



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 17th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.50 a.m.

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AGENDA ITEM 66: ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND OTHER FORMS OF ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO COLONIAL AND RACIST REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (continued) (E/CN.4/Sub.2/425 and Corr.1-3 and Add.1-7; A/35/419)

AGENDA ITEM 75: IMPORTANCE OF THE UNIVERSAL REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND OF THE SPEEDY GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES FOR THE EFFECTIVE GUARANTEE AND OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS (continued) (A/35/146, A/35/65, A/35/419)

1. Mrs. GUELMAN (Uruguay) said that Uruguay's position on the elimination of racial discrimination and the protection of the right of peoples to self-determination was well known. Racial discrimination did not exist in Uruguay, and Uruguayan opposition to it was embodied in internal law. In various international forums, Uruguay was co-operating intensively in the search for solutions to eradicate that evil. She was glad to note that many Latin American countries had ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, since that document reflected the region's uniform position of condemning all policies of racial discrimination. Nevertheless, her delegation felt concern at the fact that more countries had not ratified the Convention and, in particular, that only seven countries had made the optional declaration under article 14. It was essential, if the principles set forth in the Convention were to be implemented, that States should study the possibility of making that declaration; otherwise there was no adequate machinery to enable individuals who believed they were victims of racial discrimination to bring their complaints before the international community. Her delegation fully supported draft resolution A/C.3/35/L.4. Furthermore, Uruguay had submitted its sixth periodic report to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, in keeping with its policy of co-operation with that Committee.

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(Mrs. Guelman, Uruguay)

2. Although the independence won by Zimbabwe was an encouraging example for the international community and an inspiration for the efforts to achieve the independence of Namibia, her delegation noted with concern the lack of progress in the Namibian situation and the continuing illegal occupation of the Territory. The right of peoples to self-determination must be regarded as a natural right and one of the sources of all rights of the individual. It should also be considered in its entirety, covering not only political aspects but also social, economic and cultural aspects of the situation in each State. There was a close connexion between the principle of self-determination and that of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States; both were fundamental and unquestionable principles of public international law and gave rise to the right of each State to select a political, economic, social and cultural system in accordance with its sovereign wishes. The implementation of those principles would be possible only in the context of absolute respect among peoples and with maximum efforts within the United Nations.

3. Mrs. RAHMAN (Bangladesh) said that over the years, the international community had evolved certain essential standards governing the conduct of nations in the field of human rights on the basis of the principles set forth in the Charter. The International Covenants on Human Rights unambiguously declared that all peoples had the right to self-determination, and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples reaffirmed the principle that colonialism, alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constituted a denial of fundamental human rights. Unfortunately, enclaves of colonialism and alien domination still remained.

4. The right to self-determination and the attainment of political independence was the essential prerequisite of the attainment of human rights. The right to political freedom was so fundamental that it could not be denied on any pretext whatsoever. The international community was therefore duty-bound to support and expedite through active and constructive steps the irreversible process of the attainment of independence by the struggling peoples all over the world.

5. A brutal and extreme example of violation of human dignity and denial of the right to self-determination existed in southern Africa, where thousands of men and women were suffering under apartheid, the abhorrent policy of institutionalized racial discrimination, under which the majority population was denied representation, dispossessed, discriminated against in the economic field and intimidated and harassed through repressive legislation. Another blatant manifestation of racial discrimination and denial of the right to self-determination was the creation of the so-called "bantustans", the object of which was to deprive the members of the African majority of the right to nationality in their own country and relegate them to the status of undesirable aliens. Her delegation wished to pay tribute to the innumerable victims of apartheid and all those who were continuing to fight the brutal system of racial discrimination, many of whom had died for the cause of freedom and self-determination, while many others remained incarcerated in the prisons of South Africa.

6. South Africa had extended the abhorrent policy of racial discrimination to Namibia, a Territory which it occupied illegally, and on various pretexts it was

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(Mrs. Rahman, Bangladesh)

continuing to thwart the initiatives of the international community for the decolonization of Namibia through a peaceful and democratic process.

