



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 9th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. SOBY (Egypt)

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ORGANIZATION OF WORK

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The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 73: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME FOR THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued) (A/34/411, A/34/3/Add.22, A/34/357, A/34/389 and Corr.1)

AGENDA ITEM 86: ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued) (A/34/357, A/34/389 and Corr.1, A/34/499)

- (a) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (A/34/18)
- (b) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (A/34/441)
- (c) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF APARTHEID (A/34/442 and Corr.1)

1. Mr. EDIS (United Kingdom) confirmed his country's support for the Lusaka Declaration of the Commonwealth on Racism and Racial Prejudice.

2. In accordance with the wish of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination that the discussion of that subject should be self-contained, he would restrict his comments to the report of the Committee (A/34/18).

3. The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination was subscribed to by the great majority of States of all regions. The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination was, together with the Human Rights Committee, one of the more effective United Nations bodies in the field of human rights, as had been borne out at its recent sessions. The United Kingdom carried on a direct dialogue with the Committee through the periodic reports which it submitted and was taking measures to carry out its obligations under the Convention, in particular with regard to recourse procedures, to which it attached importance.

4. The United Kingdom had a few comments on some marginal aspects of the Committee's work; they were intended to be friendly and constructive, and did not detract from the United Kingdom's general support of the Committee but were intended simply to make sure that there was no misunderstanding. However, similar comments by his delegation and others in the Third Committee at the thirty-third session did not, to judge from paragraphs 21 to 28 of the report, seem to have been well taken by CERD. Paragraph 21 stated: "A few representatives, on the other hand, had expressed the opinion that the Committee had had the tendency to take up questions which lay outside its terms of reference, but those criticisms, in particular on the part of one State which was not a party to the Convention, seem to be mainly due to a desire for self-justification."

5. He found that an extraordinary remark to be addressed by the Committee to

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(Mr. Edis, United Kingdom)

States parties, particularly if it was intended to be directed towards the United Kingdom. He thought that his country had some status to comment on the work of the Committee, especially as it had scrupulously carried out its obligations under the Convention. He hoped that CERD would treat seriously the carefully considered comments which the United Kingdom, as a State party, was entitled to make in the General Assembly. What his delegation had said at the previous session was that "the Committee's effectiveness is to a great extent explained by the fact that it has on the whole limited itself to its specific terms of reference under the Convention. It is therefore regrettable that the Committee has begun to stray into areas which are not within their competence either because they are primarily political matters and therefore covered by other bodies within the United Nations system; or because they clearly do not come under the terms of the Convention" (A/C.3/33/SR.18, para. 88).

6. The Committee's recent sessions had, in his view, seen an accentuation of those trends. That was clear from the Committee's attempt to give binding force to its general recommendation IX, from its declarations and decisions on clearly political matters, and from its growing tendency to pursue questions whose relevance to the Convention was tenuous.

7. It followed from what he had said that his delegation would have strong reservations about any provisions in the draft resolution on the subject which endorsed or encouraged the aspects of CERD's activities he had mentioned.

8. Mr. HIRONGO (Zambia) said that the struggle against racism was of vital importance to peace and harmony among peoples and nations. Zambia had as neighbours the racist régime of South Africa and its satellite, Rhodesia, as well as Namibia, which Pretoria occupied illegally. The system of segregation according to skin pigmentation had been practised ever since the indigenous peoples had been dispossessed of their land by force and deceit. The system of apartheid had grown in intensity as the Pretoria régime had become a police state determined to perpetuate itself in power. The peaceful protests of the black population of South Africa had only evoked brutal reactions from the racist régime. In spite of their repression, the black people of South Africa remained determined to fight a system which had been classified by the international community as a crime against humanity. The oppressed people of South Africa had chosen to fight in order to regain their dignity and their inalienable rights.

9. In a frantic attempt to contain the discontent against the system, the Pretoria rulers were enforcing the notorious policy of bantustans, in line with the old tradition of divide and rule. In the final analysis, that policy sought to entrench the oppressive system.

10. South Africa's apartheid had been exported and was being practised in Namibia and also in Rhodesia. The black majorities in those colonies of South Africa were being subjected to inhuman treatment and institutionalized racism.

