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THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION

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THIRD COMMITTEE
15th meeting
held on
Wednesday, 19 October 1983
at 10 a.m.
New York

UN/SA COLLECTION

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 15th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. BELL (Canada)

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Distr. GENERAL
A/C.3/38/SR.15
24 October 1983

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session, in a separate fascicle for each Committee.

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 82: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME FOR THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/38/106)

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- (a) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued)
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1. Mr. BORCHARD (Federal Republic of Germany), speaking on items 82 (a) and (b), noted with great satisfaction that the number of ratifications and accessions to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination had increased to 121, that article 14 of the Convention had entered into force on 3 December 1982, and that the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had adopted by consensus the provisional rules of procedure for considering communications. His delegation welcomed CERD's new report (A/36/18) as another valuable contribution to the promotion of the aims prescribed in the Convention.

2. The seven reports submitted to CERD by the Federal Republic of Germany had shown how the requirements of the Convention had been met within the framework of his country's legislative, judicial and administrative system. His delegation looked forward to continuing the very fruitful dialogue with the members of CERD which had developed since his Government had submitted its initial report 14 years earlier.

(Mr. Borchard, Federal Republic of Germany)

3. The system of international scrutiny of the implementation of the Convention could function properly only if the States parties fulfilled their obligations to submit periodic reports under article 9 of the Convention and if, at the same time, CERD discharged its responsibility to the full extent. The ever-increasing number of reminders the Committee had been forced to send out indicated the existence of a formidable impediment to the effective functioning of the international review system, and the incompleteness of the information contained in some of the reports seemed to be an ever-persistent flaw in the reporting system. His delegation therefore welcomed recommendation 6 of CERD's previous report because it confirmed once again the sense of responsibility with which that Committee was performing its task. General Assembly resolution 37/44 had responded to CERD's concern and had asked the Secretary-General to analyse the problem of the delays in the reporting system and to submit suggestions for improving the situation. The General Assembly should act promptly on the recommendations contained in section IV of document A/38/393, for otherwise the situation would deteriorate. The growing number of States parties would mean a considerable increase in the number of reports, and the consideration of communications in accordance with article 14 would place an additional burden on the Committee.

4. He observed that CERD's special studies on the implementation of articles 4 and 7 of the Convention had been a valuable contribution to the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. His delegation felt concern, however, at finding in the report an opinion expressed on the situation in the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). On that point CERD had clearly gone beyond its mandate, which was limited to expressing its views on situations as they related directly to the principles and objectives of the Convention. He also emphasized that the implementation of the substantive anti-discrimination provisions of part I of the Convention was the responsibility of States parties alone. It was not appropriate for the Third Committee to direct the work of CERD to particular situations. Nor was CERD entitled to extend the obligations of the Convention or to impose on States parties obligations which were not contained in the Convention. The Convention itself was the only legal and acceptable basis for the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, as a treaty body.

5. In 1982, a number of extraneous elements had been introduced into the draft resolution on the work of CERD, so that unfortunately no consensus could be reached. His delegation hoped that the sponsors of the draft resolution would take account of the views of all members so that the text could produce a consensus. He reaffirmed that the Federal Republic of Germany was fully committed to the task of eliminating racial discrimination wherever it existed, and that it regarded the Convention as a particularly important instrument which had done much for the elimination of racial discrimination world-wide.

6. Mr. GEZER (Turkey) said that the elimination of all forms of racism and racial discrimination was a high-priority concern for the United Nations. The proclamation of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had been and continued to be a very valuable step. Member States, non-governmental

/...

(Mr. Gezer, Turkey)

organizations, institutions and specialized agencies must take appropriate steps to carry out all the activities envisaged in the Programme for the Decade.

7. Turkey had always strongly condemned and rejected racism and all forms of racial discrimination, and it therefore continued to support the objectives of the Programme for the Decade. The Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had provided Member States and various organizations with an opportunity to evaluate the activities undertaken during the Decade and to adopt a Declaration and Programme of Action (A/CONF.119/26). His delegation deeply regretted that those documents had not been adopted by consensus, which would have certainly given them more practical force. Turkey was in favour of the specific provisions and suggestions contained in the two documents and sincerely hoped that they would be effectively applied.

8. Speaking on agenda item 86, he said that the General Assembly had repeatedly declared its firm opposition to the violation of human rights, particularly the right to self-determination, which Turkey considered very important. His country also believed in the close interdependence between the rights of peoples to self-determination and the promotion of the concept and practice of human rights. Despite considerable progress, against persistent violations of human rights, the principle of self-determination was far from being fully implemented. In the Middle East, the perpetual occupation of Arab territories by Israel and the denial of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination were serious violations of human rights and were incompatible with the principles of international law and with United Nations resolutions. Effective pressure should therefore be exercised by the international community on Israel to put an end to its policy of modifying the demographic character and institutional structure of the occupied Arab territories.