7. Bangladesh was fully and unequivocally committed to the eradication of apartheid. It could not accept any solution involving a mere modification of racism or any unilateral solution denying the people of South Africa as a whole its right to decide its own fate. All necessary steps must be taken to ensure the transfer of all powers to the people of South Africa as a whole, in accordance with their freely expressed wishes, without any distinction as to race and colour, in order to enjoy complete freedom and independence. Bangladesh recognized the legitimacy of the liberation struggle in South Africa. International efforts must also be directed towards the development, education and training of the South African refugees displaced from their homeland. The cardinal objectives governing the search for a just and lasting solution for Namibia required the immediate withdrawal from that Territory of the illegal administrative and military presence of South Africa and Namibian independence based on genuine elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations. All political prisoners must be unconditionally released, and all exiles permitted to return. South Africa must also cease forthwith all actions designed to undermine the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia. In spite of Decree No. 1 of the Council of Namibia, the illegal exploitation of the resources of Namibia continued unabated. The recent hearings conducted by the Council for Namibia had exposed the extent of the involvement of foreign economic interests in the illegal exploitation and export of Namibian uranium in flagrant violation of the Decree. The white minority and foreign multinational corporations had virtually monopolized all sectors of the economy, and the interests of the vast majority of the indigenous people had been completely relegated to the background.

8. The Palestinian people was also a victim of denial of the right to self-determination and independence; Bangladesh firmly supported the struggle of the Palestinian people for its inalienable right to self-determination and national independence.

9. The independence of Zimbabwe and the dismantling of the racist Southern Rhodesian régime clearly indicated that the days of racism and colonial domination were numbered.

10. Political self-determination was meaningless if it was not accompanied by economic emancipation. Universal realization of self-determination could not be achieved unless existing social and economic imbalances were remedied.

11. Mr. SREBREV (Bulgaria) reaffirmed his country's full support for all United Nations actions and decisions aimed at eliminating the last vestiges of colonialism and abolishing all forms of racial discrimination and the system of apartheid in South Africa. He also declared Bulgaria's support for the people of Namibia in their selfless struggle, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization, to achieve independence and for the oppressed people of South Africa in its just struggle to eradicate apartheid and racial discrimination. Although the policies of imperialism and racism had in recent years become somewhat more refined and subtle, they nevertheless continued to pursue a course that

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(Mr. Srebrev, Bulgaria)

contradicted the objective needs of mankind's historic development. True to its imperialist nature, the racist régime in South Africa was resorting to well-tested methods, such as the instigation of animosity and conflicts between peoples, the transfer of armaments and the dispatch of mercenaries, and to acts of aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent African States, especially the front-line States; those practices posed a grave threat to the peace and stability of the region. The threat had become more urgent in the light of the latest disclosures concerning attempts by the Pretoria régime, with the collaboration of certain NATO members and Israel, to produce nuclear weapons. The Governments of those countries bore full responsibility for the aggravation of the threat to peace. It was only through the massive moral, political, military, economic and other assistance provided by certain Western States that the racist régime of South Africa was able to survive. The total discontinuation of collaboration in any form with that régime was the most important task facing the international community.

12. Despite numerous appeals by the General Assembly to all Governments that had not yet done so to put an end to contacts with South Africa, more than 2,000 Western corporations, banks and foreign trade organizations, as revealed in the report of the Special Rapporteur on the adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa (E/CN.4/Sub.2/425 and Corr.1-3 and Add.1-7), continued to maintain and even expand their business relations with the racist régime. Furthermore, as the end of colonial rule drew closer, they were stepping up their greedy exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia and other colonial Territories around the world. That collaboration went far beyond mere profit-hunting, which was the inherent feature of capitalism, and encompassed a variety of wider political, economic and strategic interests aimed at preserving the neo-colonial structure in South Africa. Those were the real reasons behind the rigid opposition to the imposition of effective sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. Arguments put forward by certain Western States against such sanctions, as well as arguments used to explain their failure to comply with decisions already adopted, were utterly groundless, since some of those States had already given ample proof of their ability to exert political pressure by imposing embargoes, discontinuing aid programmes and taking other economic measures. It was now high time to give effect to the demands of the overwhelming majority of Member States for the total isolation of South Africa's racist régime. His delegation reaffirmed its readiness to assist in the establishment of a complete embargo against military deliveries and to support the adoption of comprehensive economic sanctions. In that connexion, it would be valuable to convene an international conference on sanctions against South Africa as soon as possible.