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(Mr. Nyirongo, Zambia)

11. The oppressed majority in southern Africa needed the support of the international community in their struggle. Zambia had always been prepared to render whatever support it could to the oppressed people of the region and their liberation movements. It was because of Zambia's stand that the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury had stepped up their military attacks against Zambia's territorial independence and sovereignty. In the attacks against Zambia and other front-line States, many civilians and thousands of innocent refugees from Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa had died. The racist régimes had been assisted in those cowardly acts of violence by some States Members of the United Nations through the sale of military equipment and through other forms of economic relationship. Zambia urged all States to refrain forthwith from any form of collaboration with racist régimes in southern Africa, since such collaboration was inimical to the interests of the oppressed people in the region and encouraged South Africa to maintain apartheid and to pursue its aggressive policies. The disgust aroused by the apartheid system should be demonstrated by rendering concrete forms of support for the elimination of the system, in accordance with the numerous United Nations resolutions declaring that apartheid constituted a threat to international peace and security.

12. Mr. HASSAN (Pakistan) said that Pakistan attached particular importance to the items on racism and racial discrimination, and had been among the first States to sign and ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

13. There was no place for racial discrimination in Islam, which condemned any distinction between human beings on grounds of race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin. It followed that the people of Pakistan abhorred racism in any form and that there were no policies, laws or regulations in Pakistan which could encourage racial discrimination.

14. At the world level, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had performed extremely valuable work in the fight of the international community against the evils of racism and racial discrimination.

15. Pakistan had extended its unreserved support to the Declaration and Programme of Action of the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held in 1978. His delegation would also support the adoption of the five-year programme of activities recommended to the General Assembly by the Economic and Social Council (resolution 1979/3).

16. Despite the considerable efforts that had been expended towards the goal of a world free from racial discrimination, the elimination of all forms of colonialism, foreign aggression and occupation, alien domination and racism had not been achieved. The peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia continued to be subjected to discrimination by minority racism régimes. His Government resolutely condemned the repressive actions taken by the Pretoria Government and the puppet régime in Salisbury against its inhabitants, supported the imposition of mandatory

(Mr. Hassan, Pakistan)

sanctions against the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury and would continue to provide material and moral assistance to the peoples struggling for freedom, independence, equality and human dignity.

17. As President Zia-ul-Haq of Pakistan had stated on the occasion of the observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on 21 March 1979, it was the duty of the international community to reaffirm its full support to the peoples of southern Africa in their struggle against the racist minority régimes until the hateful practice of racial discrimination was for ever banished from the continent of Africa.

18. Mr. ALI KHALIFA (Sudan) said that the discussions in the United Nations on the elimination of racial discrimination were as old as the Organization itself. The condemnation of racial persecution and discrimination proclaimed in resolution 103 (I) of 19 November 1946 had been confirmed and reaffirmed year after year. Nevertheless, the racist régimes of southern Africa were persisting in their inhuman policy of apartheid. The responsibility for that situation must be attributed not to the United Nations but to the Member States which, for reasons of military strategy, economic interest or ideology, were failing to respect the relevant resolutions. The United Nations could not attain its objectives if Governments did not bring their policies into line with the principles of the Charter.

19. He confirmed his country's consistent support for the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and vigorously condemned the racist policies and practices of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Israel. In his view, the Tel Aviv régime and the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes were two sides of the same coin, since zionism was a form of racism and racial discrimination. The international community, represented by the United Nations, had not only condemned racial discrimination as a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security, but had also recognized the legitimacy of the struggle against racial discrimination, including armed struggle. It had been firmly declared that direct armed confrontation with the racist régimes was the only viable course. In his view, it was not necessary to discuss options or select alternatives if the validity of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) was recognized and the provisions of that resolution were strictly implemented by means of a total embargo on arms for South Africa and the cessation of all types of military and economic co-operation with that régime.

20. The Sudan had acceded to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and noted with satisfaction the increase in the number of States parties to it. His delegation also supported the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council concerning the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination contained in document A/34/3/Add.22.

21. Mrs. THAPA (Nepal) said that, despite prolonged and strenuous efforts, the international community had not been able to eradicate completely the inhuman practice of apartheid. In his Report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General had rightly stated that one of the great challenges confronting the United Nations was the necessity of transforming the racial situation in southern Africa.

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(Mrs. Thapa, Nepal)

22. Nevertheless, it was encouraging to note the increase in the number of Member States which had signed, ratified or acceded to the international convention aimed at eliminating racial discrimination; as of 1 September 1979, 104 States were parties to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Nepal would spare no effort to fulfil its obligations under the Convention.

23. Racial discrimination did not exist in Nepal. Article 10 of the Constitution stated, inter alia, that all citizens had the right to equal protection under the law and that there could be no discrimination against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, sex, caste or tribe. Under the able and dynamic leadership of His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev, the people of Nepal were living in peace and harmony and working for the all-round development of the country.

