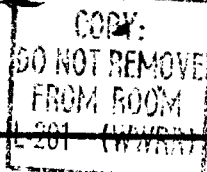


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THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION

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THIRD COMMITTEE
5th meeting
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Chairman: Mr. CALERO RODRIGUES (Brazil)

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ORGANIZATION OF WORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 75: 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) (A/37/333, A/37/413)

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1. Mr. DE FIGUEIREDO (Angola) said that the system of apartheid had ruined the lives of millions of people and threatened those of future generations. The entire third world was engaged in the struggle against apartheid, racism and racial discrimination; however, for geo-political reasons some countries and peoples had experienced the disastrous and dehumanizing effects of racism and racial discrimination at closer range. Angola was one such country, having suffered under that evil for some 500 years. Such discrimination still manifested itself in the racist Republic of South Africa, in Namibia and in the Middle East, where the Zionist State of Israel had duplicated the policies of its South African ally.

2. A minority group which imposed oppressive policies on the majority of the population, needed to establish a system to implement those policies. In turn, that system required partners for political, economic and social survival. Those allies who helped to maintain the apartheid structure were, legally and morally, accessories to the crime of apartheid which deny the South African people their human, civil, political and social rights. They also helped to enforce the denial of the Namibian people's right to self-determination and the violation of the territorial integrity of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe by the racist South African forces.

* To be issued.

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

3. Despite the imposition of sanctions, however, South Africa continued to receive assistance from foreign Governments, organizations, corporations and individuals. A total of 710 commercial concerns were listed as having had dealings with the Pretoria régime; all of them belonged to Western industrialized countries, including some permanent members of the Security Council. Furthermore, 467 commercial concerns were listed as having assisted South Africa in its illegal occupation and administration of Namibia. As a result, both South Africa's massive military machine and its nuclear capability had been developed with alarming efficiency, speed and co-operation from overseas. That military build-up affected not only the majority of the inhabitants of South Africa but also the entire nation of Namibia and most other African States south of the Equator.

4. South Africa's ally, Israel, was following similar tactics. The military adventurism and expansionism practised by both Pretoria and Tel Aviv showed the close links between zionism and apartheid. The two States, both outcasts in their respective regions, and having similar sources of support and similar policies, were brutally oppressing people from other races who held more legitimate historical claims to their territory.

5. South Africa and Israel both depended on institutionalized racism within their countries and armed aggression outside their borders to maintain their existence. Angola denounced racism in both its domestic and international forms and vowed to continue to fight for the elimination of apartheid and to condemn those who assisted the racist régimes. Angola called upon countries co-operating with South Africa to resist such co-operation and requested the Third Committee, the General Assembly and the Security Council to take effective action to stop such co-operation, thereby assisting in the elimination of racism and racial discrimination.

6. Miss DMITRIEVA (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), speaking on agenda items 76 and 80, said that the proclamation of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and the adoption of the Programme for the Decade and the programme of activities for the second half of the Decade, as well as other United Nations decisions, had helped mobilize world public opinion in the struggle to eradicate racism and colonialism and had resulted in greater condemnation of racists and their allies and sponsors. It was particularly satisfying that in the period concerned, as a result of selfless struggle, the peoples of a number of colonial Territories had won their freedom from the racist-colonial yoke.

7. On the other hand, the continuing existence of the racist apartheid régime in southern Africa provoked justifiable concern and indignation. Apartheid in South Africa, which had been elevated to the level of State policy and ideology and had been condemned by the United Nations as a crime against humanity, was apparent in every facet of life in that country. Numerous political, social and economic barriers had been erected to separate whites from blacks and other national groups. Through apartheid, the racists of South Africa were flagrantly violating the basic human rights of 21 million native Africans. The violence of the racists was constantly increasing as they brutally repressed peaceful demonstrations,

(Miss Dmitrieva, Byelorussian SSR)

tortured or killed patriots or members of the anti-apartheid movement and filled the prisons with opponents of the apartheid régime. The fate of Nelson Mandela, a prominent member of the anti-racist movement who had been imprisoned in South Africa for more than 20 years, had given rise to general concern.

8. However, the racists were ignoring all the appeals of the international community for his immediate and unconditional release and that of other prisoners of the apartheid system. One such appeal was the recent Declaration signed by more than 2,000 mayors from 53 countries, including the Chairmen of the Executive Committees of local Soviets of People's Deputies of many Byelorussian towns. Resolution 37/1 just adopted by the General Assembly contained an appeal for clemency in favour of South African freedom fighters condemned to death by the South African régime. It was indicative that, during the vote on that resolution, only the United States delegation had abstained and only a few delegations, mainly Western ones, had expressed reservations.