9. In Afghanistan, the tragedy of the nearly 5 million refugees displaced from their homeland required an urgent solution. Turkey therefore supported a negotiated solution which would provide for the withdrawal of foreign troops from that country and the return of refugees to Afghanistan and which would give back the right of self-determination to the Afghan people.

10. An honourable solution to the problem of Kampuchea could be reached only by the withdrawal of all foreign troops from that country and by the recognition of its people's right to self-determination. Similarly, the illegal occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria régime was a challenge to the international community and humankind. The current obstacles to the implementation of the plan for the independence of Namibia must soon be eliminated. Moreover, the régime's attempts to break up Namibian territory and occupy it illegally were a potential danger to the peace and stability of the region. Turkey was in favour of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) and believed that it should be reinforced by an effective economic embargo which would force South Africa to comply with the principles adopted by the United Nations. He also reminded the Committee of his delegation's statement in 1982 on racial discrimination against migrant workers in some host countries.

11. Mr. BERRAIES (Tunisia) said a retrospective study led to the conclusion that the Organization was far from having attained the objectives stated in the Charter. There were many obstacles in its way, limiting its efforts and paralyzing its action. Although important resolutions and decisions had been adopted by the Organization, internationally and publicly denouncing serious attacks on the dignity and freedom of human beings, and combating racism and racial discrimination, those evils continued to prosper, either maintained by prejudices and myths or contained in the egocentric theories of some States, which showed scorn for anything that was strange to them in the name of racial pseudo-superiority.

12. Racism and racial discrimination were found in institutionalized form in Israel and South Africa, which were the most relentless adversaries in the struggle to eliminate that shameful scourge. In the Middle East, Israel was not only making its severe attacks on freedom and its constant oppression, but also contriving to dismantle the social, cultural and economic structures of the Palestinian people. In Africa, the apartheid régime of Pretoria was unquestionably the most reprehensible and most intolerable form that racism and racial discrimination could take. Tunisia energetically condemned that régime and the "bantustanization" policy which consisted of granting a fictitious independence to the black majority after robbing it of the ancestral land and its nationality.

13. Tunisia was convinced that the proclamation of a second Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination would make it possible to carry out the established objectives, provided that more pressure was put on the advocates of zionism and apartheid. States must abstain from co-operating with the established régime in South Africa at all levels - political, military, nuclear, economic, commercial, cultural and sports - until it decided to abandon the policy that had made it so infamous.

14. Mrs. TOBING-KLEIN (Suriname) said that human beings still had a very long way to go before they had recognized and fully accepted that they were equal, in spite of the progress they had made in identifying the problems with which they were confronted and their solutions. The head of her Government had stressed in his statement to the General Assembly that respect for sovereignty, the right of all peoples to self-determination, and the principle of non-interference and non-intervention should be the paramount and guiding principles governing relations among States. Southern Africa was held in a reign of terror by the racist régime of Pretoria, and she wished to express her Government's support for the heroic freedom fighters in the lands under the yoke of apartheid and for their brethren in the neighbouring States in the struggle and support against that inhuman system. Suriname stood firmly on the side of the Namibian people in its struggle for freedom, independence and sovereignty. It had become a party to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and fully agreed with its proposed approach and programmes of action. The objectives set out in the Programme for the Decade fully coincided with the objectives of her Government with regard to the establishment of a new international humanitarian order.

(Mrs. Tobing-Klein, Suriname)

15. The general policy of her Government was directed towards preventing and prohibiting racial discrimination, and it recognized apartheid as a crime against humanity. It would therefore support resolutions aimed at eradicating both of those phenomena. Suriname was continuing to take steps to implement the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. By virtue of a general notification of succession, made by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Suriname on 29 November 1975, Suriname considered itself in principle bound by the provisions of the Convention. For greater legal security, however, Suriname was in the process of preparing a specific notification of succession with regard to that Convention, in accordance with the rules and procedures of the United Nations.

16. Her delegation fully supported the objectives set out in the Programme for the Decade. She stressed the importance of teaching programmes for all levels with regard to all the items before the Committee, especially the various human-rights teaching programmes being developed by UNESCO.