24. Her delegation welcomed the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (A/34/18), which contained valuable suggestions for the implementation of the International Convention, and considered that the launching of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination was a major step towards the total eradication of those practices. The success of the Decade would depend in the final analysis on how far the community of nations could put pressure on the racist régimes of southern Africa to renounce the inhuman system of racial oppression.

25. The United Nations had declared that apartheid was a crime against humanity and in its resolutions had time and again urged the racist régimes to bring to an end their unjust policies. The International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, to which Nepal had acceded on 12 July 1977, urged the international community to take effective measures against those who committed the crime of apartheid.

26. Mere condemnation of discriminatory practices or the adoption of resolutions against them had not produced the desired results. It was a matter of urgency that Member States should take concrete measures, including mandatory economic sanctions, against those who pursued policies of racism and racial discrimination.

27. Mr. CAHANA (Israel) reminded the Committee that, because of hostile references to Israel and zionism, various resolutions of the United Nations had caused division among the Member States; many nations and international organizations which were noted for their support of the cause of human rights had expressed indignation at such resolutions.

28. It was regrettable that during the current debate certain delegations were trying to distract attention from the essential objective, the struggle against racism, and that deliberate attempts were being made to abuse the forum of the Committee by injecting into the debate spurious and extraneous allegations against zionism. When the Committee had recommended the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, Israel had firmly and unequivocally supported it, since the Jewish people had been the classic victim of racism in various parts of the world.

(Mr. Cahana, Israel)

29. Since its inception, the State of Israel had been guided by the principles of freedom, justice and peace, ensuring as far as possible equality of social and political rights for all its inhabitants. Israel had striven for the elimination of all distinctions based on race, colour and national or ethnic origin everywhere in the world, particularly as manifested under the apartheid régime in South Africa.

30. Nevertheless, Arab extremists and racists had lost no time in using the question of the struggle against racism for the purposes of their political and military belligerency towards Israel. By distorting the truth, and through political and economic pressure, in which oil and petro-dollars had played a decisive role, they had managed to inject their own prejudice and hostility towards Israel into the resolutions and declarations of the United Nations and other international forums.

31. Those who had launched a war of genocide against the Kurdish people, who had massacred over half a million blacks in Africa and maintained that the area extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf must be exclusively Arab and Moslem had the audacity to usurp the banner of the struggle against racism for their unholy war against a people which had been the classic victim of racism and was a consistent fighter against racial discrimination.

32. The unwarranted campaign to equate zionism with racism for purely political purposes had been launched several years previously in the United Nations and other international bodies. There was no similarity between zionism and racism. Although there were significant cultural differences between Israelis and Arabs, and although there was disagreement regarding Israel's military administration, there was nothing in the Israeli attitude towards the Arabs which could be described in terms of racism. Israel's approach to different Arab nations and groups was a function of their own political approach and their own conduct towards Israel, particularly in matters of security.

33. In condemning zionism, Israel's enemies were questioning the right of Israel to exist and to exercise its right to self-determination and sovereignty, in other words, they were questioning Israeli nationalism. That attitude was anti-Semitic in nature and tactics; it was one of the manifestations of the evil of discrimination which the Committee and the United Nations were striving to eliminate. Zionism was the oldest liberation movement and all it had aspired to obtain was the independence, peace and security which all other nations took for granted. To equate zionism with racism was to equate the nationalism of any other nation with racism.

34. The fact that the unholy alliance of anti-Semites and anti-Israelis had been able to accumulate a series of condemnations and vicious references to zionism in international resolutions and declarations showed their ability to manipulate the international organizations concerned in the mutilation of the truth and the distortion and abuse of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law and equity. Previous resolutions adopted by the Committee had encouraged the very evil which the Decade was designed to combat. Those resolutions manifested discrimination and incitement against a people, its nationhood and its inalienable rights.

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(Mr. Cahana, Israel)

35. If the struggle against racism was to be based on intellectual and moral integrity, the United Nations must first deliver itself from the cloud of cynicism and falsehood which would continue to hang over its efforts as long as zionism was equated with racism. He urged members of the Committee to reject the renewed attempt to perpetuate falsehoods and lies and to support whole-heartedly genuine efforts to end racism.

36. Mr. MAPKI (Oman) commended the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and welcomed the constructive co-operation which existed between the Committee and UNESCO in the exchange of information and knowledge concerning problems relating to all forms of racial discrimination.