9. Ignoring the just demands of many international forums, the racist régime was increasing racial oppression and continuing its widely condemned policy of "bantustanization". Since 1962, more than 3 million people, mainly blacks, had been forced to move to the so-called "homelands", thus freeing 87 per cent of the overall territory of South Africa for the white minority and creating camps to supply cheap labour, a sort of ghetto for the black population in which they perished from hunger and poverty. By and large, the oppression in South African encapsulated the very essence of capitalist exploitation.

10. The South African racists were also applying their policy of apartheid to the illegally occupied Territory of Namibia, which they used as a springboard for continued aggression against neighbouring African States. There was no doubt that the Pretoria authorities would not be able to continue their criminal policy, to threaten international peace and security and to ignore the demands of the world community without the comprehensive and ever-increasing co-operation it enjoyed from the main Western member countries of NATO and their monopolies. The apartheid régime could not exist without the support it received from certain Western countries. That support enabled it to create and develop its economic and military, including nuclear, capacity and its military and police machine of aggression and of suppression of the national liberation movement. Foreign investment in South Africa totalled more than \$35 billion and South Africa's foreign trade also accounted for tens of billions of dollars. Banks in Western countries, first and foremost the United States, Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany, continued to finance the racist régime.

11. Similarly, the main member countries of NATO and Israel, along with many of their transnational corporations, were co-operating with South Africa in the economic and military, including the nuclear, fields. Those countries had been condemned in a number of General Assembly resolutions, inter alia, because of the support they provided South Africa, thus preventing the United Nations from adopting effective measures against the Pretoria racists. The United States policy of developing "friendly" relations with the racist régime had to be condemned,

(Miss Dmitrieva, Byelorussian SSR)

since it amounted to connivance with the South African racists and encouraged their aggression, in direct contravention of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions concerning the need to isolate the régime and observe the sanctions already imposed by the Security Council. The way in which the United States and a number of other Western countries were preventing the Security Council from adopting comprehensive sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter was a further example of the protection being provided to the South African racists. Their attempts to justify their sabotage of the efforts of the international community in the struggle against the apartheid régime were clearly unfounded.

12. The policy of racial discrimination practised by Israel in the occupied Arab territories was another example of racism and apartheid. The Israeli military aggression against Lebanon was accompanied by a policy of genocide against the Arab people of Palestine. Through its crimes, made possible by the comprehensive political, military and economic assistance it received from its overseas sponsor and by the separate Camp David deal, the Israeli military machine had further revealed the essence of the ideology and practice of zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination.

13. Racism and racial discrimination were the product of the system of exploitation and the anti-popular policy of the ruling classes. That could be seen from the unequal position of the non-white population, foreign migrant workers and other population groups in certain developed capitalist countries. Such people were unmercifully exploited in capitalist societies and provided the source of an army of unemployed and illiterate, poor and homeless. They were also becoming the objects of persecution and physical violence from Fascist organizations, such as the Ku Klux Klan, who were with impunity expanding their activities in a number of Western capitalist countries. It was surely for those reasons that the countries concerned refused to take part in measures adopted in the context of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, an attitude that had recently been reflected in their boycott of the work of the Preparatory Sub-Committee for the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The same countries had not yet ratified the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, which, together with the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, was an important international legal document which, if put into practice by all States, would undoubtedly promote the achievement of the aims of the Decade.

14. She said that her country's position of principle on questions relating to the struggle against racism and racial discrimination was derived from the nature of its socialist system, where all peoples and nations enjoyed true equality of rights, which was guaranteed not only in law but in practice. Finding a just solution to the question of nationalities within the family of peoples of the USSR had been one of her country's greatest achievements. Detailed information on the subject could be found in the reply of the Byelorussian SSR contained in document A/37/338.

/...

(Miss Dmitrieva, Byelorussian SSR)

15. In keeping with the sympathy felt by the people of her country with the struggle of peoples for self-determination and national freedom and against colonialism, racism and racial discrimination, the Byelorussian SSR supported the implementation of United Nations resolutions aimed at eradicating racism and racial discrimination and the adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. In view of the need to promote further efforts on the part of the international community to combat racism and racial discrimination and Fascist, neo-Nazi and Zionist ideologies founded on theories of racial supremacy, she reiterated her country's full support for the Programme for the Decade, and the programme of activities for the second half of the Decade and the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the 1978 World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and its appeal that all countries should strictly fulfil the provisions of those documents. In that connection, the Byelorussian SSR expected that the Second World Conference would substantially contribute to the achievement of the noble goals of the Decade. In the light of the above, her delegation fully supported the recommendations of the Economic and Social Council in draft resolutions A/C.3/37/L.3 and L.4.