17. Mr. HIRUBALAN (Singapore) said that despite numerous declarations, resolutions and proclamations, human rights were still being violated. Even worse, the violators used police or military action to deny victims their rights. Racial discrimination was one of the most serious breaches of human rights. It was evident in many countries, but nowhere more than in South Africa, where the policy of apartheid was a blatant assault on the principle of racial equality. Singapore had consistently supported resolutions adopted at the United Nations and in other international forums which had condemned that policy, and it would continue to do so.

18. The right to self-determination had been flagrantly violated in many countries. It was deplorable that the larger Powers were using military force to impose their will on smaller nations. After achieving their military objectives, those same Powers proceeded not only to affirm their commitment to the principle of self-determination but also to explain that their use of military force had been justified and had enabled them to uphold the Charter. While the debate proceeded in the United Nations, the victims of aggression continued to suffer. Sadly, they did not have the military means to reverse the situation and could only seek redress in the United Nations and other international forums.

19. Such was the situation in Kampuchea, where the intervention of foreign forces had denied the people its right to self-determination. Despite the continued censure of that intervention by most States Members of the United Nations, the foreign forces had remained intransigent. There were now signs of forced demographic changes and the imposition of an alien culture which could destroy the Kampuchean people. That demonstrated the aggressors' complete disregard for international norms and the fundamental rights of the indigenous people. The Kampuchean problem could be solved only if the occupying forces heeded international conventions and withdrew completely from Kampuchea.

(Mr. Hirubalan, Singapore)

20. The ability of the Afghan people to exercise its right to self-determination had been undermined by military intervention. As a result, several million Afghans had left their homeland and were living under very difficult conditions in refugee camps in neighbouring countries.

21. Singapore contended that the right of the Kampuchean and Afghan peoples to self-determination should be restored and that their human rights should no longer be denied. It had actively supported all the United Nations resolutions calling for the withdrawal of foreign forces from those small countries, and would continue to do so. If the international community acquiesced in the foreign occupation of Afghanistan and Kampuchea, it might encourage others to embark on similarly militaristic courses. For small States which did not have the military means to resist foreign intervention, it was of the utmost importance that the principle of self-determination should be upheld. The international community must continue to apply moral pressure, to ostracize the aggressors and to highlight the sufferings of the victims in order to reverse situations like those in Afghanistan and Kampuchea and to prevent similar ones from occurring.

22. The principle of self-determination was also being undermined in the Middle East. Singapore called for all the hostilities to stop, supported all the resolutions and declarations demanding Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and reaffirmed the fact that the Palestinians had the right to a homeland, just as Israel had the right to exist within secure and internationally recognized borders. It called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon and for respect for the right of the Lebanese to self-determination.

23. The principle of self-determination was under constant assault in Namibia. No reason given by the Pretoria régime could justify its continued colonial domination of Namibia, and it had merited the condemnation of the international community. Singapore recognized the South West Africa People's Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibians and supported their just struggle to free themselves from the clutches of South Africa.

24. As a small nation, Singapore was especially sensitive to the plight of those small States which were victims of aggression. The continued affirmation of the importance of human rights would finally drive home the message that most nations condemned any act which caused human suffering.

25. Mr. HEGYI (Hungary) said that his country cherished the right to self-determination because it had been occupied by foreign Powers for centuries. The Hungarian Government had always supported the right of peoples to self-determination and to freedom from colonialism and other forms of dependence. The historic process of decolonization had been halted in southern Africa and the Middle East, and attempts were being made to turn time back in other parts of the world. Pretoria was extending its policies of apartheid and bantustanization to Namibia. It had linked a Namibian settlement to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, a linkage which was unjustified and totally unacceptable. Namibia's independence could not be made subject to any preconditions, and the presence of Cuban forces was the internal affair of Angola and Cuba.

(Mr. Hegyi, Hungary)

26. In recent years, Angola had frequently been the target of military aggression by the racist régime. Such acts, in flagrant violation of international law, would be impossible without the collaboration and support of Pretoria's Western allies. Mozambique and Lesotho had also suffered from South African aggression. His delegation resolutely condemned such acts which only heightened tension in southern Africa.

27. It was hardly surprising that the gendarme of southern Africa and the gendarme of the Middle East should collaborate closely in the economic, military and nuclear fields. His delegation strongly condemned Israel's denial to the Palestinian people of the right to self-determination. Israel's continuing disregard for the fundamental norms of international law represented a threat to international peace and security. Without the support of its strategic ally, Israel would not be able to pursue that policy. The Hungarian people and Government resolutely and actively supported the Palestinians and the Palestine Liberation Organization in their struggle for self-determination and independence. As a member of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, Hungary took an active part in the efforts to achieve a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East, an essential element of which was the establishment of an independent Palestinian State in Palestine.

