

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 13th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. SOBHY (Egypt)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 73: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME FOR THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO
COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 86: ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued)

- (a) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
- (b) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
- (c) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT
OF THE CRIME OF APARTHEID

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The meeting was called to order at 3.10 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; A/C.3/34/L.6.
- (b) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (A/34/441; A/C.3/34/L.4)
- (c) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF APARTHEID (A/34/442 and Corr.1 (English only); A/C.3/34/L.5)

1. Mrs. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) said that the People's Republic of Benin attached great importance to the elimination of racism and racial discrimination wherever those two evils appeared. Although apartheid was an extreme case of institutionalized racism, racist manifestations were no less common in societies that regarded themselves as among the most liberal and democratic. In the final analysis racism and racial discrimination were the by-products of capitalism and of all forms of domination and exploitation of man by his fellow man. Thus mistreatment, police harassment, discrimination in housing, employment and wages, the most degrading work and all kinds of humiliation were the lot of immigrant workers in some Western countries. Those countries should hasten to take vigorous legislative action to prevent and punish all acts of racial discrimination and to improve the recourse machinery for all who were the victims of such acts. Her delegation was disturbed to note the reappearance in certain Western countries of Fascist or neo-Nazi movements of the extreme right which were based on racist ideologies, and deplored the passive attitude that the government authorities in those countries adopted on the pretext of upholding freedom of thought and expression.

2. Apartheid, the inhuman system of the exploitation of man by man, had been established by the white colonialists who had invaded the southern part of the African continent. It meant that Africans had become aliens in their own country, and were permitted to live only on arid land where they were grouped by tribes and told where to reside by the white settlers, for whom they constituted a pool of cheap labour. More than 30 years had passed since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights had been proclaimed, but apartheid still persisted, even though it had been condemned by every country, and though special bodies had been set up, international instruments had been adopted and many resolutions had been passed, all with a view to eliminating it.

3. The racist minority régimes in southern Africa continued to violate the Charter with impunity because they were able to rely on the vast amounts of aid

(Mrs. Houngavou, Benin)

they received from their Western protectors and accomplices. Racism and racial discrimination were part of a system of discrimination and exploitation knowingly established by retrograde national and international forces to protect their own interests. In contempt of human rights, the Western countries were supporting the minority régimes representing the white small farmer settlers in southern Africa who had made of racial discrimination a method of government. Her delegation protested against the manoeuvres of those countries that prevented the United Nations from taking the measures envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter, which alone were capable of causing South Africa to abandon its policy of apartheid.

4. Many documents of the United Nations and reports of missions carried out recently in the Middle East, in Palestine and in the occupied Arab territories showed that Israel was using the same racist methods of colonial exploitation against the indigenous populations in those territories. Collaboration between the Zionist régime in Israel and the racist régime in southern Africa was steadily increasing in the political, military and economic spheres. Thus the peoples of southern Africa, Palestine and other regions of the world had no way left to cast off the yoke of their oppressors but to resort to armed struggle.

5. Benin hoped that all countries which loved peace and justice would strive to apply the measures laid down in the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and called on those countries which had not yet done so to accede to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

6. Mr. SHERIFIS (Cyprus) said he was gratified that the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had duly fulfilled its obligations under article 9, paragraph 2, of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination to report annually to the General Assembly on its activities. The General Assembly should examine those reports carefully and ensure that the decisions of the Committee were followed up, since the Convention's effectiveness depended largely on the Committee's ability to perform its functions.

7. Furthermore, the Committee was called on to submit to the General Assembly not only general recommendations but also specific suggestions that took account of the information furnished in the reports by the States parties and of the difficulties that those States encountered in the complete application of the Convention. Although the Committee was not expected to propose solutions to political problems, it nevertheless had a duty to remain watchful and, when it noted that a substantial part of the population of a State was uprooted, that people were being segregated on the basis of race, or that a country was taking military action in order to divide ethnic groups or communities in another country, it should suggest practical ways and means of correcting such an unacceptable state of affairs. Similarly, the Committee should concern itself with indigenous peoples living in countries where racial discrimination was institutionalized; thus it had rightly considered and deplored on many occasions the unacceptable racial segregation imposed by brute

(Mr. Sherifis, Cyprus)

force on the people of South Africa, the Middle East and Cyprus. It was the Committee's duty to keep that deplorable state of affairs under active consideration.

