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**THIRD COMMITTEE, 1921st
MEETING**

Friday, 13 October 1972,
at 10.55 a.m.

NEW YORK

Chairman: Mr. Carlos GIAMBRUNO
(Uruguay).

AGENDA ITEM 50

**Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination
(continued)** (A/8660-S/10528, A/8703, chap. XIV,
sect. B; A/8718, A/8767, A/8768 and Add.1, A/8773,
A/8779, A/8789, A/8805 and Add.1, A/C.3/629,
A/C.3/630, A/C.3/L.1937, A/C.3/L.1939, E/CN.4/
1093 and Add.1-7):

- (a) Reports of the Secretary-General under General Assembly resolutions 2784 (XXVI) and 2785 (XXVI);
- (b) Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination;
- (c) Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General;
- (d) Draft convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of *apartheid*

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. ROPOTEAN (Romania) said that Romania had always attached great importance to measures for combating racial discrimination—one of the principal goals of the United Nations. World public opinion had already condemned racial discrimination, which was incompatible with the development of contemporary society, and the scientific invalidity of the theories of racial superiority had been conclusively shown. Yet in spite of everything discrimination continued to be practised and in some areas had become a guiding principle, thus challenging the most elementary legal and moral laws. He therefore considered that the international community had the obligation to put a stop once and for all to the detestable policy of racism.

2. The United Nations, mindful of its role in that area, had undertaken a number of useful programmes designed to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination. It had approved very important political documents condemning colonialism, *apartheid* and racism. Moreover there had been a proliferation of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions providing concrete measures to combat racism. Even so, it had been deemed imperative to take additional steps, such as the proclamation of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and the decision to launch the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. In that connexion, the draft programme prepared by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and

Protection of Minorities (A/8805, annex) was praiseworthy. It provided a suitable basis on which the Commission on Human Rights could submit to the General Assembly a programme of concrete and effective measures ensuring that the Decade fulfilled the aspirations of the peoples of the world.

3. Nevertheless, the lack of success of some measures undertaken by the United Nations must be pointed out. Such failures would be repeated unless the evil was attacked at its very roots and the struggle against those phenomena were placed in a broader political, juridical, economic and social framework. Analysis of the causes of the problem revealed that racial discrimination could not be eliminated so long as the right of self-determination of peoples was not universally implemented. United Nations documents and studies made in that area had highlighted the link between colonial exploitation and racial discrimination. Moreover, it was obvious that the economic interests which had been responsible for colonialism were the basic cause of the persistence of racism and *apartheid*. Economic reasons too explained the refusal of some States to implement the measures agreed upon against colonialist and racist régimes in Africa.

4. Another reason for the failure of measures adopted by the United Nations was that force or the threat of recourse to force continued to be employed in international relations against liberation movements and against peoples struggling for independence and self-determination. Such actions were at variance with the principles of the Charter and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. However, the colonialist and racist régimes of the Portuguese colonies and South Africa continued to disregard those principles, taking advantage of the fact that some Member States did not impose the sanctions adopted by the Security Council. Those régimes increased their repressive measures against national liberation movements, which had a right to receive help from the international community in view of the legitimacy of their struggle against colonialism and racism.

5. The Government of Romania emphatically condemned the policy of *apartheid* and racist practices; that condemnation was consistent with its opposition in principle to all policies of force, domination and oppression. The visit by the President of the Council of State of Romania, Mr. Ceausescu, to various African States had provided an excellent opportunity to reaffirm Romania's determination to continue affording

material, political and diplomatic assistance to national liberation movements struggling against colonialism and racial discrimination. Romania's position in regard to the struggle against colonial domination reflected the consistency of its foreign and domestic policy, the aim of which was to improve the material and spiritual well-being of the people and to create conditions favouring the full development of the human personality. The Romanian Government attached great importance to the solution of the national question, on which the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party had recently adopted a resolution.

6. For all those reasons, Romania respected and implemented the United Nations resolutions and other international instruments designed to combat racism and racial discrimination, and would continue to support any measures designed to achieve that purpose.