37. Oman attached great importance to the problem of racial discrimination since it thought that it represented a threat to human civilization. Islam, the faith of Oman, prohibited any type of discrimination on grounds of colour, origin or religious belief. Its laws and legislation provided severe penalties for racial discrimination, which was regarded as an insult to human dignity and a violation of fundamental human rights. His delegation once again reaffirmed its support for the resolutions adopted at the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held in Geneva in 1978, in particular the Programme of Action adopted by the Conference and the resolution relating to zionism and racial discrimination adopted in 1979 by the Islamic Conference in Fez.

38. Despite the measures adopted by the United Nations and other organizations to eliminate racial discrimination and apartheid, that serious problem continued to represent a challenge to the international community, a situation that would continue as long as the racist régimes persisted in applying their practices and policies. In that connexion, the States Members of the United Nations should intensify their efforts to support the people of Palestine and the oppressed peoples of southern Africa in the continuing struggle they were waging against racist régimes.

39. Mr. TINOCO (Costa Rica) said that Costa Rica had had a particular interest in the recognition and development of all forms of human rights since the creation of the United Nations. In 1945 it had supported the incorporation in the Charter of a chapter relating to human rights, a proposal which had crystallized three years later in Paris in the promulgation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

40. Costa Rica had given special consideration to and co-operated in the struggle against apartheid, an odious form of discrimination which sought to establish two separate groups of human beings. Since the establishment of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Costa Rica had participated in all efforts to advance the struggle against apartheid and eliminate discrimination on grounds of colour, race, sex or any other circumstance. Costa Rica was among the 104 nations which had ratified the Convention and was one of the seven countries which, in accordance with article 14 of the Convention, had recognized the competence of the Committee to consider denunciations relating to transgressions of the provisions of the Convention.

(Mr. Tinoco Costa Rica)

41. Although Costa Rica had not submitted regular reports concerning the situation prevailing in that country with regard to racial discrimination, the fact was that there was nothing in its legislation which needed to be corrected in that regard. The article of the Constitution relating to human rights stated quite clearly that there could be no difference between individuals on grounds of race, sex or any other similar circumstance. Moreover, the Penal Code of Costa Rica stipulated that the establishment of any such distinction was an offence subject to severe penalties and provided for the implicit recognition of any United Nations agreement designed to strengthen respect for human rights and eradicate racial discrimination. Any infraction in that area thus constituted an offence, although there was no legislation which expressly stated so.

42. It was a cause for satisfaction for Costa Rica to implement and to live the principles proclaimed by the United Nations. He assured the Committee that the Government and people of Costa Rica would offer their constant co-operation in order to achieve the objectives set by the Third Committee, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the Decade, and expressed the hope that the Decade would prove successful.

43. Mrs. WINTER (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) said that the Declaration on Race and Racism, adopted by acclamation at the twentieth session of the General Conference of UNESCO, was complementary to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. It brought together various principles and objectives to face the challenges presented by racism, which were biological, sociological and juridical, as well as cultural, political, economic and ethical.

44. The Declaration was built on 10 basic points concerning the equality of all human beings (art. 1), racism (art. 2), racism and international relations, and hence the right to development (art. 3), apartheid and racial segregation (art. 4), the role of culture, education and communications (art. 5), the obligations of States (art. 6), the role of law (art. 7), the rights of individuals (art. 8), the international responsibility of States, including affirmative action, migrant workers and the need for a new international economic order (art. 9), and, finally, the obligations of international organizations, both governmental and non-governmental (art. 10).

45. The Declaration was an instrument of moral authority and was not binding. It showed the willingness of UNESCO to engage in continued collaboration with the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination since it urged member States to consider the possibility of ratifying international instruments in that field, in particular the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

46. Article 7 of the Convention was still the strongest link between the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and UNESCO, and the latter was gratified at the reinforcement given to that link by the Committee at its nineteenth session, which had been held at UNESCO headquarters at the invitation of the Director-General. In its resolution 2 (XIX), the Committee invited still further

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(Mrs. Winter, UNESCO)

collaboration from UNESCO and conferred on the latter additional tasks in the implementation of article 7. She reminded the Committee that UNESCO had submitted to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination at its seventeenth session, held in 1978, a comprehensive report on the implementation of that article (CERD/C/13). At that time, UNESCO had also given an undertaking that it would submit annual reports on its activities which were relevant to the implementation of that article. She was happy to be able to state that the Director-General intended to pursue as far as possible the suggestions made by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and that steps had already been taken to emphasize the complementarity between the UNESCO instrument and the Convention.

