aggression and oppression was irreconcilable with the search for peace. It was only a manoeuvre designed to deceive public opinion.

76. Mr. AL-KALBASH (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that relations between his country and the African States, which were characterized by a community of interests and respect for the principles of good-neighbourliness, could not be damaged by the calumnies of Israel. Any disagreements which might arise between African countries were analogous to those which developed within a family.

77. The United States representative had said that the Libyan people had been conquered. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya was one of the few countries where the people determined its own destiny through people's congresses. The United States would do better to concern itself with the interests of its own people. His country rejected any attempt by the United States to intervene in its internal affairs and the United States attempts at domination.

78. Mr. MORA (Cuba), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said it was not usual in the Third Committee to listen to statements based on rumours and fantasies. The statement of the United States representative, masquerading as a defence of the right to self-determination, was in reality no more than a downright falsehood. The international solidarity of Cuba had found expression in the assistance given by its people to friendly countries which had suffered from imperialist aggressions. That was the type of aggression which the United States had always perpetrated, the object being to subvert the internal order of those

(Mr. Mora, Cuba)

countries, to destabilize their Governments and place obstacles in the way of the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination. In that context, Cuban troops had assisted the Angolan people to face South African aggressions in accordance with the express request of the Government of Angola and by virtue of a sovereign agreement between the two Governments.

79. The right to self-determination was an intrinsic right of peoples and in that connection the speaker inquired of the United States representative which country had intervened more than 60 times in Latin America alone; a list published by the State Department had listed interventions by the United States in order to "support democratic governments", although nobody had asked the United States to intervene.

80. The question might be asked how the representative of the United States could speak on the right to self-determination and claim that the presence of foreign troops in the territories of other nations represented a clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations and a negation of the right to self-determination. It might also be asked how the existence of the Guantanamo base in Cuba and bases in other countries was to be explained.

81. He remembered that President Kennedy had once said he wondered how he could have made the mistake of permitting the Bay of Pigs invasion in Cuba. That was a really brilliant thought on the part of President Kennedy, although somewhat tardy. He advised the United States delegation that, if at any time the United States took it into its head to attack the sovereign right of the Cuban people to self-determination, it should heed the same thought before hurling itself into an insane adventure because there was no doubt that history would show that it had made a serious error.

82. Mr. BYKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the anti-Soviet comments of the United States representative reflected the existence of stereotypes as well as an attempt to impose the imperialist vision on other peoples by means of insults and distortions of reality. The United States representative had made misleading comments on a number of issues and engaged in unjustified attacks. The Republics of Estonia, Lithuania and others had been incorporated into the Soviet Union by the will of their peoples.

83. He recollected that, although the United States representative recognized that problems existed in his own country, he had not gone into detail. The United States representative had also stated that all persons born in the United States had equal rights but, if the situation in that country was studied, it was easy to see that great inequalities of income existed; furthermore, there were millions of hungry and homeless people. Also worthy of mention was discrimination against Indians, blacks, Puerto Ricans and other groups, particularly coloured peoples.

84. Concerning the foreign policy of the United States, open violations of the independence, sovereignty and the right to self-determination of certain peoples were matters of public knowledge; that was what had happened in the case of the

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

undeclared wars against Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Angola, Nicaragua and other countries. In addition, the United States had tried to annex Puerto Rico, in plain disregard of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

85. Currently a new trend in world politics was becoming established; there was a recognition of the need to set rhetoric aside and to act in a spirit of co-operation to ensure a safe and egalitarian world. He appealed to the United States to join that trend.

86. Mr. FERNANDEZ (Angola), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the presence of Cuban troops in his country was the manifestation of an act of sovereignty on the part of the Government in accordance with the provisions of the national Constitution.

87. Mrs. VARGAS (Nicaragua), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the United States representative had expressed concern about violations of sovereignty in Chad, Angola, Namibia and Nicaragua, but in the case of Nicaragua, the only occupation forces had been the United States marines, who had intervened at least four times in the course of the country's history. Currently, the United States was exerting an indirect influence on Nicaragua through mercenaries. President Reagan had publicly stated his intention to continue interfering in that way in the internal affairs of sovereign States, but the Esquipulas Agreement and the award of the Nobel Prize to President Arias showed what the world thought about it. The United States representative had condemned Nicaragua for having no freedom of the press. In that respect the Government of Nicaragua had been compelled to take emergency measures in view of the critical situation created by the United States itself, which had already cost the country 45,000 lives.