7. Mr. ARÍZAGA (Ecuador) said that of all the documents before the Committee, the draft programme for a Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination prepared by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (A/8805, annex) was possibly the most important. The delegation of Ecuador agreed with the main lines of the draft programme and hoped it would be unanimously approved. In that regard he stressed the need for universal dissemination of all information relating to human rights and their observance. Ecuador was deeply involved in the process of study, implementation and observance of human rights. It was a member of the Commission on Human Rights and a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Covenants on Human Rights, and other instruments. Moreover, its legal norm and rule of ethics was unrestricted respect for human rights. His delegation wholeheartedly believed that the monster of racial discrimination must be totally and mercilessly destroyed, so that its harmful effects would not continue to cause even more victims among defenceless segments of the African population.

8. Profound respect for human dignity was embodied in a number of political constitutions of Ecuador. The current Constitution provided that the State guaranteed equality before the law, that there should be no slavery, servitude or peasant vassalage, and that privileges should not be granted nor obligations imposed which gave some citizens a better or worse status than others. Any discrimination prejudicial to human dignity, whether on the basis of class, sex, race or other factors, was declared punishable. Therefore Ecuador fully supported the conviction in General Assembly resolution 2786 (XXVI) that the policy of *apartheid* represented a crime against humanity, and it concurred in the provisions of the International Convention to the effect that any doctrine of superiority based on differences of race was scientifically false, morally wrong and socially unjust, and that nothing in theory or in practice could in any way justify racial discrimination.

9. In Ecuador the expression "racial discrimination" was meaningless. Like the rest of Latin America,

Ecuador was the result of the historical symbiosis that occurred when two Iberian peoples merged with the race they found on the new continent. That mixture of individualities that was Latin America represented a crucible in which all races were fully and generously blended.

10. It was not possible to ignore the terrible and reprehensible fact of *apartheid*; even less to condone theories suggesting that the value of a human being was directly related to the colour of his skin. Historical determinism had brought the peoples of the world to their current social, political, economic and cultural stage of development. Above all it had resulted in the virtual disappearance of colonialism. It was to be hoped that by the end of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, human dignity and the unity of people would have been achieved for the good of all mankind, which had had its fill of obstructionism and desperation.

11. Mr. McGOUGH (Argentina) recalled that his country had been born of the struggle against colonial domination, holding aloft the banner of human freedom and equality. As far back as 1813, when the infamous slave traffic had flourished in the big cities of the world, Argentina, a newcomer to independence, had condemned those practices and provided for the immediate liberation of all persons who set foot on Argentine soil as slaves. Subsequently the coloured population living in the country mixed with that of Spanish origin, was enriched by migrant waves from the four corners of the earth, and produced the current human conglomeration in which there was no place for any form of discrimination. In accordance with those ideals, in 1968 Argentina had ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and currently one of the members of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination was an Argentine. On 21 September 1972, his Government had promulgated a law unequivocally establishing the binding force and effectiveness of the economic sanctions imposed by the Security Council against Southern Rhodesia. Another example of his country's determination to co-operate in the campaign for the elimination of racial discrimination had been the decision to adopt the measures to ensure that the Davis Cup tennis matches in which representatives of countries which practised racial discrimination took part did not take place in Argentine territory.

12. His delegation had studied the draft programme for a Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (A/8805, annex) and regarded the measures proposed in it as sound. It also found draft resolution A/C.3/L.1939, concerning the Decade, satisfactory. It was undoubtedly urgent to concentrate all the efforts of the world community on promoting understanding of the injustice and falseness of discriminatory dogmas and practices and overcoming the contempt of the racist Governments and régimes of southern Africa for the measures adopted by the United Nations.

13. With regard to the draft convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of *apartheid*

(A/8768, annex I), his delegation was ready to participate in any measures to eradicate racist practices but had doubts as to the effectiveness of such a convention. The problem of *apartheid* was very serious, but it concerned only a limited number of countries, in particular South Africa. Moreover, it was most unlikely that any country practising that policy would become a party to a convention prohibiting it, and obviously the countries which did not permit such practices did not need a convention on the subject. It should be remembered that the International Convention, which was a mandatory instrument for many countries, expressly condemned *apartheid* and the parties to the Convention undertook to eliminate it, and that the proliferation of treaties could in certain circumstances have undesirable consequences, since States tended to regard them merely as recommendations rather than as conventions whose provisions should be incorporated into their national law.