47. Mrs. TABATABAI (Iran) observed that, in discussing the question of racism, a distinction must be made between words and deeds. Some countries had expressed support for racial justice in the United Nations while at the same time giving aid and comfort to those who practised racism in its most vicious forms. The Iranian revolution was committed to the Koranic principles and rejected any discrimination against human beings on the basis of race, sex, wealth, colour, class or nationality. Unlike the previous régime, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, shortly after coming to power, had stopped the shipment of oil to Israel and South Africa and had broken off relations with those countries. The Islamic Republic of Iran had felt that it was its duty to announce its unconditional support for the oppressed peoples of the world, in particular the Palestinians and the blacks of southern Africa who were the most innocent victims of racial injustice in the contemporary world. It was no accident therefore that most of the racist régimes and their supporters were seeking to exploit tribal problems in various areas of Iran such as Kurdistan and Khouzestan.

48. She referred to the objective and subjective dimensions of racism, which were recognized in all their complexity by Islam. That recognition could not be comprehended if the standard of judgement was limited to materialism; for that reason, Islam taught individuals to replace materialistic values by spiritual values. A society which lacked a moral dimension inevitably degenerated into dictatorial and fraudulent practices. Her delegation hoped that the revolution which had taken place in Iran would be an example, and it would work continuously to minimize the discrepancy between words and deeds.

49. The CHAIRMAN said that, in keeping with the recommendation adopted by the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting, he would request that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be made at the end of the meeting, would limit the number of such statements to two per item for one delegation, and would allow delegations 10 minutes for the first such statement and 5 minutes for the second.

50. Mr. AL-JABIRI (Iraq), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that it was regrettable that, in the Committee's debate on the items concerning human rights and the elimination of racial discrimination, Israel should declare that its Government defended those principles and should seek to falsify available information by stating that it supported the Convention.

(Mr. Al-Jabiri, Iraq)

51. The Israeli system had the same basis as the South African and Rhodesian régimes. As early as 1897, in Switzerland, Herzl had called upon Jews of whatever nationality or language to leave their countries and move to Palestine to establish an exclusively Jewish State there, driving the Palestinians from their lands, dispersing them and wiping them out. The law of return on which Israel based itself was the same law underlying the European ambitions that had given rise to racist colonialism and established the Zionist State, where discrimination had been practised and the Palestinians had been prevented from exercising their legitimate rights. Those rights had been recognized by the United Nations in General Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX), which the representative of Israel was attempting to repudiate when he denounced its sponsors and those who had voted for it. Further, the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination held in Geneva in 1978, in paragraphs 18 and 19 of its report, had condemned the ideological relations between Israel and South Africa.

52. The United Nations should put an end to the practices of the racist entity of Israel, which insisted on continuing its occupation and its discrimination against the Palestinian people. He reminded the representative of Israel of the telegram sent to Israel by the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-fourth session urging Israel to desist immediately from those practices, which were a violation of human rights and of the Geneva Conventions of 1949. The representative of Israel should bear that in mind when he accused others of betraying the truth; he should also remember that Israel and South Africa maintained very close relations and that South Africa was oppressing the black population by using arms supplied by Israel in support of that policy.

53. The Arabs were not prejudiced against Israelis. The Jews expelled from Spain had been well received in the North African countries. All the problems encountered by the Jews were caused by the Zionists, who were plotting to make the Jews betray their own countries and even become spies, which exposed them to the operation of the laws applicable in such cases. It should be recalled in that connexion that the world-wide communication media were controlled by Israeli interests which defended that State.

54. One had to define who was an anti-Semite and who was a racist. The Arab nation had always lived in Palestine and was of the Semitic race. One should at the same time ask whether the French, American or British Zionists who wished Israel to deprive the Palestinian people of their rights were not racist. No citizen of another country had the right to settle in Palestine after its real inhabitants had been expelled.

55. The Kurdish problem in Iraq existed only in the imagination of Israel and the CIA, which had persuaded Mustafa Barzani to collaborate with them; the Iraqi people and their national leaders had foiled that plot, although, thanks to the arms supplied by Israel and the training of Barzani's followers, there had been 50,000 casualties. In any event, the situation had been resolved with the autonomy law of 1957, under which the Kurds had the mandate and civil authority to govern themselves.

56. One should also recall the resolution on the protection of minorities adopted by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination the previous year in Geneva, on which occasion both the Soviet and the United States experts had voted

(Mr. Al-Jabiri, Iraq)

against Israel and urged it to put an end to its inhuman activities against the Palestinian people.

57. It had been said that the presence of Egypt at the side of Israel would pave the way for peace in Palestine, but it was recognized that that assertion was false. The Arab nation had rejected the plan drawn up by the Egyptian leader and Prime Minister Begin. In that connexion, the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities had at its thirty-second session recognized that the formulas of self-government, autonomous government and autonomy differed completely from the principle of the self-determination of Palestine and it had urged all the States Members of the United Nations to fulfil faithfully the obligations incumbent upon them under the Charter and the pertinent United Nations resolutions and to support the Palestinian people in their struggle for the restoration of their rights in accordance with the United Nations Charter (E/CN.4/Sub.2/L.712).