13. With regard to agenda item 75, his delegation considered the realization of the right to self-determination, particularly as it affected colonial countries and peoples, one of the most important objectives of the United Nations and an inseparable part of the struggle of progressive forces for the strengthening of peace and security in the world. Denial of the right to self-determination led to increased tensions in international relations and was incompatible with the norms of international law and the purposes and principles of the Charter. The

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(Mr. Srebrev, Bulgaria)

world still remembered the days when the imperialist Powers had sided with the colonialists in their persistent attempts to suppress the right to independence and self-determination of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and many other countries. It still remembered how an aggressive war had been waged against the people of Viet Nam in order to suppress their sovereign right to independence, and it knew very well who had vetoed resolutions in the Security Council in order to protect South Africa and deal a blow to the national liberation movements in southern Africa. The United Nations had long recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples for self-determination and independence by every means at their disposal, including armed struggle, and it continued to accord high priority to the struggle of the oppressed peoples in southern Africa and Palestine and the peoples of all colonial Territories to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

14. Against the explicit will of the international community, Israel was continuing its illegal occupation of Arab territories and brutally oppressing the Arab population. Israel's denial of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and its deliberate distortion of the purposes and goals of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people, were the most serious obstacles to finding a just and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict in the interest of all countries of the region.

15. Bulgaria was also concerned over the continued colonization of certain Territories in the Caribbean region and in the regions of the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans. The decolonization of those Territories, the granting of the right to self-determination to their populations, and the dismantling of foreign military bases and installations existing in some of those Territories were tasks of high priority for the United Nations. The prohibition of the use, recruitment, training and financing of mercenaries was also of great importance for the success of the struggle for independence. His Government supported the proposal to prepare a binding international instrument to establish such a prohibition.

16. In recent years, there had been attempts to encroach on the right to self-determination of peoples that had overthrown reactionary régimes and had begun reconstructing their societies and restoring basic human rights and freedoms. Efforts had also been made to usurp and distort the right to self-determination of peoples that had rejected foreign imperialistic and hegemonistic interference in their internal affairs and had revolted against inhuman and genocidal régimes. The same imperialist and hegemonistic forces were now engaged in a desperate propaganda campaign, feverishly trying to misrepresent their role and intentions and to shift the blame to others. It was no coincidence that among the few such voices in the Committee, representatives of States which pursued imperialistic and hegemonistic policies were side by side, including States which now paraded their allegedly constructive record on the right to self-determination even though their record of denying that right not only to colonial peoples but also to their own peoples was well known. States which had withdrawn under pressure from the stage of colonialism, no matter how gracefully, could not expect any applause.

(Mr. Srebrev, Bulgaria)

17. Bulgaria resolutely supported the efforts of the People's Republic of Kampuchea under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Council to rescue the country from a genocidal quagmire and rebuild it. It also supported the struggle of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan against incursions inspired by imperialist, reactionary and hegemonistic forces. His delegation would strongly oppose any attempts to divert the Committee's attention from the consideration of the serious problems before it and any attempts to disrupt the adoption of far-reaching decisions to guide the concerted efforts of the United Nations for the final eradication of racism, racial discrimination, apartheid and colonialism.

18. Mr. ARMALI (Observer for the Palestine Liberation Organization) said the PLO was pleased that the people of Zimbabwe had regained its freedom and independence, so that it could now embark upon the task of reconstruction and development, fulfilling its role in the international community, together with countries working for justice and peace and for the triumph of the just cause of the peoples struggling for their self-determination and independence. The success of Zimbabwe showed the inevitability of the victory of peoples still suffering under the yoke of colonialism, racism and zionism in the unequal struggle which they were waging against those scourges of mankind; it showed that the national liberation movements were the authentic representatives of their peoples and that any attempt to put forward a leadership other than that which the people had chosen was doomed to failure.