14. Referring to paragraph 134 of the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (A/8718), he said that his delegation was in favour of holding a session of the Committee in a Non-Self-Governing Territory, but not of holding sessions at the headquarters of the regional economic commissions. In his opinion, the regional economic commissions were well aware of the problems in question, and meetings held at their headquarters would add little to their knowledge. What they would do was cause duplication of effort and entail expenses difficult to meet. The Office of Public Information was undoubtedly performing an excellent task, as could be seen from document A/8805/Add.1, and more emphasis could be given to its activities if the Committee thought it advisable.

15. Mrs. LAFONTANT (United States of America) said that Article 1, paragraph 3, of the Charter set forth clearly and unequivocally that one of the main purposes of the United Nations was to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. There were many resolutions condemning racial discrimination, and various groups were working on the problem of racial discrimination at the local, national and international levels. Few would question the doctrine of the fundamental equality of all men or deny the need to eliminate racial discrimination if people were to survive in a peaceful world. The international community should of course continue to wage war against racial discrimination, but at the same time, each Government should frankly examine the situation within its own country and admit, if necessary, that discrimination did exist. It should be remembered that, as defined in article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, racial discrimination was defined as any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which had the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life. Hence care should

be taken not to define racial discrimination narrowly or to assume that it existed only in certain parts of the world where colour was its essential basis.

16. Her country was a pluralistic society in its racial composition. Millions of its people had left their homes in other parts of the world to build a new life there. Consequently, her delegation could not avoid being concerned about restrictions imposed by any country on the free emigration of its citizens and deplored regulations limiting the right, proclaimed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of everyone to leave any country, including his own. Discrimination occurred when the exercise of a fundamental human right was denied to certain types of individual, and it was inadmissible that some people should be denied the right to leave a country because of their educational achievements or that prospective emigrants were required to pay the State fees for their education that were so large that the majority could not afford them. That in effect was establishing a barrier to emigration in violation of the Universal Declaration. The United States delegation called upon all nations to permit the free emigration of all their citizens wishing to choose a new homeland.

17. Most speakers in the Committee had referred to racial discrimination as a monolithic scourge to be combated and eliminated. Her delegation considered that racial discrimination was not monolithic and that it was time to speak not of racial discrimination but of various types of discrimination. It was time to speak of racial, religious or other types of discrimination which were dictated by existing laws; were sanctioned or permitted by the application of logically non-discriminatory laws; resulted from customs and traditions, with or without counterbalancing laws; were practised by private persons or institutions; as well as racial discrimination by Governments to sustain short-term political objectives. That classification was not exhaustive, but encompassed most known forms of discrimination. Each type was supported by different social, political and legal structures and had its own pathology and, it was to be hoped, its own cure.

18. The discriminations existing in her country had caused many representatives to rise in holy anger. It was the dynamic interplay of social, political and economic forces in her country, even more than the undoubted progress made by minorities, that exposed discrimination in all its ugliness and demanded a solution. There had been a tremendous thrust forward in the country to eliminate racial discrimination by peoples, Government and social institutions. The civil rights laws had eliminated all traces of statutory racial discrimination. As Chairman of the State of Illinois Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission, she herself had been actively involved in that thrust. The Advisory Committee, composed of citizens who volunteered their services in investigating complaints alleging deprivation of civil rights, studied and collected information concerning denial of equal protection of the law, for submission to the Commission and to the public. The Commission in turn submitted recommendations to the

President and the Congress. Among other activities, the Advisory Committee had held public hearings in which a good cross-section of the public had offered testimony concerning acts of discrimination, and the reports emanating from the information gathered had formed the basis for changing discriminatory policies and practices. The hope of bringing about racial justice and unity in her country, which were essential to the nation's future well-being, lay in that type of activity.

19. Her delegation wished to add the following to the recommendations for combating racial discrimination during the decade of the 1970s: first, that emphasis be placed on the need to define discrimination as she had outlined; secondly, that international committees be set up to study each form of discrimination separately, with jurisdiction to deal only with that type, recognizing that the methods of approach differed; and thirdly, that those international committees should make recommendations for dealing with the problem. Perhaps in that way, once the pathology of the political disease of racial discrimination had been determined, a cure might emerge and the dream of freedom and full equality for all would become a reality.

20. Mr. ILOY (Congo) said that in his country there had never been any religious conflicts or racial warfare. African, Asian and Western immigrants, including Catholic and Protestant missionaries, were protected by the State and enjoyed full rights. Similarly, the children of those immigrants attended schools where they received free education on an equal basis with Congolese children; schooling was mixed not only with regard to sex but also with regard to race and religion. Furthermore, to combat the cause of the great ills of the century, the Government was following an anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-neo-colonialist and anti-capitalist policy.