58. Mr. ABDUL AZIZ (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that his delegation had always sought to provide specific facts and not false accusations which could later be held against it. The representative of the Zionist entity had hurled false accusations against the Arab countries, Arab civilization and Islam. He would point out certain facts in that connexion to clarify the position of the Arab countries.

59. Israel, which was the only State Member of the United Nations without fixed borders, did not respect human rights within its territory, for it made distinctions based on religion and origin. Because of its racist principles and its prejudices, there was no equality of rights and duties between Jews and non-Jews, as could be seen from Israel's very Constitution. The idea of granting Israeli nationality to all the Jews of the world and not merely to the inhabitants of its territory was incompatible with the concept of the modern State, which exercised sovereignty in a specified area of the world and over the inhabitants of that area and not over all the members of a particular race or religion. On the basis of the Israeli position, one could urge all the Christians and all the Moslems of the world to settle in Palestine.

60. The Arab nation was not waging a religious war against Israel nor was it opposed to Judaism as a religion; on the other hand, it opposed zionism as a racist political theory whose objective was expansion at the expense of others. The concept of zionism as a form of racism had not been invented by the Arab countries, for it had been formulated in a resolution adopted by the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority at its thirtieth session.

61. Far from opposing peace, the Arab countries favoured a just peace. No peace that disregarded the aspirations of the Palestinians, who were the crux of the problem, could be called peace.

62. He cited an item which had appeared in the Washington Post, a newspaper that in his opinion was dominated by world zionism, and a passage from a report of the United States Congress which testified to the violation of human rights inflicted on the inhabitants of Palestine by Israel.

63. Mr. AL-HUSSAINY (Syrian Arab Republic), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, recalled that at the previous session some countries which supported Israel had abstained in the voting on resolutions concerning the Middle East and had accused the Arab delegations and the majority of third-world delegations of politicizing the items being considered by the Committee.

64. Most of the speakers in the debate had referred to the fact that the people of Palestine were without country or home and they had spoken of the mistreatment to which the Israelis subjected the Arab inhabitants in Palestine and the other occupied Arab territories. They had also pointed out that the crux of the problem was the withdrawal of the occupying forces from the occupied Arab territories and the granting of their basic rights to the Palestinians.

65. Those who affirmed that attempts were being made to politicize the Committee's agenda items might ask if the representative of Israel was in a position to report that the State of Israel had abolished some of its laws against the Arab population or had ceased expelling that population from its homes and property. They should ask if Israel had now decided to allow the tripartite Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories to visit those territories or to allow the Security Council Committee to consider the question of settlements. One could also ask if Israel had decided to observe United Nations resolutions and break relations with the South African régime.

66. The representative of Israel had said that the Jews had arrived in Palestine, fleeing the prejudice to which they had been subjected in Europe. He reminded members of the Committee that the Arabs - whom the representative of Israel had accused of racism - had welcomed the Jews from Europe with open arms, as was shown by the large number of Jews living in North Africa and in many Arab countries. The representative of Israel had said that the Arab countries were anti-Semitic, when in fact the Arabs were Semites, just as the Arab Jews were. The European Jews were the real anti-Semites, because they differentiated between the Jews who came from Europe and those who came from the Arab countries and who were considered second-class citizens.

67. The representative of Israel had said that **zionism** was a liberation movement, but the only real liberation movements were those of peoples whose lands had been colonized by other countries. Zionism had merely dispersed the Palestinian population. It was an imperialist, racist and colonialist movement, just like that of the whites in southern Africa.

68. The representative of Israel had mentioned peace. One must ask oneself who was opposing peace in the region, who was opposing international action, which countries were seeking a just and over-all peace and which countries were blocking the attainment of that objective. Israel was building new settlements on the West Bank and in the Golan Heights, it was bombing the Arab population of Lebanon, it had occupied part of the southern area of Lebanon and was acquiring increasingly modern military equipment. None of those actions demonstrated any will for peace.

(Mr. Al-Hussamy, Syrian
Arab Republic)

69. Everyone was familiar with the Arab countries' efforts to achieve peace, both within the United Nations and outside it. Israel had grown accustomed to violating the Charter and did not respect the resolutions or recommendations of the General Assembly. Now, the representative of Israel offered fresh proof of hypocrisy: the Government of Israel had decided to accede to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, despite the fact that it violated its provisions every day.