28. The right of peoples to self-determination was also jeopardized in other parts of the world. The overt and covert actions against sovereign States, especially in Latin America, including the undeclared war against Nicaragua, threatened self-determination and contributed to the strained international atmosphere.

29. His Government would continue to support the national liberation movements in their just struggle for independence, sovereignty and social justice. It was confident that the people of Namibia, led by the South West Africa People's Organization, would soon win the final victory and that Namibia would become an independent State. Similarly, together with the other progressive forces of the world, Hungary continued to support the efforts being made by the Palestinian people to achieve independence and sovereignty.

30. Mr. KHALIFA (Sudan) said that his country opposed racism, racial discrimination and apartheid and was fully committed to supporting all efforts to eradicate those evils. It strongly condemned the practice of apartheid in South Africa, Namibia and the occupied Arab territories, and the denial to peoples of their right to self-determination and independence. The Sudan endorsed the struggle in South Africa for national liberation by all available means, including armed force.

31. Despite the frequent condemnation of the South African régime's policies, that régime continued its inhuman practices of apartheid and denial of the basic human rights of the population. No significant progress had been made concerning those problems during the first Decade. South Africa had not yet learned from the example of Zimbabwe. It was continuing its repression of the opponents of apartheid in South Africa and Namibia and its aggression against neighbouring

(Mr. Khalifa, Sudan)

States. His delegation vigorously condemned that aggression, which forced those States to divert resources from much-needed economic development to national defence.

32. The United Nations could not be blamed entirely for its failure to prevent such evils: it was the attitude of some Member States and their disrespect for the relevant resolutions that were at fault. It was only through the complete isolation of South Africa and the implementation of the Security Council resolutions imposing sanctions against it that a solution to the problem would be reached. Words in condemnation of apartheid were meaningless when they were accompanied by massive assistance to the apartheid régime. Comprehensive and mandatory sanctions were the most effective means through which the international community could contribute to the legitimate struggle of the peoples of southern Africa.

33. His delegation called for more intensive international support for the campaign against racial discrimination and for international recognition of the adverse impact of assistance to the South African racist régime.

34. The Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which had reaffirmed the international community's abhorrence of the system of apartheid, had also provided an opportunity to review the results of the first Decade. Some progress had been made, and on the basis of that progress, the Second Decade should move closer to the eradication of racial discrimination. The Programme of Action adopted by the Second World Conference contained many practical suggestions which could ensure that the Second Decade would yield substantial results. His delegation was convinced that the collective will of States to implement the decisions of the Conference would enhance international efforts to eliminate racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

35. His country attached great importance to the right to self-determination and supported all efforts to enable the peoples still suffering under colonial domination to exercise that right. The Sudan fully supported the legitimate struggle of the Palestinians under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization and urged that all necessary steps should be taken to restore to them their rights, including the right to establish a sovereign State in their homeland. The Sudan would continue to give moral and material support to the people of Namibia, led by the South West Africa People's Organization, in its struggle for liberation from South African domination.

36. Mr. BEIN (Israel) said that at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly the delegation of Israel had unequivocally supported the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the goals set out for the decade being self-evident to the people of his country as Jews, Israelis and human beings. Only a generation earlier, the Jews had lost one-third of their people, including 1 million children, executed by the most brutal régime in history. In 1948, when the State of Israel had regained its independence, over 800,000 Jews, victims of racial and religious discrimination in many of the Arab

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

States, had been forced to leave their homes and the countries in which they had lived for generations, solely because they were Jews. They and their descendants now constitute the majority of the citizens of the State of Israel, the others being mainly direct or indirect survivors of the Holocaust. It was therefore natural that Israel should have a sense of complete identity and solidarity with the goal of the total elimination of all forms of racism and racial discrimination. The most abhorrent example of racism today was racial discrimination as institutionalized in South Africa. Israel totally rejected apartheid, as the Government of Israel had consistently made clear to the Government and people of the Republic of South Africa and to the world at large.

37. One of the most disturbing and depressing facts about the work of the Third Committee was the yearly repetition of statements and draft resolutions without any real progress. The reason for the lack of achievement was the continual hijacking and exploiting of a number of issues - even urgent and important ones - by the representatives of some countries for the promotion of propaganda completely irrelevant to the topics under discussion. The latest example of such misuse of valuable time, energy and financial resources, and a vivid illustration of the blatant manipulation of a world forum to enhance the selfish particularistic interests of certain countries, was the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination held at Geneva in August 1983. That Conference had fallen prey to the subversive tactics of Arab extremists and their supporters, who had deviously injected slanderous charges against Israel on extraneous issues aimed solely at escalating their anti-Israel political warfare. As the Committee had heard in their respective reports, both the President and the Secretary-General of the Conference had deplored the failure of the Conference to reach agreement on its declaration - the fact that, in spite of the consensus reached with regard to General Assembly resolution 37/41, after long and arduous efforts by the Secretary-General of the Conference which had ultimately resulted in the deletion from the Conference agenda of those subjects not pertinent to the discussion, no lessons had been drawn from the negative experience of the 1978 Conference and Israel had once again been singled out for vicious and groundless accusations. Such accusations merely harmed the general cause. Ironically, many of the countries supporting the anti-Israel propaganda were themselves guilty of racial and ethnic discrimination and oppression.