8. UNESCO's invitation to the Committee to hold its nineteenth session at UNESCO headquarters in Paris was only one example of the steps taken by that specialized agency to combat racial discrimination. Another was the Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice adopted at the twentieth session of the General Conference of UNESCO, which felicitously complemented the Committee's work.

9. His delegation supported the proposal that the Committee should hold some of its sessions in different regions.

10. There could be no question that the United Nations should constantly monitor the implementation of the resolutions and declarations it adopted. Accordingly the President of the Republic of Cyprus had reiterated his proposal that a special session of the General Assembly should be devoted exclusively to that question. If that could not be arranged for the time being, the question could be studied as a priority item at the next session of the General Assembly.

11. His delegation wished to reiterate its total commitment to all efforts to eliminate all forms of racism and racial discrimination throughout the world. It considered that the worst form of racism was the separation of peoples and communities in a single country on the basis of their race or ethnic origin, and it therefore strongly condemned bantustanization, wherever it took place, and in particular the establishment of a new bantustan in South Africa.

12. Mr. DOMBI (Congo) said that it was pointless to speak of peace, justice and liberty in the world when a tiny minority of whites were carrying out the most barbarous and odious practices and millions of people were suffering the brutal treatment inflicted by racism and racial discrimination. The People's Republic of the Congo, which had chosen to build a just society where the exploitation of man by man was eliminated, had always condemned and always would condemn such odious practices.

13. The Congo would not cease to extend its total support to the national liberation movements and to all individuals fighting for freedom. Thus SWAPO was given time on the national radio to inform the world of the progress of the national liberation struggle. In addition, the Congo unconditionally supported the front-line States which, in spite of numerous threats and acts of aggression, were sparing no effort to help promote the true liberation of the southern part of the African continent. The international community should give them support and assistance.

14. In spite of repeated condemnations and resolutions, the situation in southern Africa was unchanged and remained a cause for concern. It was still a challenge to the entire world and to the United Nations in particular. Unfortunately, the racist régimes were supported by some States Members of the United Nations, which provided for all their needs in the military, economic and financial fields. As

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(Mr. Dombi, Congo)

long as those countries continued to support the racist régimes, while simultaneously condemning racism and apartheid in words and preaching liberty and peace in international forums, resolutions, recommendations and condemnations would all remain a dead letter.

15. Until the situation changed, the struggle for liberation would continue to become more active, firm and resolute and it would ultimately triumph. The peoples of southern Africa would inevitably emerge victorious from their armed struggle and, in order to bring about that victory more quickly, the United Nations should act in a much more realistic and positive manner.

16. Mr. VERKERCKE (Belgium) introduced draft resolution A/C.3/34/L.4 entitled "Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination". The following delegations had become sponsors of the draft resolution: Barbados, Costa Rica, Jordan, Pakistan, the Syrian Arab Republic and Yugoslavia.

17. There had been 100 States parties to the Convention at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, whereas on 1 September 1979, 13 years after the Convention had been opened for signature, they had numbered 104. Those were encouraging figures, which indicated that the Convention was becoming an increasingly important instrument in the struggle against racism and racial discrimination which, to varying extents, was the responsibility of all States. But the Convention should become truly universal, as should the goal at which it was aimed. The activities of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination were encouraging in that respect.

18. The sponsors hoped that the draft resolution would be adopted by consensus.

19. Mr. LAEMMERZAHN (German Democratic Republic), introducing draft resolution A/C.3/34/L.5 on the Status of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, said that the sponsors believed it was an important instrument for achieving the goals of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination; they accordingly appealed to all States that had not yet become parties to the Convention to ratify or accede to it in order to make it an effective instrument in the struggle for the suppression of the crime of apartheid. That goal was in accordance with those expressed in August 1978 in the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and the Final Declaration of the Sixth Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries.