19. From the statements made in the Committee condemning the crimes of racism and racial discrimination, denouncing apartheid and proclaiming support for the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, it might seem that States were unanimous in condemning the Pretoria régime and that its days were numbered. Yet, behind their verbal denunciations certain Powers, such as the United States and the Western countries, as well as the Zionist entity, were still pursuing a policy of economic, financial and military co-operation with the white minority régime in South Africa. In particular, broad special relations existed between Pretoria and Tel Aviv, strengthened by the visits made in recent years to Israel by senior South African officials, who had concluded secret agreements with Zionist leaders, including, most recently, agreements on Israeli-South African nuclear tests which had been reported in the international press. Meanwhile the peoples of South Africa and Namibia were still being subjected to cruel repression and infamous discriminatory laws. They were hardly to be blamed if they resorted to arms and struggled by every means available against their oppressors. They had had enough of pious wishes and fine speeches, of resolutions expressing concern and condemnation while their executioners enjoyed impunity. They called for the speedy implementation of the resolutions adopted in their favour, for an immediate cessation of relations of every kind with the minority régime which oppressed them, and for sanctions against the Pretoria régime. They had the right to demand that all countries should provide military assistance to enable them to improve their conditions of struggle. The African peoples had realized that the only alternative left to them was to continue and intensify the armed struggle. They knew that they could count on their brothers in the same misfortune, the Palestinian people, and all peoples who valued justice and peace.

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(Mr. Arnali, Observer, PLO)

20. The racist Zionist régime of Israel was also continuing to deny the right of peoples to self-determination in the face of the powerlessness of the United Nations to put an end to its practices. The Zionist representative had talked in a reassuring tone about peace and coexistence with the Arab countries, but no one could believe him. Ever since its emergence at the beginning of the century, Zionism had been associated with colonialism, expansion and aggression, leading to the martyrdom of the Palestinians, who had been robbed of their lands, uprooted, expelled, persecuted and harassed with a view to their total elimination. The Zionists had tried to justify the biblical-mythological basis of their ideology; they had usurped the Palestinian Arab heritage and falsified history and geography. Yet those efforts could not be fully successful so long as a people aware of its rights and of the injustice perpetrated against it still existed. So long as Palestinians had confined themselves to publishing papers demanding justice or calling upon the international community to take up their case, there had been nothing to fear, but as soon as the Palestinian people had taken up arms as the sole means of regaining its rights, its freedom and its independence, it had had to be annihilated: that was the logic of colonialists and occupiers. Zionist policy and its military apparatus had been moving in that direction for 15 years. That was demonstrated by the frequent bombings of Palestinian refugee camps, resulting in thousands of civilian deaths and, above all, within the occupied Arab territories, by practices which were even more horrific than the crimes of Nazism. World public opinion was fairly well informed about the extent of those crimes because of the annual reports submitted by the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories. Zionist practices had also been condemned by the Commission on Human Rights at its session in February 1980.

21. The Zionist repression of the occupied Arab territories was becoming increasingly barbaric because the resistance of the Palestinian people to occupation had intensified, particularly after the signing of the Camp David agreements, which could only give rise to new wars because they disregarded the fundamental right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and perpetuated Israel's occupation of Arab lands. The agreements continued to be rejected unanimously by the Palestinian people, by the Arab peoples and by the overwhelming majority of the world's countries, including the countries of the European Economic Community, which had expressed strong reservations. The General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session had expressed the view that the Camp David accords were invalid. Their only value was that of electoral propaganda for one of the candidates in the United States presidential elections.

22. In that connexion, he stressed the constant hostility displayed by the United States Government towards the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, which ran counter to the wishes of the international community. The United States not only was continuing to supply the Zionist entity with economic and military assistance enabling it to step up its aggression against the Palestinian people and the Arab peoples but also was continuing to play a negative role in the Security Council and preventing a vote on a resolution reaffirming the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Although the United States posed as a champion of the right

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(Mr. Armali, Observer, PLO)

to self-determination of the people of Afghanistan, the duplicity and hypocrisy behind that attitude was evident. It was the fiercest adversary of that right where the Palestinian people was concerned. The least that could be said was that that double standard did no service to the cause of peace.

23. The only solution to the Palestine problem was the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, namely, its right to self-determination and national independence and its right to return to its homeland.

24. The Zionist political movement, which had developed and mobilized a particular form of Jewish nationalism, had been aimed not simply at conquering a territory and exploiting it, or even at creating a "national homeland" for persecuted Jews; it had been aimed from the start at establishing a specifically Jewish State, which involved the irreversible seizure of land and exclusion of the non-Jewish inhabitants from the region of settlement. Because of its racial and cultural exclusiveness, it refused all coexistence with Palestinians, and the most efficient modern methods in the sphere of the military, the police and propaganda had been used in furtherance of the plan to restore biblical Israel. That explained the Zionist desire to Judaize the Arab Palestinian land, the recent decision of the Knesset declaring Jerusalem the eternal capital of Israel, and the bloody repression of the Palestinian population in the occupied Arab territories and elsewhere. In face of that situation, the Palestinian people had no alternative but to continue to resist and to intensify its armed struggle against the occupier. It was proud to find at its side all peoples for whom dignity and freedom were more than mere words.