88. Mr. AMSELEM (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that for the Cuban delegation, Cuba was heaven and the United States was hell. In the Cuban heaven God was called Fidel and the church was the party. The United States, on the other hand, was governed only by human beings who considered that they were responsible to the people and should respect and protect the human rights of all and obey the laws. Since the establishment of the Cuban paradise, 90 miles from the racist and savage coasts of Florida, nearly 2 million Cubans had fled from it to seek refuge in the United States, because the Cuba of the Castro brothers, faithful to the traditions of Torquemada, pursued, killed and tortured to silence the heretics. The curious fact was that people from the United States had no wish to go and live in the Cuban paradise, while millions of Cubans, white and black, preferred to come to the United States like millions of other people who had fled various communist paradises.

89. As for the Soviet Union, it would suffice, to illustrate its respect for moral principles and international law, to mention the occupation of the Baltic countries and other annexed regions, in implementation of the agreement between the USSR Government and the Nazi régime, and more recently, the brutal occupation of Afghanistan.

(Mr. Amselem, United States)

90. The United States had denounced the lack of freedom in Nicaragua and would continue doing so until democracy was restored, the political prisoners came out of gaol and the leaders stopped betraying the revolution and giving up national sovereignty.

91. Mr. KHYBERT (Afghanistan), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the United States representative had again referred to the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. Both the Government of his own country and the Government of the Soviet Union had stated their position clearly, but the United States Government did not accept a political solution. The United States representative had said that many young people from that country had crossed the seas to defend freedom; that was precisely the danger, because those young people carried deadly weapons of all kinds which they used in different parts of the world. The United States had increased its financial support for the undeclared war against Afghanistan from \$530 million in 1986 to \$630 million in 1987. It had also increased the supply of Stinger missiles to the extremists from 60 units in 1986 to 600 in 1987 and had started supplying 120 mm mortars. That policy was a violation of his country's right to self-determination and a serious threat to all the peoples of the world.

92. Mrs. VARGAS (Nicaragua), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, asked the United States representative why his Government had not been concerned about Nicaragua's freedom during the more than 50 years when her country had suffered under a dictatorship fully supported by the United States. She also renewed her country's appeal to the United States Government to respect the peace agreements, cease financing the contras, support the Esquipulas Agreement and accept the proposal for a dialogue made by President Ortega to President Reagan in the General Assembly.

93. Mr. BYKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the United States representative had gone to unprecedented extremes, which were unworthy of the Committee, in his use of rhetoric and his confrontational attitude. The USSR delegation had already appealed to the United States to use forms of communication that were appropriate for solving the serious problems that existed. The cases of United States interference in the internal affairs of other countries were very numerous, as could be seen merely from recent events. The United States was resorting to terrorism in Palau and had been responsible for the recent attempt to overthrow the Government of the Philippines and the reactionary demonstrations against the Government of Panama. The United States tried to impose on others its own criteria for self-determination and democracy.

94. Mr. AMSELEM (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he understood the difficulties of the representatives of Nicaragua and the Soviet Union in defending unjustifiable positions. It was far easier for them to function in countries where the secret police silenced dissenting voices than in a climate where reason, courtesy and respect for the truth were appreciated.

(Mr. Amselem, United States)

95. The truth was that people did not want to live in Cuba, in the Soviet Union or in Nicaragua and that, given the choice, they preferred to live in the United States.

96. The Cuban delegation's surprise at the fact that a country could support guerrilla movements of other countries ignored the history of Cuba, whose support for terrorists in Latin America and other regions was notorious.

97. The Cuban representative's reference to Latin America was surprising, seeing that Cuba had sold its heritage to the Warsaw Pact. As for the human rights situation in Puerto Rico and the preservation of its cultural identity, it was sufficient to draw a comparison with Cuba under Soviet influence.

98. The delegation of Afghanistan represented only a tiny group of people whose régime depended for its existence on the Soviet occupation forces who had caused a million deaths and led five million people to become refugees.

99. Mr. MORA (Cuba), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the United States Government was mortified that Cuba had been able to achieve and consolidate a revolution only 90 miles from the United States coast, and that because its people were armed, the United States could not attempt another folly as in 1961. Its agents had therefore tried to assassinate the Commander-in-Chief of the Cuban revolution, Fidel Castro, and were still pursuing their machinations.

100. The United States representative had presented his own country as a paradise. The saints who inhabited it supported South African racists and tried to assassinate foreign leaders. They criticized other countries and closed their eyes to the homeless children, the illiterate and the sick people lacking medical care in their own country. They were saints who thought only about the problems of the wealthy and the transnational corporations and turned their backs on the destitute.

101. Mr. KHYBERT (Afghanistan), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the material damage caused in his country by means provided by the United States involved 2,000 schools and 350 bridges, as well as hospitals, mosques, roads and means of production.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.