16. Mr. ABAWI (Afghanistan) said that, in view of the offensive being waged by the peoples of southern Africa against the bastions of racist barbarism, the task of exposing the close relationship between imperialism, racism, apartheid and colonialism was of particular relevance. It was well known that the apartheid system had developed at a time when liberation movements in Africa and other parts of the world had received new impetus as the result of the changes in the international balance of forces. Racist régimes had wantonly ignored the United Nations Charter while being supported, or at least tolerated, by the imperialist Powers.

17. Without military, economic, political and other support from imperialist countries and transnational corporations, the racist régimes could not have survived. South Africa was itself an advanced imperialist country having close economic, political and military ties to other imperialist Powers which had derived enormous profit from racist exploitation and oppression. Racism and apartheid therefore constituted integral parts of the imperialist system, and the provision of assistance to South Africa by imperialists was mutually beneficial. Committee members should bear that in mind when listening to the statements of some delegations from imperialist countries which claimed to advocate human rights and self-determination, when they had in fact spent decades supporting incessant violations of those rights by racists.

18. The assistance and co-operation provided by the imperialist countries to the racist South African régime was perhaps the most reprehensible action facing the international community at the present time. His delegation believed that if such co-operation continued, the United Nations would inevitably adopt some practical and appropriate measures to deal with it. Afghanistan maintained no political, economic, commercial or cultural relations whatsoever with the South African racist régime and insisted on the imposition of sanctions in accordance with the relevant

(Mr. Abawi, Afghanistan)

Security Council resolutions, and the tenets of the United Nations Charter. Afghanistan supported the request to the Special Rapporteur to continue to update his report on economic activities in South Africa and Namibia, and felt that consideration of the revised report should be accorded priority by the Committee during the current session.

19. Mr. MUJEZINOVIC (Yugoslavia) said that Yugoslavia had consistently attached the highest importance in numerous forums to the international struggle to eliminate apartheid and other forms of racism and racial discrimination. It had always rejected most vehemently the very idea of the existence of the criminal racist régime in South Africa and had condemned its brutal oppression of the black majority in South Africa and of the Namibian people. It would continue to give total support to the legitimate struggle and aspirations of the peoples of southern Africa and their liberation movements until they had recovered their dignity and achieved national independence.

20. His delegation wished to focus on the steps that needed to be taken in the near future to prepare for the Second World Conference. Those preparations had been started earlier in 1982, when the Preparatory Sub-Committee had, inter alia, decided on the agenda for the Conference. Preparations had continued during the first regular session of the Economic and Social Council, held in April 1982, and had resulted in the adoption of a resolution on the World Conference. In that regard, he wished to reiterate his delegation's view, which had guided it in the course of the negotiation of that resolution, that the issue of apartheid, racism and racial discrimination was of such paramount importance and urgency that no single delegation claiming to be sincerely concerned with all aspects of it should at any time abandon efforts to find a common ground for the success of the Conference. Basic pre-conditions for that success were an active participation in the preparations, a constructive approach to negotiations and a sense of responsibility on the part of all States for the success or failure of the Conference. That was the least that the representatives of the free peoples of the world owed to the millions of southern Africans and Palestinians who had been humiliated, deprived, arrested, tortured and murdered.

21. The right to self-determination, which was a basic right of all peoples, was still being denied to the peoples of Namibia and Palestine, in disregard of resolutions and decisions of the Security Council, the Organization of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement, various bodies of the United Nations and international conferences. That denial thus perpetuated the violation of the right of all peoples to determine freely their political status, pursue freely their economic, social and cultural development and exercise their legitimate right to sovereignty over their national resources in the interests of their national development. In that context, his delegation also supported the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

(Mr. Mujezinovic, Yugoslavia)

22. The right to self-determination of Namibia and Palestine must be exercised in the interest of world as well as regional peace and justice. In addition, the armed aggression of the South African racist régime against the sovereign States of Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and other front-line States must be stopped in the interest of peace and security for all.