25. Mr. KHALIFA (Special Rapporteur), introducing his revised report (E/CN.4/Sub.2/425 and Corr.1-3 and Add.1-7), said that the report was a result of the desire of the Commission on Human Rights to identify companies, banks and other institutions which were providing assistance to the South African régime. The format of the report was rather unusual in that it was a list of individuals, institutions, including banks, and other organizations or groups, as well as representatives of States, whose activities constituted political, military, economic or other forms of assistance to the colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa. It should be seen as an appendix to the first report (E/CN.4/Sub.2/415) prepared in 1978. The purpose of the first report had been to study the hypothesis that any assistance to South Africa would have a negative effect on the human rights of the black majority. After that hypothesis had been proved, it was natural that there should be a second report identifying in a detailed list all those involved in providing such assistance.

26. The United Nations had spent many years adopting resolutions which denounced the situation in southern Africa. The time had now come to identify specifically the accomplices of the violators of human rights who victimized millions of Africans by practising racism, racial discrimination and apartheid. While the list was rather comprehensive, he believed that some cases had escaped attention. Deletions from and amendments to the list would be made in the future. What was important was that the Commission on Human Rights and the General Assembly now had a basic document

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(Mr. Khalifa)

listing those doing business with South Africa. The organizations and individuals listed would be asked to justify or defend their acts, and he felt that that was a bolder strategy than merely adopting denunciatory resolutions. That feeling was borne out by the many reactions to the publication of the report.

27. In compiling the list, which was now two years old, he had been astonished at the diversity of the businesses that had dealings with South Africa. The list included banks, transnational corporations and even cosmetics and chocolate companies. He had chosen not to differentiate between the types of businesses involved, since all were guilty of aiding the Pretoria régime. For example, while the dealings of the Nestlé company with South Africa might appear to be unimportant, it should be remembered that Nestlé was one of the largest Swiss companies and was obviously far more interested in profits than in the well-being of South African children.

28. The purpose of the list was not to take anyone to court, for it in no way established guilt and could not be used in any judicial investigation. It was intended to alert world public opinion and the parties concerned, so that the latter would have an opportunity to clear their names if they could indeed justify their activities. Silence on their part would be taken as an admission of guilt. In that connexion, he wished to thank the organizations and individuals that had gone to great lengths to dispel doubts about their activities in South Africa. Some firms had acted quickly to remove any stigma on their names, and he had promptly deleted their names from the list.

29. He felt some concern at the fact that among the 25 countries listed, only 7 or 8 had reacted to the report by expressing their views on it. Until recently, governmental and non-governmental organizations had been apathetic towards the report. However, they were now more sympathetic and were coming forward with information on the activities of organizations and individuals in South Africa. It had been argued by some that they had full liberty, under the principle of free trade, to deal with South Africa and that there was nothing in international law preventing such dealings; in other words, they condemned the racist régime but nevertheless co-operated with it. If the principle of free trade came into conflict with the principle of the dignity of mankind, he was surprised that anyone could suggest that free trade should prevail. That point of view indicated a complete lack of logic because everyone knew that any assistance to South Africa would only help to strengthen that régime, enabling it to crush any resistance on the part of the oppressed majorities and bolstering its economy and its military might.

30. While the list was currently limited to 25 countries, other names would be added when it was updated if substantive evidence was produced. In that connexion, he had received much new information because of his co-operation with the Security Council Committee Established by Resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa. There were serious indications that some countries were increasing their interests in South Africa; for example, the Federal Republic of Germany was now the third largest trading partner of South Africa, after the United Kingdom and the United States of America. France too was showing increased interest in its

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(Mr. Khalifa)

trade with South Africa, some of which was in the military field. There was also increased military co-operation between Pretoria and Tel Aviv, and Israel's position on Security Council resolution 418 (1977) was most equivocal. Its military collaboration with South Africa was well known.

31. The additional information submitted by non-governmental organizations with regard to trade with South Africa included national profiles received from anti-apartheid groups in France, Switzerland and the Federal Republic of Germany showing the roles of transnational corporations in South Africa. He had also received several briefs from the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility showing the interests of United States-based banking corporations, automobile manufacturers and other companies in South Africa.