38. His delegation objected in the strongest terms to the selective and unwarranted condemnations of Israel included in the declaration adopted at the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and it expressed its appreciation to all those delegations which had refused to support the shameful and untrue allegations contained in paragraphs 19 and 20 of the declaration. The countries that pursued destructive political motives and attempted to conceal their own racist attitudes and practices had diverted yet another United Nations conference from its designated purposes, thus undermining the consensus necessary for effectively combating all forms of racism and racial discrimination - the purpose for which the Conference had been convened.

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

39. The hostile references to Israel and zionism included in the statements of some representatives of Arab countries and their allies - the USSR and its satellites - were vicious libels which bore no relation to truth and fact. Zionism, the national movement of the Jewish people, was the modern expression of the ancient Jewish heritage - a renewal of the bond between the Jewish people and the land of Israel. It was the Jewish people's revolt against racial discrimination and anti-Semitism. The goals of zionism - the establishment of a national home, a State for the Jewish people in the land of Israel - had been endorsed by the League of Nations, the forerunner of the United Nations, when on 24 July 1922 it had entrusted the United Kingdom with the mandate for Palestine, which incorporated the text of the declaration calling for the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in the land of Israel. That historic vision had been endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly in its decision of 29 November 1947. It was an outrage to compare zionism with racism: the two concepts were antithetical. Zionism was a rebellion against discrimination, a movement of self-emancipation by a people which had suffered from racism for generations. The terrorist attacks against Jews and Jewish institutions throughout Europe and North and South America were a direct outcome of the slanderous equating of zionism with racism. The libel against zionism was a direct encouragement to hatred based on racism and racial discrimination. Anti-Semitism the world over now paraded in the guise of anti-zionism.

40. There was nothing in the platform of the Jewish national liberation movement - zionism - or in Israel's attitude towards Arabs or other nationals, in ideology, policy or practice, that could be characterized as remotely akin to racial discrimination. If there was an element of racism in the Arab-Israeli conflict, it stemmed from the other side. Some of the Arab countries still had laws prohibiting a Jew from becoming a citizen, and they wished to undermine the right of Israel to exist solely because it was a Jewish, not an Arab, State. That was surely a clear manifestation of racism.

41. The only chance of achieving some success in the combat against racism was by dedication to the subject entrusted to the Committee. All members should abstain from diversionary tactics and the injection of extraneous issues into deliberations and draft resolutions.

42. Mr. RIACHE (Algeria) said that the present debate was particularly important because 1983 would see the end of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The Decade had been the expression of the international community's will to eradicate racism and racial discrimination once and for all, as sources of division and lack of understanding between human beings and between nations, and had mobilized considerable effort to that end. The Programme of Action adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 3057 (XXVIII) of 2 November 1973 and the supplementary Programme of Action adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 34/24 of 15 November 1979 had formed objective working bases for the task of eradicating racism and racial discrimination and were still, to a large extent, effective instruments for national and international effort. The wealth of national laws and regulations for implementing the programmes of action

(Mr. Riache, Algeria)

that now existed and were regularly reported by the Secretary-General offered one of the most effective means of eliminating racism and racial discrimination. The numerous international seminars, conferences, studies and publications described by the Director of the Centre for Human Rights, involving the participation of people and organizations from all parts of the world and representing all types of culture made a positive contribution to identifying forms of racism and racial discrimination, and thus to finding ways of combating them and ultimately achieving greater understanding between people. The accession of many States to the International Convention on All Forms of Racial Discrimination was evidence of a growing belief in the need to eliminate all racial and other prejudice and to build a world based on equality and mutual respect. Algeria had ratified the Convention at the end of 1972.

43. Implementation of the Convention was a vital factor in combating racism, and his country attached special importance to the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, whose influence and reputation were growing from year to year. That Committee would be considering Algeria's sixth report during its first 1984 session.