23. He expressed his delegation's appreciation for the important work done by the Special Rapporteur and its support for the continuation of his mandate to compile a list of banks, transnational corporations and other organizations and companies doing business with the South African racist régime. His delegation also commended the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination for its significant contribution to the struggle against apartheid, racism and racial discrimination, and for the protection of the rights of minorities and migrant workers and their families. It supported the decision taken by that Committee to elaborate studies on articles 4 and 5 of the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination for the Second World Conference and urged it to explore the possibility of conducting a similar study on paragraph 5 (e) of the Convention.

24. Mr. MI Guojun (China) said that "respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples", as stated in the Charter, was an obligation for all Member States. Recognition of the right to national self-determination implied respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States and freedom from foreign intervention. However, the right to national self-determination was currently being violated in many instances. Certain places continued to exist under the most reactionary and barbarous colonial rule, while some independent countries were experiencing gross violations of their sovereignty by foreign armed aggression, occupation, intervention and control.

25. The question of Palestine was evidence of Israel's violation of the right to self-determination. Since 1948, Israel had used armed conflict to seize large tracts of Palestinian and Arab territory and had persisted in its efforts to occupy those lands through concerted efforts to change their legal status, geographical situation and demographic composition. Israel continued to intensify its efforts to implement its plan for expansion despite the adoption of a number of relevant resolutions by the General Assembly and Security Council.

26. In July 1981, Israel had dispatched its forces into Lebanon and had bombed Beirut. In early June 1982, it had launched a larger attack against Lebanon and the Palestinian liberation forces, destroying Beirut and murdering innocent civilians. Following the withdrawal of Palestinian armed forces from Beirut, Israel, instead of withdrawing from Lebanon, had violated relevant agreements and had planned a bloody massacre in the Palestinian refugee camps. Facts showed that the Israeli design was to exterminate the Palestinian armed forces, perpetuate its occupation of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and other parts of occupied Arab territory and establish a sphere of influence in Lebanon. The United States could not disclaim responsibility for that, since it had always shielded and abetted the Israeli aggressors.

(Mr. Mi Guojun, China)

27. However, the just cause of the Palestinian people would continue to win the sympathy and support of the Arab countries and peoples of the world. A comprehensive, just settlement of the question of the Middle East could be achieved only on the basis of respect for the national rights of the Palestinian people and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Arab countries. Israel must withdraw from the Arab lands, including Jerusalem, which it had occupied since 1967. The rights of the Palestinian people to establish and reconstruct their homeland must be restored.

28. The armed occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union and the Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea also constituted serious violations of States' sovereignty and right to self-determination. The aggressors had defied the international community and the relevant General Assembly resolutions in refusing to withdraw their troops. They were attempting to whitewash their crimes under the guise of "implementing treaty obligations", "upon request", "to help defend independence, sovereignty and resistance against external intervention and aggression". They had even made the absurd claim that they had helped Afghanistan and Kampuchea restore their right to self-determination.

29. It was none the less a fact that the Soviet Union and Viet Nam had, by means of blatant armed aggression and occupation, deprived the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples of their most fundamental right to life, to say nothing of their right to national self-determination. In view of the continuing occupation of Afghanistan and Kampuchea and unwillingness of the aggressors to implement General Assembly resolutions in that regard, the General Assembly must continue to work towards a complete withdrawal of the occupying forces from those two countries.

30. His delegation wished to commend the Preparatory Sub-Committee for its work on the Second World Conference. It fully believed that that Conference would help intensify the world-wide struggle against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid, and intended to participate actively in the conference to ensure its success.

31. The South African racist régime remained the most unyielding bastion of colonialism. It had brutally oppressed black residents of South Africa, promoted a policy of sham independence for the bantustans and arbitrarily rejected General Assembly and Security Council resolutions in order to obstruct the independence of Namibia. Recently, it had recommenced large-scale aggression against Angola, bombing the Namibian refugee camps there. It had done so in an attempt to weaken the armed forces of South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and coerce the front-line States into withdrawing their support for Namibia. The South African authorities were thus putting up a last-ditch struggle to maintain their racist rule in Namibia. It was to be pointed out that one of the super-Powers had, through its support, abetted the South African racist régime in its crimes.

(Mr. Mi Guojun, China)

32. It was clear that the struggle against racism and racial discrimination remained arduous and required further efforts. He called upon the international community to act in concert to impose comprehensive sanctions against the racist South African authorities in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. Individual Governments must take measures to halt any exchange with the South African authorities in political, economic and military affairs, trade, culture, sports and other fields, in order to maximize the régime's isolation.