21. Although racial discrimination was associated with southern Africa, it had to be admitted that it was practised to a greater or lesser degree throughout the world. While it was true that the United Nations must intensify its educational activities to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination in southern Africa, it was equally certain that it still had much to do in all countries, and particularly in the very country where the Committee was meeting. The first requirement was self-criticism and a firm resolve to eliminate racial discrimination entirely, in accordance with all the international instruments concerned with human rights. There was no question, of course, that the situation in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) represented the culmination of racial discrimination, since there the State had conferred the status of official institutions on inhumane racist practices which denied the inalienable rights of human beings and brazenly violated the Charter of the United Nations. The Government of the People's Republic of the Congo vigorously condemned the criminal and inhuman policy of Vorster, Ian Smith and Caetano. It also considered that the granting of aid, particularly military aid, to those colonial and racist régimes served to increase tension, jeopardized international peace and security and constituted a breach of the obligations

of Member States under the Charter of the United Nations.

22. His delegation once more requested that the United Nations, acting legitimately, should free Namibia from South African administration and impose the repatriation of the South African police stationed in Namibia and the restoration of the Namibians' full rights. The United Nations could not be allowed to use the freedom and lives of millions of blacks as a means of negotiating with the economic, military and political interests of the capitalists and imperialists from States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which were continuing to increase their investments in South Africa and in the Portuguese colonies. The freedom of the soil of Africa could in no circumstances be the subject of concessions or bargaining. The United Kingdom, the United States and the other States members of NATO should make a special contribution to the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and of *apartheid* in southern Africa by respecting and implementing the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. His delegation also urged the United Nations to intensify educational programmes for the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and of *apartheid*, particularly among white racists, and to increase educational, medical and economic assistance in both the already liberated areas of the Portuguese Territories and those which had not yet been liberated, where the indigenous population lacked the most elementary forms of aid. It would be very useful and effective if training seminars could be organized and governmental and non-governmental organizations could actively participate in mass education aimed at combating discriminatory practices and *apartheid* within the framework of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. He asked that the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa should be strengthened and extended to cover the other peoples struggling against racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

23. His delegation was convinced that just causes always triumphed. If the capitalist and colonialist countries did not peacefully acknowledge the rights of blacks to self-determination and freedom and to form governments in which they would be in the majority, and if the United Nations remained inactive and impotent, even in the case of Namibia, the African peoples would continue to shed their blood until final victory was achieved. It was a matter of conscience for the capitalist countries and the colonialists, for Vorster, Ian Smith and Caetano, on the one hand, and for the United Nations and all the peoples in the world which were dedicated to peace, justice and freedom on the other.

24. Mr. VALTASAARI (Finland) noted that the Finnish Government and people were firmly opposed to any form of discrimination based on race. Racial discrimination was totally incompatible with the concept of human rights based on equality and inevitably led to social and economic injustices because it did not guarantee to the greatest possible number of people a right to share the benefits of the development process

and it excluded certain segments of the population from that process. In the scale of racial discrimination *apartheid* was the worst form of racism; it was also unique in the sense that it was sanctioned by law and provided the basis of a whole social system. His Government was of the opinion that the existence of a citadel of ideologically based and systematically exercised racial discrimination in southern Africa was a continuous danger to the development of that region and, in a wider perspective, a menace to the harmonious development of the world as a whole.

25. In tackling the problem of racial discrimination the interdependence of individual and institutional racism must be recognized. The belief that institutions created by men could be changed by men offered one point of departure. The United Nations role in initiating national measures could be focal. For instance, in the case of Finland, where racial minorities numbered only a few thousand persons, the country's adherence to international instruments had drawn attention to legislative and other defects which had not previously been noticed. The strict observance of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination had led to a certain number of legislative steps which had later been complemented by government decisions providing funds for the minority groups.

26. However, the long-term problem of racial discrimination was more difficult because it was the result of prejudice. Thus the task should be to eliminate by means of education feelings of superiority at the national and international levels. His Government had always emphasized the primary role of the United Nations in the work of enlightening public opinion in that respect. Although the process was painfully slow, the effort should not be abandoned. Precisely because of the slowness of the process, long-term programmes were needed and his delegation therefore warmly welcomed the endeavours of the Commission on Human Rights and its Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to draw up a programme for the proposed Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

27. Mr. KHAKWANI (Pakistan) recalled that Pakistan had been among the very first States to ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. In that connexion, he took note with appreciation of the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (A/8718), which was before the Committee, and expressed the hope that that Committee, having settled all questions of procedure, could in the future turn to a more substantive review of the implementation of the Convention.