44. It was surprising that although apartheid was universally recognized as the most odious form of racism and a crime against mankind, only 74 countries had signed or ratified the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. That showed the difference in certain countries between State interest and professions of support for the combat against of racism. Algeria had already ratified the Convention, which it regarded as the most effective means of achieving the early elimination of apartheid.

45. The first Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination could be said to have produced two major results: a general awareness of the cruelty and injustice caused by racism, racial discrimination, apartheid and zionism; and the recognition of the existence of an unsuspected degree of humanity, justice and equality among people. The present debate, however, had shown that the Decade had not been able to eliminate the evils against which it was directed. The international community would therefore have to find more effective methods of action to achieve the established objectives.

46. Racism continued to exist in a multitude of forms, often insidious and sometimes violent, and apartheid and zionism were becoming more virulent. The racist régime of Pretoria pursued its implacable policy of oppression against black people, maintaining its illegal occupation of Namibia and perpetuating its long-standing denial of the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence and its shameless exploitation of Namibia's wealth. It was also actively pursuing its policy of bantustanization as an integral part of apartheid and intensifying its murderous aggression against the civilian populations of the countries of the region and its sabotage of their economies. Yet the Pretoria régime continued to enjoy the support of certain Western countries, which refused to comply with United Nations resolutions calling for total international isolation of the Pretoria racist régime.

(Mr. Riache, Algeria)

47. It had been established that apartheid was essentially an economic question and that action against it must be based on the universal imposition of stringent economic sanctions against South Africa. Verbal condemnation, codes of conduct and declarations of principles were no longer sufficient. Total economic war was the only means of exterminating apartheid. The Western countries which maintained co-operative relations with South Africa bore a heavy responsibility for the suffering endured by the people of southern Africa. Those who believed that such suffering could be alleviated by non-violent possibilities for change alleged to exist in South Africa and to be capable of transforming the apartheid régime into a more equitable régime would do better to support the international consensus and cease co-operating with South Africa. Algeria rejected such so-called reforms and reaffirmed its total solidarity with the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia and with the countries of the region which were the victims of criminal aggression by South Africa.

48. Zionism in the Middle East, like apartheid and the racist régime of Pretoria in Africa, was a foreign element rejected by the society onto which it had been grafted. The Zionist ideology was essentially racist like apartheid and was based on racial superiority and on the domination and oppression of others. Its political application had resulted in the destruction of Palestinian land, occupation of Arab territory, subjection of a people, horrifying massacres of the innocent, continual violation of basic human rights and territorial expansionism. Only nazism and apartheid were comparable to it. His delegation therefore questioned the real intentions of delegations which had sought, both in the Committee and at the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, to cast doubt on the real nature of the links between apartheid and zionism and on their essentially racist character. But the General Assembly had made clear pronouncements on those questions, particularly in resolutions 3068 (XXVIII) of 30 November 1973 and 3379 (XXX) of 10 November 1975.

49. The extent to which zionism represented a threat to international peace and stability could be seen from the fact that it was putting into effect two basic principles established by Theodor Herzl, which he quoted: the racist principle of the superiority of the chosen people, and the principle of expansionism.

50. While welcoming the valuable contribution of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, his delegation believed that the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by it represented the bare minimum of activity to be carried out by the United Nations, Member States and international agencies and organizations in the coming years. However, his delegation wholeheartedly supported the Declaration and Programme of Action, as well as the idea of proclaiming a second Decade during the current session of the General Assembly. The new Decade would further the combat against apartheid, zionism and racial discrimination and ensure more effective action against various aspects of racism, such as the social inequalities suffered by migrant workers and certain minorities. It would also ensure, for example, better use of educational and training systems and a more important role for the mass media in combating racism.

(Mr. Riache, Algeria)

51. He reaffirmed Algeria's support for the people of Namibia, led by their sole legitimate representative, SWAPO, and for the declaration of the Conference on Namibia held in April 1983. His country also supported the rights of the people of Western Sahara, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations.

52. Recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence and to the creation of a national State in Palestine was increasingly opposed by the arrogance and expansionism of the Zionist entity, which, not content with turning the Palestinian people out of their native land, hunted them in their refugee camps, as witness the tragic case of the Sabra and Shatila camps. However, at the recent conference on Palestine held at Geneva, the international community had strongly reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence and the creation of a national State in Palestine under the auspices of the Palestine Liberation Organization, that people's sole and legitimate representative. Algeria fully supported the declaration adopted at Geneva.

53. Mrs. ZOGRAFOU (Greece) said that the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in 1960 had not brought an end to the era of colonization. Although a large number of States emerging from foreign domination had joined the United Nations, entire peoples were still unable to determine their own destiny, and colonialism, along with aggression and foreign occupation, resulted in violation of the most fundamental human right - the right to freedom. The most eloquent and unanimous condemnation of such violations was contained in paragraphs 2 and 3 of General Assembly resolution 37/42.