32. Funds should be allocated for keeping the list up to date, and he was pleased to note that at its most recent meeting the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities had voted a sum for that purpose. Furthermore, in 1978 some delegations had indicated that they had pertinent information and would be willing to forward it to him; however, no such information had in fact been submitted and he now appealed to all who had information to make it known. The Commission on Human Rights, in its resolution 11 (XXXVI), had requested him to update the list every year and submit it to the Commission. He believed that it would be a very good policy if those updated lists were periodically brought before the General Assembly.

33. Mr. MALHOTRA (India) said that the process of decolonization which had followed the end of the Second World War had received a major thrust forward from the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The threefold increase in the membership of the United Nations since its inception was a testimony to the great advances made in promoting the cause of the independence of colonial peoples. That was all the more remarkable because the right of self-determination which formed the basis for the emergence of former colonial peoples to independent nationhood had not been so clearly accepted as a right at the time of the founding of the United Nations.

34. The process of independence and the attainment of the right of colonial peoples to self-determination had advanced tardily, generally under the pressure of international opinion and sometimes as a result of revolutions. In many instances, the capability of a people to govern themselves had been questioned as a pretext to delay, if not thwart, the exercise of the right to self-determination. India itself had been the victim of such questioning, which had led Mahatma Gandhi to declare that the people of India would rather have freedom with chaos than colonialism with order.

35. During the course of its great struggle to attain independence from colonial rule, India had evolved the concept of "swaraj" or self-government. In 1905, one of the leaders of India's independence movement had declared that swaraj was his birthright. There could be no better definition or justification for self-determination. India's unflinching support for the rights of all peoples under colonial and alien domination flowed from the noble ideals that had inspired its independence.

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(Mr. Malhotra, India)

36. It was heartening that over the past three decades so many colonial peoples and Territories had attained independence, the most recent examples being the peoples of Zimbabwe and of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. The emergence of those two independent nations reflected credit on all the parties concerned in bringing to an end yet another chapter in the history of decolonization. The international community had played an important role in the struggle for the right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination. The acknowledgement of that role by the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe in his address at the eleventh special session of the General Assembly should therefore inspire the Organization to continue its efforts. It was an indication of the affection and high regard of the people of India for the people of Zimbabwe that the first journey abroad undertaken by Mrs. Indira Gandhi after her resumption of office as Prime Minister had been to Salisbury on the occasion of Zimbabwe's independence.

37. In contrast to the success of Zimbabwe, there was an urgent need to redouble efforts in helping the Namibian people win self-determination. The illegal racist régime in South Africa continued to flaunt its defiance of the will of the international community. Those who were contributing to the perpetuation of that hateful régime were accountable to the conscience of humanity. His delegation upheld the right of the Namibian people to attain self-determination by every means, including armed struggle. India did not, as a matter of general policy, uphold the use of violence, but the people of Namibia deserved the full sympathy and support of the world in their struggle, for they were fighting in the very name of humanity. It was necessary to mobilize the entire world community to ensure the right of the Namibian people to self-determination.

38. The Palestinian people was also a victim of the denial of its right to self-determination. The policy of aggression and occupation followed by Israel made a mockery of the international community's will to enable the Palestinian people to exercise its right of self-determination. The annexation of East Jerusalem, an act for which Israel had found not one single supporter in the world, was one of the latest in a series of acts of provocation aimed at exacerbating tensions in the region thereby causing a grave threat to international peace and security. The United Nations had the responsibility to ensure to the people of Palestine the right of self-determination, a responsibility which could not be discharged effectively if the United Nations remained a mute spectator of the continuing denial of the Palestinian peoples' legitimate rights and aspirations.

39. His delegation was committed to upholding the right of all peoples under colonial and alien domination to self-determination. Eternal vigilance was the price of liberty, and no one who held liberty dear could afford to relax his vigilance.