20. The South African racists had been escalating their policy of repression against the African peoples fighting for freedom, independence and social progress. Millions of Africans in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe had been subjected to terror, and the members and sympathizers of SWAPO in particular were cruelly repressed by the apartheid régime in occupied Namibia, where a puppet régime was to be established. In 1978-1979, the International Anti-Apartheid Year, the number of executions in South Africa had been three times higher than in 1973. The murder of Solomon Mahlangu, the young freedom fighter, despite the appeals of millions of

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(Mr. Laemmerzahl, German Democratic Republic)

people the world over as well as of the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the United Nations had demonstrated once again how Pretoria reacted to urgent appeals on the part of world public opinion and what was the value that régime placed on innocent young lives. It was clear that in spite of international condemnation, the racist régime of South Africa was continuing its criminal practices and was still receiving assistance from certain Governments and transnational corporations in the political, economic, military and other fields, which encouraged it to persist in its brutal repression of the peoples of southern Africa.

21. He drew attention in particular to paragraphs 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 of the draft resolution and expressed the hope of the sponsors that it would be widely supported.

22. Mr. NAEWAK (Yugoslavia), introducing on behalf of its sponsors the draft resolution in document A/C.3/34/L.6 concerning the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on the work of its nineteenth and twentieth sessions, commented briefly on its main paragraphs.

23. In paragraph 2, the General Assembly welcomed the interest shown by the Committee for further participation in the activities for implementation of the Programme of Action of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. In paragraph 3, it welcomed also the continued co-operation of the Committee with the competent specialized agencies and other United Nations bodies, and urged that that co-operation should be continued. In paragraphs 4 and 7, the General Assembly encouraged the Committee to continue to focus its attention on racial discrimination arising from imperialism, oppression and foreign occupation and invited the States parties to assist the Committee to discharge fully its responsibilities, since colonialism, oppression and foreign occupation gave rise to the most brutal forms of racism and racial discrimination. Paragraph 5 was especially relevant because the Committee, in spite of its repeated appeals, had not yet received sufficient information on Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories and all other Territories to which General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) applied to enable it to discharge fully its responsibilities under article 15 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Paragraph 6 was the standard paragraph which appeared every year in the draft resolution on the subject, because at each of its sessions the Committee examined the reports of the States parties to the Convention that, owing to reasons beyond their control, were being prevented from fulfilling their obligations under the Convention in parts of their respective territories. Paragraph 8 mentioned the rights of migrant workers, a category of persons which had not been mentioned in the resolutions previously adopted. Paragraph 10 was in accordance with the spirit of paragraph 36 of the Programme of Action adopted by the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

24. He requested the Secretary and the Rapporteur of the Committee to ensure that draft resolution A/C.3/34/L.6 would be considered by the General Assembly at its plenary meeting, after consideration of the draft resolutions on the Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and on the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, so that the logical sequence indicated in the first preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/C.3/34/L.6 would be preserved.

(Mr. Naewak, Yugoslavia)

25. His delegation expressed the hope that the draft resolution would contribute to the implementation of the provisions of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.
26. Mrs. GUELMAN (Uruguay), speaking on behalf of her delegation and the delegation of Ecuador, introduced an amendment to draft resolution A/C.3/34/L.4,* which would include a new paragraph after paragraph 4, that would read: "Appeals to States parties to the Convention to study the possibility of making the declaration provided for in article 14 of the Convention".
27. Mr. MAKSIMOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), referring to paragraph 10 of draft resolution A/C.3/34/L.6, pointed out that decision 1 (XX) of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination concerning future meetings of the Committee was not in line with article 10 of the Convention, paragraph 4 of which stated that the meetings of the Committee would normally be held at United Nations Headquarters. Because the wording of decision 1 (XX) was too general, his delegation proposed an amendment to draft resolution A/C.3/34/L.6, paragraph 10, which would replace the words "Endorses" by the words "Takes note of" and would include in the third line, after the words "the Secretary-General", the words "to study the possibility".
28. Mr. RIOS (Panama) said that he unreservedly supported resolution A/C.3/34/L.4. Panama had voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 2106 (XX) containing the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and had been one of the first States to ratify the Convention. As stated in paragraph 3 of the draft resolution, ratification of the Convention and implementation of its provisions were necessary for the realization of the objectives of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.
29. Panama, which had always been opposed to apartheid, also supported draft resolution A/C.3/34/L.5, because it was convinced that the ratification of the Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid would be a valuable contribution to the realization of the objectives of the Decade. It also endorsed the provisions of draft resolution A/C.3/34/L.6. The Panamanian people was kept duly informed of the action taken by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.
30. Panama wished to associate itself with the sponsors of the three above-mentioned draft resolutions.
31. Mr. NYAMEKYE (Ghana) said that the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.3/34/L.6 would study the amendment proposed by the representative of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. It should, however, be recalled that the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had not asked to hold meetings away from United Nations Headquarters. Decision 1 (XX) followed up a request set forth in the Programme of Action adopted by the General Assembly in resolutions 33/99 and 33/100.