54. Greece, a country which was resolutely committed to respect for human rights and in which no one had ever been persecuted by reason of race, religion or descent, noted with regret that in a number of countries people were tortured, disappeared without trace or were deprived of their fundamental rights, and that some countries refused to co-operate with international bodies dealing with the control of human-rights violations, claiming that those bodies were interfering in their internal affairs. Greece condemned racial discrimination in any form, in particular the abhorrent policy of apartheid pursued by the South African Government despite the persistent demands of the international community and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations calling for its immediate cessation.

55. The most important of the many international instruments concerning the elimination of racial discrimination was the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination set up to monitor Member States' efforts to eradicate racial discrimination was new proof of the international community's will to combat that evil. She noted with regret, however, that many States were failing to honour their obligation to submit periodic reports to the Committee. The General Assembly should respond to the request made by CERD in General Recommendation VI and by many States parties to the Convention and should also take into account the

(Mrs. Zografou, Greece)

Secretary-General's suggestions in document A/38/393. Her delegation welcomed the Secretary-General's recommendation that the periodicity of reporting should be extended and hoped that his proposals would be given favourable consideration in the General Assembly.

56. She also drew attention to decision 1 (XXVII) of CERD concerning the situation in Cyprus caused by the occupation of part of its territory by foreign troops which had prevented Cyprus from implementing the Convention in the occupied areas. Her delegation hoped that the situation would soon be remedied and a just solution found to end the plight endured by the Cypriots for the past nine years.

57. Mr. NABIL (Afghanistan) said that the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination was a cardinal element of the Charter of the United Nations. That principle was also the basis of many others, such as those of sovereign equality of States, non-interference and non-intervention, and the prohibition of the use of force. Despite all the positive achievements of the United Nations and progressive forces and despite the valiant struggle of colonial peoples, the forces of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism still persisted with their plans to perpetuate their hold on the colonial territories. The racist South African régime refused to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and continued its illegal occupation of Namibia, its brutal repression of the Namibian people, its persistent violation of that people's human rights and its pillage of the Territory's rich resources.

58. The United States and some other Western countries, despite condemnation by the United Nations, were intensifying their collaboration with the South African racist régime in the economic, political and military fields. As a result of that collaboration, the abhorrent system of apartheid had continued its brutal and inhuman repression of the South African people and its acts of aggression and intimidation against neighbouring independent countries. Afghanistan expressed its solidarity with the front-line States, the people of South Africa under the leadership of ANC and the Namibian people and its sole legitimate representative, SWAPO.

59. Although Jews had themselves been victims of Nazi and Fascist practices during the Second World War, the Israeli authorities had elected to mete out similar inhuman treatment to the Palestinians whom they had displaced by force from their homelands or compelled to live in enclosures surrounded by military forces within occupied Palestine. Aided by the United States imperialism, Israel was denying the Palestinian people its legitimate rights. Not only did the United States help Israel by supplying the most sophisticated military equipment and ammunition for the massacre of innocent Palestinians and other Arabs, but its naval forces were also savagely shelling Lebanese towns and villages.

60. Afghanistan supported the right of self-determination of its Palestinian brothers, including their independent State in Palestine, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization. It also called for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Zionist troops from all Arab territories, including

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(Mr. Nabil, Afghanistan)

Jerusalem and Syria's Golan Heights. It condemned the repeated violations of its Libyan brothers' sovereignty and independence by the United States.

61. The expansionist and illegal actions of the United States, aimed at withdrawing Micronesia from international jurisdiction and establishing its complete domination in that part of the globe in order to change it into Washington's own kind of bantustan, posed a serious danger for the security of the region and would eventually result in the creation of new tensions in the world. The United States Government pursued the same policy towards Puerto Rico by consistently denying the right of self-determination to the Puerto Rican masses.

62. The imperialist Powers were now interested in interpreting the right of self-determination in such a manner as to install pro-imperialist and subservient Governments in the newly independent countries. Where they did not succeed, they resorted to acts of subversion and destruction against the nationalist Governments of those countries. It was in that context that Afghanistan called for the immediate cessation of United States plots against the revolutionary peoples of Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, Suriname and other Caribbean and Latin American States. Afghanistan called for the early return of Guantanamo to Cuba.