40. Mrs. DA LUZ (Cape Verde) said it had been asserted by some that racial discrimination had been born at the same time as man himself. Certainly, attitudes of suspicion had always characterized relationships between human groups which had more or less significant differences. Later, wars of conquest and the submission and subjugation of conquered peoples had given rise to racist attitudes and the development of codes giving preferential treatment only to groups that were

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(Mrs. Da Luz, Cape Verde)

biologically or socially related. However, racism, based on the myth that there were superior races which had a right to dominate other races, had developed only with the rise of colonialism at the beginning of the sixteenth century. After the appropriation of land and the pillage of wealth and resources, exploitation had continued with the subjugation of men. That had been accomplished by such barbarous means that a need had been felt to create an ideological process to legitimize such acts of oppression. The doctrine of the racial superiority of the invader had become one of the pillars of colonialism, and the oppressed peoples had had to undergo endless suffering before regaining their freedom.

41. The existence of the Republic of Zimbabwe as an independent nation showed once again the transitory character of racist domination. Her delegation hoped that South Africa would understand that times had changed and that the overthrow of the colonial system and apartheid was inevitable. Anti-racist actions aimed at eradicating the scourge of racism and apartheid had increased since the 1970s. Her delegation was pleased to note that new States were acceding every year to 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. The Republic of Cape Verde had acceded to those Conventions on 3 October and 12 June 1979.

42. The report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination offered an encouraging picture of legislative and judicial measures adopted by Member States to prevent or punish racist activities. Cape Verde was aware of the limited application and effectiveness of those measures, but it was convinced that the Committee would not fail to raise pertinent questions, solicit clarifications and offer opinions that could help Member States to be more effective in the condemnation of racist activities through legislative means. Her delegation supported the Committee's proposal to meet in developing countries, with the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination covering the expenses of such meetings. Actions that publicized the work of the Committee among the victims who suffered the most from racial discrimination could provide the motivation they needed in their struggle for their legitimate rights. Her delegation supported draft resolution A/35/C.3/L.3, which recommended a second world conference to combat racism. Lastly, she welcomed the proposal for the convening in 1981 of a conference on sanctions against South Africa. She hoped that the actions of countries which had thus far supported South Africa would be consistent with their vigorous and almost belligerent words on the subject of human rights and that the United Nations would present a united front in defence of respect, equality, and human dignity.

43. Mr. MAKKI (Oman) said that his delegation welcomed the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (A/35/18) and deplored the attitude taken by the Israeli delegation vis-à-vis that Committee. It also welcomed the report submitted by the Special Rapporteur on the adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa (E/CN.4/Sub.2/425 and Corr.1-3 and Add.1-7). It was ironic that, despite all the progress made on other fronts, the world still had to contend with racism and racial

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(Mr. Malki, Oman)

discrimination, serious problems which had grave consequences in the international arena. His country resolutely condemned all forms of racism, including apartheid and zionism. Islam totally prohibited discrimination based on race, colour or creed. The domestic legislation of his country severely punished all violations of the principle of religious tolerance. His Government supported all resolutions and decisions aimed at the elimination of racial discrimination, which was an affront to mankind, a challenge to international law and a violation of human rights and of the United Nations Charter. Millions were still suffering from racial discrimination in South Africa and Palestine, and the international community should intensify its efforts to eliminate the problem.

44. Fortunately, the majority of the world's peoples had been able, with the assistance of the United Nations, to exercise their right to self-determination and independence and had taken their rightful place in the Organization. In that connexion, his delegation welcomed the admission to membership of Zimbabwe and of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. Unfortunately, other peoples continued to suffer under the yoke of colonial occupation. The Palestinian people had been expelled from its territory, and the Namibian people suffered under the alien apartheid régime. The United Nations must strengthen its support of those peoples in their struggle to achieve self-determination and statehood. No one doubted the nefarious effects of the policies of racism and apartheid in South Africa; similarly there was now incontrovertible proof of the dangerous effects of the Zionist doctrine adopted by the Israeli Government and designated as a form of racism by the United Nations.

45. His delegation was concerned at the fact that some States sought to exploit the principle of self-determination in such a way as to interfere in the internal affairs of States by providing illegal assistance to separatist movements in an effort to achieve hegemony in the regions involved. Such activities were a cynical violation of the noble principle of self-determination, leading only to increased tensions in those regions and posing a dangerous threat to international peace and security.

#### ORGANIZATION OF WORK

46. Mr. FARAH (Somalia) said that the African Group was engaged in the difficult process of preparing draft resolutions on the items before the Committee and would need an extension of the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions to 6 p.m. on Tuesday, 14 October.

47. The CHAIRMAN said that if there was no objection, he would take it that the Committee wished to grant the request of the representative of Somalia.

48. It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.