* Subsequently issued as document A/C.3/34/L.7.

32. Mr. MAKSIMOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that he simply wished to draw the attention of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.3/34/L.6 to the fact that account had not been taken of article 10, paragraph 4, of the Convention concerning the venue of the Committee's meetings.

33. Mr. OBADI (Democratic Yemen) said that his country wished to become a sponsor of draft resolutions A/C.3/34/L.4, L.5 and L.6.

34. Mr. EDIS (United Kingdom) said that it would be desirable for consultations to be held with the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.3/34/L.6, since the delegations of some States parties to the Convention had objections to some of its paragraphs. His delegation considered that the requests addressed to States parties were not in conformity with the Committee's mandate.

35. Mr. O'DONOVAN (Ireland) asked whether it might not be possible to defer the vote on draft resolutions A/C.3/34/L.5 and A/C.3/34/L.6, which had not been brought to the Committee's attention until that day.

36. The CHAIRMAN replied that, although the Committee's work had progressed satisfactorily, as a result, in particular, of the brevity of the statements made, the Committee was nevertheless not keeping up with the time-table which it had set itself. Two meetings were scheduled for the following day; if delegations required more time to consider the draft resolutions, the voting could take place at the afternoon meeting. He would then invite the Chairman of the Working Group of the African Group to use the morning meeting to get ahead with its work. He reminded delegations that they were now invited to submit their comments on the draft resolutions and that they could exercise their right of reply later.

37. Mr. FAURIS (France) said that he wished to make a few preliminary comments on draft resolution A/C.3/34/L.6, while reserving the right to make further comments at a later stage. In paragraph 3, the General Assembly called upon States parties "to take effective measures for securing full equality and promotion and protection of the rights of national, ethnic, linguistic and other minorities, including full protection of the rights of migrant workers". He drew the sponsors' attention to the fact that that wording seemed to confer on national minorities the status of legal entities, as was the case in certain federal States, where national minorities as such enjoyed a special legal status. However, that concept was not shared by unitary States. He therefore proposed that the present wording should be replaced by the following: "... and protection of the rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic, linguistic and other minorities ...". He also proposed that the word "including", which seemed to imply that migrant workers were national minorities, should be replaced by the words "as well as", which would make it clear that national minorities and migrant workers constituted two different categories.

38. Mr. CAHANA (Israel), referring to draft resolution A/C.3/34/L.5, said that the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which were referred to in the fourth preambular

(Mr. Cahana, Israel)

paragraph, were both highly questionable. They would have been praiseworthy had they not been marred by prejudices against Israel and its national liberation movement, zionism. Those two texts had, moreover, aroused the indignation of large segments of public opinion at the time of their adoption.

39. With regard to draft resolution A/C.3/34/L.6, the Israeli Government believed, on the whole, that the measures advocated were necessary; it had, moreover, that year ratified the international Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. However, it could hardly accept the artificial and arbitrary parallel drawn in paragraph 6 between the situation in the Golan Heights and racial discrimination. The Syrian Arab Republic claimed that it could not implement the provisions of the Convention because of the occupation of part of its territory - less than 1 per cent of its territory as a whole. Moreover, if it had fulfilled its obligations with regard to the elimination of racial discrimination, the Committee might rightly express its concern. However, there were several ethnic and religious communities in that country, and the relations between them and the authorities left much to be desired.