28. Despite the broad scope of the definition of racial discrimination, the Third Committee should concentrate on the elimination of the gross and consistent practices of racial discrimination which were ingrained in certain socio-political systems. It was relevant to recall that as early as 1948 Pakistan had argued in the United Nations that gross and flagrant violations of human rights were the legitimate concern of the interna-

tional community. The reports before the Committee indicated that racial discrimination in southern Africa had become more widespread and had been institutionally reinforced. The South African Government was extending the system of *apartheid* to the Territory of Namibia through the so-called contract labour system. The perceptible slackening of the resolve of certain Powers to maintain the sanctions adopted by the Security Council against the régime of Ian Smith had further strengthened the stranglehold of the racists in Southern Rhodesia. Furthermore, the unjust and repeated exercise of the veto by the administering Power against a Security Council resolution calling for the exercise of the right of self-determination for the people of Zimbabwe, as well as the abstention of that Power on a Council resolution concerning the continuation of sanctions against the régime of Ian Smith, had given rise to grave doubts about the future of the people of Zimbabwe. Similarly, it was doubtful whether the people of the Territories under Portuguese colonial domination could achieve their right to self-determination by peaceful means.

29. The eradication of racial discrimination in southern Africa required the application of comprehensive and concerted measures against all racist régimes in the area. In the view of his delegation, such measures could best be formulated in the programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (A/8805, annex) prepared by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities at the request of the Commission on Human Rights. The chain of causality revealed by the programme, proceeding as it did from analysis to goals and objectives and, finally, to policy measures, constituted its greatest merit. He hoped that draft resolution A/C.3/L.1939 concerning the launching of the Decade, co-sponsored by his delegation, would be unanimously adopted by the Committee.

30. Racist theories were based on the belief that the oppressor race was superior to the oppressed, and they were reinforced by the economic relations within racist societies, where the oppressed race had no opportunity to compete with the oppressor. It was imperative that that misconception regarding cause and effect should be speedily rectified, not only in racist societies but also in the relations between the rich and poor nations. The system of *apartheid* was predicated on the power of the few over the many. The oppressed people of southern Africa were ready to make the sacrifices needed to gain their freedom, for they had no other choice. The United Nations could not hesitate in taking the necessary step, namely, lending assistance to the liberation movements in southern Africa, for despite countless resolutions by the General Assembly, such assistance was still insignificant. Some delegations had proposed the establishment of a special fund to assist the liberation movements. In that regard, his delegation would suggest expanding the scope of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa so as to encompass the whole of southern Africa and, in addition, devising some feasible method of increasing the Fund's resources.

31. One of the principal objectives of the programme for the Decade should be complete international isolation of the racist régimes. The best way of attaining that end was through economic measures. In that connexion, it would be helpful to obtain more comprehensive statistics on the support and assistance furnished to the racist régimes by public and private foreign investment. In addition, all States should be required to report to the United Nations on the volume and nature of their direct and indirect trade with the racist régimes in southern Africa.

32. The most promising progress made during 1972 was on the question of declaring *apartheid* to be a crime against humanity. It was necessary to adopt an international instrument under which *apartheid* would be punishable, an instrument which would make punishment of the crimes resulting from *apartheid* possible and impose severe limitations on those who practised and encouraged that policy. His delegation therefore supported the objective with a view to the attainment of which Guinea and the Soviet Union had submitted a draft convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of *apartheid* (A/8768, annex I). With the same objective in mind, it had, together with the delegations of Nigeria and the United Republic of Tanzania, submitted in the Commission on Human Rights a draft protocol to be annexed to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (*ibid.*, annex II). The international community should endeavour to define the crime of *apartheid* in unequivocal terms and, in that regard, he felt that the definition contained in article II of the draft protocol was eminently suitable. In addition, it would be advisable to devise the kind of machinery required to supervise the implementation of the provisions of the instrument envisaged. In the view of his delegation, the adoption of such an instrument should be made to coincide with the launching of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. At the same time, he wished to emphasize that the most effective action against racial discrimination was political action, primarily through those organs of the United Nations which were empowered to adopt punitive measures against States which consistently defied the resolutions of the United Nations and jeopardized international peace and security.