70. Mr. CAHANA (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the Committee had listened to the representatives of three of the régimes most notorious for the way in which they dealt with the question of human rights. Each of those three countries had a blood-stained and cruel history of persecution and slaughter of ethnic and religious minorities, in addition to the oppression to which it subjected its own people. They had shown the Committee the degree of animosity and fanaticism Israel encountered in the Middle East, and the root of the tragedy of the Arab-Israeli conflict lay in the refusal to try to understand the essence of Israel and of Zionism.

71. The time had come for all countries to recognize that Zionism was an authentic national liberation movement of a people who had been the victim of racial and religious discrimination in different parts of the world, not only in Europe but also in the Arab countries. More than half of the population of Israel had come as refugees from the Arab countries, where they had been treated as second- or third-class citizens for centuries and for generations, especially since the emergence of chauvinist régimes in those countries whose representatives had just taken the floor. Jews had been obliged to escape from Iraq, where they had been persecuted and hanged in the squares of Baghdad, simply for having been Jews; the small Jewish community still in Syria was subjected to the most cruel and barbaric discrimination. As for the Libyans, suffice it to say that they were collaborators of Idi Amin.

72. The General Assembly had had an opportunity to hear the testimony of the current President of Uganda, whose speech had demonstrated the hypocrisy with which the question of human rights was discussed in United Nations bodies. For years, the United Nations had conspired to maintain silence with regard to the violations of human rights in Uganda, and, had Idi Amin come to the United Nations as President of Uganda, he would probably have received applause and acclaim. The same could be said of Iraq, Syria and Libya, whose horrible history of violations of human rights should be revealed and criticized by the Committee. Instead, the representatives of those countries came before the Committee to preach to others.

73. While the opposing side was allowed 30 minutes in which to expound its intolerance and slander, Israel, which had always been and continued to be in the minority, was only allowed 10 minutes in which to reply. The impartiality of a world organization was properly demonstrated when it gave the minority sufficient opportunity to defend its rights.

(Mr. Cahana, Israel)

74. The three speeches made in the Committee were yet another attempt to obfuscate matters. Relations between the Israelis and the Palestinian Arabs had nothing to do with racial discrimination. The misfortune and harm that had befallen both peoples were the result of a tragic state of war, which Israel wished to bring to an end; it wanted nothing more than peace, especially with the Palestinian Arabs. If they or other Arabs were still under the illusion that they could rid themselves of Israel, Israel did not share their illusion. On the contrary, the vision of zionism was one of peaceful coexistence with the Arabs.

75. The difficulties that persisted were the direct result of the Arabs' hostility towards Israel and of their attempts to deny the inalienable rights of the Jewish people and of the State of Israel. It was to be hoped that they would realize that they had not only inalienable rights but also inalienable duties, including the duty to live in peace with their neighbours. The tragedy of the Palestinian Arabs was that there had not emerged from their midst any sensible, responsible leader who recognized that they must live in peace with the Jews. The policy of the Arab leaders had always been one of "all or nothing" - they had rejected the possibility of achieving a compromise with Israel - and that policy had led the Palestinian Arabs from one disaster to another.

76. In Israel, there was no racism in relations between the Jews and the Palestinian Arabs. The Arabs were citizens of the State of Israel and enjoyed complete rights there. The Jews had championed the struggle against the racist theories of the Nazis. It should be remembered that the people of Israel were a multiracial people. The features and faces of representatives of almost every part of the globe could be seen on the streets of Israeli cities, and when visitors from Arab countries walked through Jerusalem or Tel Aviv, the characteristics of the population made them think they were in Beirut or Alexandria. There was no racism in the theories, doctrines or practices of zionism. Many Israelis, including himself, admired and appreciated the richness of the Arab culture.

77. With regard to the relations and attitude of zionism towards the African countries and people, he read out a quotation from the Zionist theorist Herzl, written in 1902, in which he emphasized his interest in the cause of the Africans and his desire, after the deliverance of Israel, to help to deliver the black people of Africa who were the victims of slavery and oppression.

78. Mr. AL-JABIRI (Iraq), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of Israel, while lecturing on the subject of zionism, was denying Israeli practices that violated human rights, despite the fact that the United Nations had labeled them as racist and inhuman.

79. The Jewish minority in Iraq lived in complete safety, and members of that community had held many high offices - both in public administration and in private institutions. Starting in 1948, international zionism had begun to incite Jews to act in such a way as to create the false impression that they were an oppressed minority.