40. He had, moreover, reservations concerning the use of the word "race" and preferred to speak of ethnic and religious differences, rather than racial differences. Israelis and Arabs were cousins by race, separated by ethnic differences, and in Syria the Sunnites and Alawites constituted different religious sects.

41. Mr. AL-JABEIRI (Iraq), speaking on a point of order, said that the representative of the Zionist entity was supposed to be commenting on the draft resolution, which had nothing to do with the differences between the religious sects in the Syrian Arab Republic. If Israeli troops were occupying more or less than 1 per cent of Syrian territory and if the peoples of the region were the victims of acts of aggression on the part of Israel, all that had nothing to do with comments and explanations relating to the draft resolution.

42. The CHAIRMAN reminded the representative of Israel that he should confine himself to commenting on the draft resolutions and that he was already inscribed on the list of speakers wishing to exercise their right of reply, which he could do later.

43. Mr. CAHANA (Israel) said that he wondered why, if relations between Jews and Arabs could be termed racial, which was a distortion of the truth, one might not also take the example of the Kurds in the Syrian Arab Republic, who were deprived of their rights because of ethnic differences, the Druzes, who were the subject of discrimination, and the Syrian Jews. It might be recalled that the Golan Heights had formerly been a military district of Syria, populated by 30,000 to 40,000 soldiers, some 10,000 civilians and 10,000 Druzes, who were still living there but who had formerly been victims of discrimination and oppression on the part of Damascus. When the Israeli forces had driven the Syrian army from the Golan Heights, they had restored to the Druzes their rights as citizens and as human beings. The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination might have mentioned that fact in its report.

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(Mr. Cahana, Israel)

44. In a resolution which ought to be universal and to deal with world problems, it was misjudged and illogical to refer to a matter with political security connotations, which should be raised in other bodies. If the Syrian Arab Republic could not spare the United Nations a single opportunity of bringing up its dispute with Israel, it was nevertheless regrettable that the Third Committee should have to bear the burden.

45. Mr. AL-HUSSAMY (Syrian Arab Republic) said that his country had co-sponsored the three draft resolutions under consideration as an indication of its interest in international measures to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination. That being so, he was surprised that the representatives of the United Kingdom and of France seemed to doubt that the measures proposed in draft resolution A/C.3/34/L.6 were appropriate under the Convention, and he wondered what had inspired their remarks.

46. The draft resolution merely reflected the interest of the Third Committee in the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which was responsible for monitoring the implementation of the provisions of the Convention. Paragraph 6 referred to countries which, because of foreign occupation, could not apply the provisions of the Convention in certain parts of their territory. He could see nothing illegal in the wording. There was no question of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination going beyond its mandate in referring to its concern in that respect. Under international law, all parts of the territory of a State were integral to that State, and the principle of the territorial sovereignty of States was embodied in the United Nations Charter. If the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of States were not respected, the very existence of the United Nations would be meaningless, since respect for that principle was an essential condition for the admission of any Member State. The Zionist representative had spoken of 1 per cent of Syrian territory. The exact area involved was not significant, but the facts were: Syrian land had been under military occupation since 1967, and the occupation was illegal.

47. In those circumstances, the Syrian Arab Republic had no other legal recourse than to appeal to the United Nations. Unless Israel withdrew its troops from Syrian territory, its land would continue to be occupied and racial discrimination would continue to be practised there. Israel was, in fact, inspired by a racist ideology. Israeli troops were occupying one of the richest parts of Syria, pillaging its wealth and destroying schools, villages, houses and places of worship. As a result, contrary to what the representatives of the United Kingdom and of another country seemed to believe, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had not exceeded its mandate when it had expressed its concern. It was wholly unacceptable for any part of the territory of a State to be occupied by another enemy State.

48. He categorically rejected the allegations of the Zionist representative, who had tried to distract the Committee's attention from the problem at issue by interfering in the internal affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic. It was true that the country contained different religious sects and different ethnic groups, but

(Mr. Al-Hussamy, Syrian Arab Republic)

they lived in harmony and friendship. Members of the various groups had the same educational opportunities, and were free to practise their beliefs and engage in business. The accusations of the Zionist representative were therefore void of all substance.