63. In addition, Afghanistan expressed full support for the independence, sovereignty and unity of Cyprus and demanded the withdrawal of occupation forces from that country; it reaffirmed its support for the peaceful reunification of Korea on the basis of proposals put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; it firmly supported the struggle and achievements of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and urged the world community to assist in the restoration of its legitimate right to be represented in the United Nations and other international bodies; and it called for the restitution of the Malvinas to the Argentine Republic, the right of the people of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic to self-determination and the return of the Malagasy islands to the Democratic Republic of Madagascar.

64. In launching the victorious April revolution, the people of Afghanistan had chosen decisively and irreversibly the path of building a new society based on democracy, social justice and progress. However, it was imperialism, hegemonism and reaction which tried in vain to place obstacles in the way of the people's progress in order to deprive it of its legitimate right to self-determination. Those forces had unleashed an undeclared war against the Afghan people from the territory of Pakistan, thus violating that people's right to self-determination. The United States was engaged in cynical and open interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, and high officials of the United States, including President Reagan, had in fact stated that the United States would continue to supply the counter-revolutionaries with arms and financial assistance. That had been carried out with the full collaboration of Pakistan.

65. In reply to those who had spoken about the occupation of Afghanistan, he wished to state that the limited contingents from the USSR were in his country at the request of the legal Government of Afghanistan and constituted a firm guarantee

(Mr. Nabil, Afghanistan)

in the struggle of the Afghan people to defend its homeland in the face of continued armed aggression from abroad.

66. It had been a surprise to his delegation to see the representative of the military dictatorship of Pakistan expressing concern about the so-called violation of the rights of the Afghan people, all the more so because the present Pakistan régime had seized power through a military coup d'état, had overthrown the legitimate Government and had hanged the elected leader of that country. If the Pakistan Government and its imperialist and hegemonist patrons were sincere about the peaceful settlement of their disputes with Afghanistan, then they must support Afghanistan's efforts on the basis of Afghanistan's realistic proposals of 14 May 1980 and 24 August 1981. They must immediately halt their interventionist, hostile and adventurist policies against Afghanistan.

67. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan had always stressed the fundamental importance of the right to self-determination and believed that that universal principle applied equally to small and large nations. It supported the struggle of various nations and peoples of the world for peace, national and social freedom, democracy and progress and against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, as well as against zionism, racism, fascism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

68. Mr. RUBIN (International Labour Organisation) said that the International Labour Organisation had maintained close co-operation with organizations within the United Nations system and had, among other things, been involved in an active programme within the framework of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. ILO promoted equality of opportunity and treatment in the field of employment and occupation and in the treatment and conditions of work of migrant workers, especially with respect to apartheid in southern Africa. The various ILO Conventions on employment and occupation had all received additional ratifications in recent years, and supervisory procedures administered by ILO in relation to those Conventions had involved the examination of reports requested under articles 19 and 22 of the ILO Constitution from all States.

69. ILO's activities with respect to migrant workers were aimed at overcoming the host countries' discrimination between migrant and national workers and among different racial groups of migrant workers. The relevant ILO Conventions also embodied the general objective of encouraging Member States to develop a general national policy designed to promote and guarantee equality of opportunity and treatment in respect of employment and occupation, social security, trade-union and cultural rights and the individual and collective freedom of migrant workers. The international standards established by ILO had been followed up by promotional activities on a regional, subregional and national basis and by technical co-operation in the form of technical advisory services and technical support to national, regional and international bodies working to overcome the disabilities of migrant workers, including those which resulted from racial discrimination.

70. A major focus of ILO's concern had been apartheid and its effects on labour. That had involved the progressive strengthening of ILO's mechanism for reviewing

(Mr. Rubin, ILO)

apartheid developments and for taking action to combat apartheid. The culmination of those increased efforts had been the adoption of an updated Declaration concerning the policy of apartheid in South Africa, following the Declaration that had first been adopted by ILO in 1964. One of the main ILO contributions continued to be the annual publication of the Special Report of the Director-General on the policy of apartheid as it related to labour and social matters. The annual Special Reports had also dealt extensively with action taken against apartheid by Governments, workers' and employers' organizations, ILO, the United Nations and other intergovernmental organizations. Another major contribution in recent years had been the expansion of ILO's technical-assistance programme in southern Africa. Since 1978, vocational training projects for ANC and PAC in the United Republic of Tanzania and for Namibians in Angola had been in progress. ILO had maintained consultative relations not only with the liberation movements concerned but also with OAU and its Liberation Committee and with interested United Nations bodies.

71. In short, ILO had seen its task in all those matters as the establishment of appropriate standards followed by continuous efforts at the mobilization of public opinion combined with the provision of material and technical assistance in order to combat racism in every possible way within its sphere of competence.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.