33. Mr. TEKOAH (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that at the previous meeting the USSR representative had again indulged in the usual historical distortions of zionism, which contradicted not only the facts but also statements made by Soviet representatives in the past. It was sufficient to recall that, in 1948, Mr. Gromyko had said in addressing the Security Council¹ that the Soviet delegation could not but express surprise at the position adopted by the Arab States which had been engaging in military operations aimed at the suppression of the national liberation movement in Palestine. That national liberation movement had been none other than zionism.

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year, No. 77*, 309th meeting.

34. The USSR representative had read out a letter written by Jewish immigrants in Israel who had wished to return to the Soviet Union. The fact was that they were completely free to go. Israel's sole desire was that Jews who wished to leave the Soviet Union should be allowed to do so. At the same time, the Soviet representative had ignored the existence of another letter submitted for the consideration of the Committee (A/C.3/629) which gave the lie to his idyllic description of the rights enjoyed by the Jews in the USSR. Further information had recently been received about violations by the Soviet authorities of the most basic rights. The *New York Post* of 10 October 1972 had recounted the story of a Russian Jewish scientist who had been subjected to all kinds of harassment because he had protested at the tax imposed by Moscow on Soviet Jews wishing to emigrate to Israel. In a collective letter addressed to the President of the Supreme Soviet in March 1972, a group of Jews from Kovno had asserted that they were being discriminated against because they were Jews and had asked to be allowed to leave for Israel. The Committee might well ask whether other Jews like the scientist referred to earlier had not been undergoing torture at the very time when the Soviet representative had been speaking.

35. Mr. MOUSSA (Egypt), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that at the previous meeting, the Committee had witnessed the start of the Israeli winter propaganda campaign. The representative of Israel had not uttered a single word about *apartheid*, racial discrimination or the measures that must be adopted to eradicate those evils, above all in southern Africa. He had, on the other hand, made a statement which had had nothing to do with the item under consideration. It was, in fact, a propaganda campaign designed to politicize the matter—in other words, exactly what the Committee had tried by every means to avoid so that it could arrive at positive results.

36. The representative of Israel had said that a large part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights had been written with the blood of 6 million Jews, but he had forgotten to say that it was the Zionists who were now violating most of the provisions of that Declaration. Moreover, the Jews were nationals of the countries in which they lived, and only the representatives of those countries were entitled to speak on behalf of their nationals, regardless of their religion.

37. The Israeli representative had even dared to assert that zionism was the national liberation movement of the Jews. That argument was surprising in the extreme, for, if it was true, it would soon be said that *apartheid* was the liberation movement of the whites. In that regard, the link between zionism and *apartheid* was only too well known. It was enough to recall the statement by a Prime Minister of South Africa to the effect that Israel and South Africa had long maintained relations of friendship and mutual co-operation because the Jews were a people whose racial consciousness enabled them to understand and respect more easily the concepts prevailing in South Africa. The Zionist variant of *apartheid* was perhaps more subtle, but it was no less oppressive in Palestine and

in the Arab territories occupied by Israel. Wherever it was found, *apartheid* was nothing more than the imposition of inferior living conditions on a group of the population with a view to destroying it, and that was precisely what Israel was doing to the Arab population of the occupied territories. Those who practised *apartheid* were trying to prevent certain groups from developing and taking part in the life of the country, and that was exactly what Israel was doing. Under the policy of *apartheid* steps were taken to divide the population in accordance with racial criteria. In South Africa the population was divided into whites and coloured persons, and in Palestine into Jews and Gentiles. There could be no question that that was a manifestation of the racial discrimination which the United Nations was endeavouring to eradicate.

38. The representative of Israel had stressed the right of everyone to leave his country for any other, and

the United States representative had also referred to that right. However, both of them ignored all the other rights embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. His delegation wished to remind them that, like the right to leave any country, it had also been established that everyone had the right to return to his country. In accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the many resolutions adopted in that regard by the Organization, the Palestinians unquestionably had that right.

39. Lastly, his delegation urged all members of the Committee to prevent it from being used as a forum for Zionist propaganda. If the representative of Israel insisted on waging his campaign, his own delegation would be compelled to resort on every occasion to its right to reply so as to obviate misrepresentation of the facts.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.