49. Mrs. BIHI (Somalia) said that her delegation wished to co-sponsor the three draft resolutions.

50. Mr. EDIS (United Kingdom) said that the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic had been guilty of some excess in wondering what had induced the United Kingdom delegation to make its remarks. Those remarks were of a very general nature, and referred in fact to several other paragraphs of draft resolution A/C.3/34/L.6.

51. The CHAIRMAN appealed to all representatives to make a careful distinction between the observations they wished to make on the draft resolutions and the exercise of the right of reply.

52. Mr. FAURIS (France) said that he had not been referring to any specific country. One hundred and four States were bound by the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and any draft resolution relating to the Convention must be extremely carefully worded if a consensus was to be achieved. That was why the French delegation had proposed some minor amendments in the wording, and reserved the right to propose others later.

53. The CHAIRMAN said that all comments on the draft resolutions had now been heard. Speakers might now exercise their right of reply, provided their statements were limited to ten and five minutes respectively.

54. Mr. BEKELE (Ethiopia), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the attacks of the representative of the racist and expansionist régime in Somalia were wholly unjustified. The Somali leaders, although masquerading as a Government, were in fact only a handful of individuals belonging to a single clan. They had unleashed a reign of terror over the population and, to conceal their expansionist aims, were now slandering Ethiopia, which had always struggled for independence and national liberation. After systematically massacring members of other tribes and clans and eliminating many officers and non-commissioned men, the racist régime of Mogadiscio had waged war against Ethiopia, with the futile design of creating a greater Somalia. Now that its aggressive manoeuvres had been repulsed by the Ethiopian people, the Somali régime had embarked on a campaign of vilification, which revived the risk of plunging the Horn of Africa into war. But if that were to happen, the Ethiopian people would make sure that the dream of racist expansionism of the Somali leaders was buried once and for all.

55. However, as the subject of the Committee's discussion was the question of racism and racial discrimination, he would confine himself to that topic. Extracts which he would quote from the writings of an African scholar on the subject of Somalia showed that Somali leaders always described their country or their people

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(Mr. Bekele, Ethiopia)

as "unique", and apparently claimed that it could not be compared with other African countries. Thus, Somalis could not live with other Africans. The attitude of the Somali leaders was similar to that of the South African leaders, who claimed that whites and Bantus could not live together. In fact, the South African leaders were less imperialist, as they did not assert that all Bantu people were alike. It was odd that Somalia joined other African countries in condemning apartheid when it wanted exactly the same thing itself: the creation of tribal States.

56. That was what the Somali régime really was. And, whereas the racist South African régime was condemned by the whole international community, Somalia, which pursued the same racist policy, was allowed to speak on a subject dear to all Africans: the elimination of racism and racial discrimination. Such a régime should not be permitted to give its views on a subject of that sort. If the representative of Somalia persisted in vilifying the Government of Ethiopia, he would be unable to display the same restraint in exercising the right of reply a second time.

57. Mrs. FLOREZ (Cuba), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that at the previous meeting the representative of Somalia, an aggressive and expansionist country, had labelled as mercenaries the Cuban soldiers who, at the request of sovereign States, had gone to Africa to assist people struggling for their liberation, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Her delegation rejected that description; as President Castro had stated, mercenaries never defended just causes, whereas Cuba had always defended just causes everywhere in the world. Cuba gave assistance to people struggling against imperialism, colonialism, racism and aggression, when those peoples called for it. That was a fundamental principle of Cuban policy, and one which Cuba always acted on.

58. Mr. CAHANA (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, denied categorically that there were any elements of racism in zionism. He said that the resort to name-calling betrayed the animosity towards Israel felt by certain Arab countries, which held so strongly to Arab-Moslem exclusiveness as to believe that all land between the Persian Gulf and the Atlantic should be exclusively Arab and Moslem. That was the real source of the Israeli-Arab dispute, which had begun long before Israel was an independent State and long before there were any Arab refugees.