33. Mr. SCHLEGEL (German Democratic Republic) said that the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had lent considerable weight and a sense of firm determination to the actions undertaken to eradicate those two evils. Prominent among the successes of the Decade was the victory of the people of Zimbabwe over their colonialist and racist oppressors, an event which further fortified the conviction that neither force, terror nor colonial enslavement could prevent peoples from shaking off the chains of subjugation. In keeping with its fundamental anti-racist attitude, laid down in its socialist Constitution, the German Democratic Republic had attached great importance to the Programme for the Decade from the start and had contributed actively and in many ways to the struggle against racism. The periodic report submitted to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination at its twenty-sixth session (CERD/C/89/Add.1) contained a detailed survey of the measures undertaken by his Government.

34. In spite of all the efforts undertaken by the international community and the successes recorded, racism still persisted, and the dignity of millions of human beings continued to be flouted. Coloured citizens or foreign workers in capitalist countries were being deprived of their rights and discrimination continued to be practised against national minorities and indigenous peoples. In a number of countries, racism and hatred directed against other peoples and races was on the increase in the form of Fascist practices. Drawing particular attention to the shameful acts of the apartheid régime, he said that apartheid was synonymous with racism raised to the level of official state policy, and manifested itself in the brutal subjugation of the people of South Africa, in terror and the murder of freedom fighters as well as in the continuing occupation of Namibia and in the repeated acts of aggression against Angola.

35. There was an appalling resemblance between the terrorist practices of the apartheid racists and the methods being employed to oppress the Arab population in the Israeli-occupied territories. The Israeli attack on Lebanon and the abominable massacre in Beirut had added a new dimension to the record of horror in that region, inevitably conjuring up visions of atrocities committed in the past. A number of speakers at the resumed seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly had rightly compared the policy of physically exterminating the Palestinian people to the genocidal policy of fascism during the Second World War. The costly struggle against racism showed that it was necessary to check the practices as soon as they manifested themselves. Given the bitter experiences of the past, that lesson also applied to the dangerous activities of neo-Nazi and Fascist elements, which, encouraged by the policy of confrontation and exacerbating

(Mr. Schlegel, German
Democratic Republic)

international tension pursued by the most aggressive forces of imperialism, had started to reappear. It was therefore imperative to adopt, both at the national and international level, measures to stop that dangerous trend, as called for in General Assembly resolution 36/80.

36. It was clear that resolute action must be pursued or newly initiated after the end of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. His country therefore welcomed the convening of the Second World Conference and, together with all other peace-loving forces, placed high hopes in it. Its task was to generate a new momentum for the final eradication of racism. As a member of the Preparatory Sub-Committee, his country was particularly committed to that cause and fully supported the Sub-Committee's recommendations contained in document E/1982/26, which were submitted after thorough debate among the representatives of four regional groups. It was, however, bewildering to see that the very States which refused to co-operate responsibly in the work of the Preparatory Sub-Committee were now seeking to revise the results attained.

37. In conclusion, he stressed that the German Democratic Republic was proud to be involved with the struggle of peoples still subjected to colonial and racist oppression and of their national liberation movements. It would continue to render comprehensive support to all those fighting against racism, fascism and war. It deeply sympathized with the battle of all peoples still exposed to racist and colonial oppression and supported united action by all peace-loving forces to achieve the goals of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

38. Mr. DE CRUZ (Singapore) said that, while the principle of a nation's or a people's self-determination was upheld with great eloquence and passion, at the same time it was abused by flagrant military force. The law of the jungle prevailed in the international community, where there was a tendency for the big Powers to dominate and occasionally engulf the weaker ones. Accordingly, there had been numerous violations of the principle of independence and self-determination because of politics based on power. In the United Nations, the violators of international law then proceeded to proclaim their indignation at being labelled aggressors.

39. Because small States did not have the means effectively to resist such territorial violations, it was imperative that the cherished principles of the Charter concerning self-determination, independence and territorial integrity be clearly established in the conduct of international relations. It was also vital to establish the principle that foreign aggression could not be justified merely on the grounds that a State did not like the domestic politics of a neighbouring country. That excuse for invasion had in fact been used in South-East Asia. If small States allowed such precedents to be set, then a chain reaction of international aggression would be unleashed and anarchy would prevail. The big losers in such a situation would be the small States, and the painful process of decolonization and self-determination would have to be started all over again with even less chances of success.