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(Mr. AL-Jabiri, Iraq)

80. In a recently adopted law Iraq had affirmed the right of return for Iraqi Jews in order to permit the return to Iraq of those Jews who wished to return from Israel or had gone from there to Europe or the United States.

81. He felt that the reference made to Uganda by the representative of Israel was ironic, since Uganda had been the first place chosen by Zionists as the future Jewish homeland, until the machinations of the British Empire had made them change their plans.

82. With regard to the humanitarian character which the representative of Israel attributed to Zionism, Ben Gurion himself had related in his memoirs that when he had moved to Palestine after the First World War he had found that the Jews who had settled there had rejected the doctrines of Zionism and were opposed to the sermons of hostility towards their Arab brothers.

83. Iraq had recently released 4,600 persons who had been under arrest, a fact which contradicted the statement made by the representative of Israel on the internal situation in Iraq.

84. Mr. ABDUL-AZIZ (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the statement made by the representative of the Zionist entity to the effect that Jews suffered oppression in Libya was false. The revolution had established the liberty of all inhabitants of the country, had distributed land and had ensured the availability of social services and education. Only if such things were considered violations of human rights, was it possible to state that violations were being committed in Libya.

85. With regard to the situation of the ex-President of Uganda, Idi Amin, Libya had no alliances with any individuals. An alliance between the peoples of Libya and Uganda based on their mutual interests had existed before Idi Amin had come to power in Uganda. If the United States had had an alliance with the government of Idi Amin, no one would have criticized it. Furthermore, the relations between Libya and Uganda were a matter for African countries, which was not within the province of the Zionist entity.

86. Mr. CANALIA (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, pointed out that, although the representative of Libya had said that Libya's actions in Africa were not within the province of countries outside of that continent, the Committee was dealing with universal human rights, so that whatever occurred in any part of the world should concern the Committee and the United Nations. Libya was undertaking the role of preacher and teacher with regard to human rights everywhere, but it was time to analyse and censure Libya's own record.

87. Libya was occupying thousands of square miles of territory belonging to its black neighbour to the south, but no one in the United Nations said anything because a conspiracy of silence arose when an Arab oil-producing country which enjoyed the goodwill and solidarity of the majority was involved, regardless of whether it acted correctly or incorrectly. There should be no privileges or

(Mr. Cahana, Israel)

immunity to censure in the United Nations. Libya, however, was preaching to the world that there were several types of justice: that which applied to enemies, that which applied to friends, and that which applied to oneself. It was time for the 150 members of the United Nations to take a look at Libya.

88. Mrs. HATEGA (Uganda), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the overthrow of Idi Amin was above all due to human rights violations in Uganda, but she reserved the right to make a more detailed statement in the future when the question of human rights would be considered. There was no reason to object to the fact that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya had granted residence to Idi Amin in its territory. It was a question of a decision taken by Libya as a sovereign State.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

89. Mr. O'DONOVAN (Ireland) asked when the Assistant Secretary-General of the Office of Secretariat Services for Economic and Social Matters would present the document entitled, "Calendar of Meetings and Documentation" (A/C.3/34/L.3).

90. The CHAIRMAN replied that the Assistant Secretary-General had promised to speak to the Committee later about that document and its contents. He (the Chairman) would keep the Committee informed.

91. Mrs. MORRISON (Lesotho) requested that, since the extension of the debate had not permitted the Working Group of the African Group to hold its planned meeting, the services and the conference room should be made available at a later date in order to do so.

92. Mr. NYAMIKYE (Ghana) pointed out that although the African Group was composed of 12 members, it was an open-ended group and perhaps a large conference room would be necessary.

93. The CHAIRMAN agreed with the Chairman of the Working Group of the African Group that more time was needed for that meeting. He would ask the Committee Secretary to look into the possibility of making services available, also taking into account the statement made by the representative of Ghana.

94. The SECRETARY said that he did not foresee any problem in providing services for the Working Group and that he might be able to inform the Committee at its next meeting about the arrangements. In reply to the question raised by the representative of Ireland, he was informed that the Assistant Secretary-General wished to address the Committee on the question of meetings and documentation. After the list of speakers had been closed, there were 19 speakers for the following morning and 23 speakers for the meeting after that.

95. Mrs. SEMICHI (Algeria) pointed out that her delegation was particularly interested in the drafting of the convention on the elimination of discrimination against women. In view of the obvious material difficulties caused by the deadlines, she proposed that the time limit for the submission of draft resolutions scheduled for Thursday, 5 October, should be reconsidered.

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96. The CHAIRMAN said that he understood the difficulties involved in the preparation of the convention and that, if necessary, the postponement of the deadline for the submission for draft resolutions would be considered Thursday morning.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.