59. The statement by the representative of Iraq was a typical attempt to subvert the discussions of the Committee to serve narrow and sectarian political interests. Anyone familiar with the Iraqi régime and its policies would be aware that it had hegemonistic designs on the Arab world. Iraq had such an obsession about Israel that its representatives did not miss a single opportunity of attacking Israel in United Nations organs and institutions. Moreover, the rivalry among the various Arab States drove each of them to claim leadership in the struggle against Israel, which produced a monotonous repetition of the same clichés, allegations and mistruths; the "big lie" tactic was based on the principle that if the same lie was constantly repeated people would end up believing it.

(Mr. Cahana, Israel)

60. Iraq prided itself on being a staunch defender of human rights and claimed to have a clean sheet in that respect. However, its assertions were belied by reality. The frontiers of modern Iraq had been fixed by the colonial Powers after the First World War in such a way as to include several minorities and peoples who might have had a claim to independence and whose rights, at all events, the new State had a duty to protect. However, since 1933, Iraqi troops had massacred hundreds of Assyrians and exiled thousands of others. In 1941, a military junta led by Rashid Ali Gaylani had seized power and proved to be a loyal ally of Nazi Germany. Millions of people belonging to religious or ethnic minorities regarded the Iraqi Government as the most oppressive régime on earth. In a country where secret trials, torture, mass deportations and executions were the official policy, the daily life of minorities was characterized by terror and tragedy. In a letter addressed to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on 14 January 1977, the International League for Human Rights had stated that the Iraqi Government was pursuing a policy of discrimination against its non-Arab Kurdish population, in violation of article 5 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. To the League, it was clear that Iraqi Governments had always refused to accept the 2.5 million Kurds who had been living in the country for over 2,000 years as citizens enjoying the same rights as Arab citizens. The League pointed out that the Iraqi Government had attempted to destroy the integrity and identity of the Kurdish community by deporting 300,000 Kurds from the northern mountains to the southern deserts, settling Arab citizens on confiscated Kurdish lands and incarcerating 30,000 former Kurdish fighters in concentration camps.

61. Mrs. BIHI (Somalia), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that Cuba had attempted to justify its military adventurism and professional use of modern weapons in Africa as a contribution to the cause of peace and understanding. Its true purpose was to impose a colonialist régime on the peoples of the Ogaden and Eritrea, to frustrate the legitimate struggle of the peoples of the region for self-determination and, above all, to serve the interests of a super-Power. The self-congratulatory statement of the Chairman of the Cuban delegation to the General Assembly regarding the organization and the "know-how" of the Cuban forces only camouflaged the atrocities and barbarous acts which those forces had perpetrated against innocent and defenceless people. It might be asked how a small under-developed country such as Cuba, with no military industry of its own, could transport to, and maintain in, Africa, thousands of miles away, an expeditionary force of more than 50,000 men. It was evident that the logistics and the type of armament needed for those operations were beyond the resources of Cuba itself and that the latter country was, therefore, receiving direct support from a super-Power.

62. Some countries were endeavouring to divide Africa into two opposing military blocs similar to those in Europe. Should that happen, it would be a most tragic setback for African unity and Cuba would be held primarily responsible. No one should be misled by Cuba's role in the Horn of Africa. Contrary to what it would like the international community to believe, Cuba was not fighting for peace, détente, co-operation, the objectives of non-alignment or the self-determination of peoples. Its military intervention in the Horn of Africa and elsewhere represented a dangerous phenomenon: the use of State-organized mercenaries. To illustrate the

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(Mrs. Bihi, Somalia)

extent to which Cuba was subservient to the will of a super-Power, it was sufficient to recall the change in its attitude towards the liberation movements in Eritrea and the Ogaden, which it had initially supported and assisted and against which it was currently fighting. The presence of Cuban and other foreign forces in the Ogaden and Eritrea constituted a serious threat to the security of the region. Furthermore, it constituted an obstacle to the efforts being made by the OAU and other peace-loving countries to achieve a peaceful solution to the problems in the Horn of Africa. Cuba had repeatedly claimed that it respected Africa; however, it was intervening militarily, in spite of the resolution adopted in 1978 by the OAU in which all non-African powers were called upon to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of African States, and in flagrant violation of the lofty principles of the non-aligned movement.