(Mr. De Cruz, Singapore)

40. Singapore, which was very small, was all too aware of the pressing necessity of small States to ensure that norms of international behaviour did not prejudice their security. It was for that reason that Singapore had been exceptionally vocal in condemning such violations of international law and of the right to self-determination. With regard to Afghanistan and Kampuchea, for example, Singapore had keenly advocated the restoration of those countries' right to self-determination and of their human rights. Singapore had actively supported all United Nations resolutions calling for the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces from those countries. Despite those resolutions, however, the foreign occupiers of Kampuchea and Afghanistan continued to hope that the international community would tire of those conflicts and accept the situation. He hoped that that would not occur: for small States, the upholding of the principle of self-determination could one day make the difference between independence and extinction.

41. The conflict in the Middle East remained unresolved largely because the use of force, or the threat of the use of force, was being implemented for political and territorial gains. The principle of self-determination was being continuously violated by parties to the conflict. Singapore supported all resolutions and declarations that called for the immediate cessation of Israel's occupation of Arab territories, acquired during the 1967 war, and reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Palestinians to a homeland, just as Israel had the legitimate right to exist. Singapore also joined the international community in strongly deploring the recent massacre of innocent Palestinians in the refugee camps in West Beirut. That incident underscored the pressing need for a comprehensive, just and peaceful settlement of the Palestinian problem.

42. In Namibia, it was extremely unfortunate that moves bringing about conditions leading to its decolonization and independence were still being hampered by South Africa's stubborn refusal to give up control of that country. In keeping with Singapore's advocacy of the principle of self-determination, it had at international forums consistently supported calls for the people of Namibia to be permitted to exercise their right to self-determination and independence under United Nations auspices. Singapore therefore recognized SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia.

43. The issue of racial discrimination, which was the negation of human rights, was another pressing issue which confronted the international community. Indeed, some delegates had linked the issue of racial discrimination to the question of self-determination. Singapore, which had four distinct races, was a model of racial harmony. Racial discrimination was evident in many countries, but none more so than in South Africa, where the abominable policy of apartheid was in force. Singapore had consistently supported resolutions condemning the apartheid policies of South Africa and would continue to do so with a clear conscience, because racial discrimination denied everybody the basic right to dignity and honour.

(Mr. De Cruz, Singapore)

4. While racial discrimination had reached its lowest depths in South Africa, it must be understood and attacked within the wider context of racism in general. Manifestations of racism were no longer a simple question of conflict between whites and blacks. It afflicted both the developed and the developing world. All new that there was oppression by people of their own races and the third world could not successfully fight white racism if it itself indulged in racism. Racial oppression could not be fought on the basis of discrimination.

5. The issues of self-determination, racial discrimination, decolonization and human rights were interlinked and represented the struggle of the third world to divest itself of the vestiges of its colonial rulers. Every assistance must be given to those efforts. Similarly, for those States that had become independent, but had subsequently been subjected to renewed aggression, every form of support at the United Nations and elsewhere should be accorded to them to reinstate their rights to sovereignty, territorial integrity and self-determination.

6. Ms. ROSER (Federal Republic of Germany) said that the right of self-determination of nations was a fundamental principle of her country's constitution. For that reason, the Federal Republic of Germany had consistently supported all efforts to secure the exercise of the right of self-determination all over the world. By the same token, it demanded that right for the German people, who had to live divided against their will. It was therefore the declared aim of the Federal Republic of Germany to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation would regain its unity through free self-determination.

7. The right of self-determination could only be realized if a nation was given the opportunity, in an on-going process of decision making, to choose freely between political alternatives in referendums and elections. In that way, each individual participated in the exercise of that right. It followed that a nation could be said to have realized the right of self-determination if individual citizens could fully enjoy their fundamental rights and freedoms, such as freedom of speech, freedom of information, freedom of assembly and association as well as the right to move freely within their own country and to leave any country, including their own.

8. While the community of nations had seen many positive developments towards the universal realization of the right of self-determination, it was still witnessing violations of that right and of the independence of nations, violations which in some cases even involved continued military intervention across national borders. It was therefore the duty of the United Nations to ensure that the old form of colonialism was not superseded by an ideologically motivated colonialism and a new policy of hegemony.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

49. The CHAIRMAN said that, if there was no objection, he would take it that the Committee agreed that the list of speakers on agenda items 75, 76, 79 and 80. should be closed at 6 p.m. that day.

50. It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 4.40 p.m.