63. Mr. AL-JABERI (Iraq), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, stated that the Israeli representative was only repeating the same slanderous attacks against the United Nations and its Member States and the same old lies. The Israeli representative had claimed that the Arabs wanted to unite all the Arab people between the Arabian Gulf and the Atlantic Ocean under a Moslem flag; he seemed to be unaware that the Arab countries, in the same way as the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian people, included both Moslems and Christians living together as brothers. It seemed that, despite his acquaintance with historical facts, the Israeli representative wished to distort them at will. It was high time for the Zionist entity to recognize the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination.

64. The Israeli representative, while trying to deny the racist nature of zionism which the General Assembly had proclaimed in resolution 3379 (XXX), had rejected the historic World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, at which the peoples of the world had condemned the Zionist entity. Moreover, it was sufficient to read the press to realize that the Zionist entity was becoming increasingly isolated, even among those Jews whom it claimed to represent.

65. The United Nations could not tolerate the lies of the Israeli representative. The link between zionism and racial discrimination was proved by Israel's attitude to Security Council resolution 418 (1977), imposing an arms embargo against South Africa. Mr. Moshe Dayan had stated that Israel would stand by South Africa despite the embargo and that South Africa would remain a friend of Israel. In resolution 33/183 D, the General Assembly had once again condemned the intensification of relations and growing collaboration by Israel with the racist régime of South Africa. It was also obvious that zionism was linked to imperialism.

66. The Kurds of Iraq were living peacefully in a country which was their homeland. In a recent decree, the Government of Iraq had granted the Kurdish people local autonomy, with a legislature, judicial rights and a governing body to function in the entire north of Iraq.

67. Mrs. FLOREZ (Cuba), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, wondered how the representative of the expansionist régime of Somalia dared to attack Cuba. It was

(Mrs. Florez, Cuba)

regrettable that one of the least developed countries in Africa was devoting its meagre resources to military adventures beyond its frontiers, thus endangering security throughout the continent. Cuba could not accept any attempt to distort the spirit of solidarity, respect and unselfishness which had characterized Cuba's relations with numerous other countries.

68. Mr. TERZI (Observer, Palestine Liberation Organization), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, referred to an article written by Mr. Moshe Sharon, former adviser on Arab affairs to Mr. Begin, which had appeared in the Jerusalem Post. According to Mr. Sharon, for the Arabs to identify with the State of Israel, they would have to regard its Zionist character, its Jewish culture and its political and Jewish national goals as their own. No Arab in Israel could do so. The Jews and Arabs in Israel lived in closed, almost xenophobic, societies and, since Israel insisted on its special nature as the country of all Jews, irrespective of whether they were citizens, Israeli Arabs had an even greater inducement to identify with the Arab world.

69. For Mr. Sharon, there were two ways of dealing with the problem: integration or segregation. Integration would mean merging the separate Jewish and Arab national entities into one whole. Yet, "Israeli nationality" was not recognized legally since, even on the identity cards, nationality was defined as either "Arab" or "Jewish". Since integration was not possible, the only solution was segregation, but a positive segregation in which each national group would be able to lead a completely separate life. In a way, the current status of the Israeli Arabs was that of "positive segregation". Under those conditions, one could not expect all Israeli citizens to have equal obligations or equal rights. All that the State of Israel could demand of its Arab citizens was to be loyal and law-abiding.

70. He asked the members of the Committee to think about that article, which proved the racist nature of zionism.

71. The CHAIRMAN, replying to a question by the representative of Somalia, recalled that, at its 4th meeting, the General Assembly had decided, on the recommendation of the General Committee (A/34/250, para. 6), that on days when there were two meetings devoted to the consideration of a single agenda item, delegations could exercise their right of reply at the end of the day and that the number of statements made in exercise of the right of reply by a delegation at a single meeting would be limited to two on each agenda item, the first being limited to 10 minutes and the second to 5 minutes. He thus concluded that no delegation could exercise its right of reply more than twice at a single meeting and that, if a debate that had begun at one meeting was continued at the following meeting, a delegation which had already exercised its right of reply could once again do so at the following meeting if the progress of work so allowed.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.