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The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.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:

(i) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

(ii) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

(b) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

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1. Mr. BENA (Romania) said that the current debate on item 86 was taking place in a complex and confused international climate in which cases the use or threat of force was proliferating, the struggle for zones and spheres of influence and domination was being stepped up and a new and dangerous acceleration of the arms race was taking place.

2. His delegation considered that it was necessary to act in an increasingly responsible manner in order that relations between States might be based on strict respect for national independence and sovereignty, equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit, non-use of force or threat of force and the inalienable right of every people to decide its destiny in accordance with its own aspirations. History and the norms of international law proved the validity of the struggle for national independence and its culmination in a life of freedom and dignity.

3. Romania firmly believed that the rights to self-determination and to independence were among the fundamental principles of international law which made up the indivisible whole of the legitimate rights of peoples. Those principles were the fundamental factors of Romania's foreign policy and constituted the basis

(Mr. Bena, Romania)

for support of and solidarity with peoples fighting for independence against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, apartheid and all forms of domination, oppression and discrimination. For that reason, his delegation considered that the United Nations should redouble its efforts for the total eradication of those evils.

4. Romania provided political, diplomatic, moral and material support to the struggle of the Namibian people to end the illegal occupation of Namibia and exercise without delay its right to independence and freedom, in accordance with the resolutions on the subject adopted in the United Nations. Romania firmly condemned the policy of apartheid, the repressive activities of the Pretoria régime against the majority of the population and the acts of aggression committed by the South African armed forces against sovereign African States. The documents to be adopted at the current session under item 86 would mark a new stage in activities aimed at the universal implementation of the right of peoples to self-determination and the immediate granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, which would help to consolidate the norms of international law and to promote international peace and security.

5. Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic) said that the realization of the right of peoples to national independence was the first decisive step towards the exercise of the right to self-determination. In that respect, impressive results had been achieved since the adoption of the United Nations Charter, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. However, there were still a few peoples who had to struggle for self-determination and sometimes even for their mere existence.

6. In accordance with the Political Declaration of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, his delegation considered it imperative to eliminate immediately the causes of many conflicts that originated in colonialism and racism and to put an end to practices of neo-colonialism and exploitation of peoples. One of the most flagrant examples of those practices was the racist régime in Pretoria, which for that reason was a threat to international peace. It was subjugating the African majority of the South African people, it had embarked on an undeclared war against Angola and other independent States of the region and, in open disregard of United Nations resolutions, it continued to occupy illegally the territory of Namibia. The German Democratic Republic therefore condemned the support given to South Africa by certain Western Powers, especially the current United States Administration. An end must be put to the direct and indirect supply of military nuclear technology to the Pretoria régime and the collusion of transnational corporations with that régime, with a view to the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

7. A comprehensive, just and lasting solution must also be found to the Middle East conflict. His delegation supported the just and courageous struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO and strongly condemned the acts of terror and violence perpetrated by Israel in the occupied Arab

(Mr. Zachmann, German Democratic Republic)

territories. One decisive prerequisite for a settlement of the Middle East question was the immediate withdrawal of Israel from all illegally occupied Arab territories.

8. Non-interference in the internal affairs of States was an irrevocable principle of the Charter of the United Nations. Imperialist policies which used military force in Central America to prevent social progress and maintain power over the puppet régimes governing the peoples against their will violated that principle. The acts of aggression against Nicaragua were tantamount to a de facto declaration of war against that State because they were a negation of the right to freedom and national independence.

9. His delegation supported the proposal that due importance should be given, in the debate and the process of adopting resolutions concerning the agenda item on self-determination, to questions relating to economic independence and the right to development. The maintenance of peace and the exercise of the right of peoples to independence and self-determination required the elimination of all manifestations of colonialism, including the installation of United States and other NATO military bases in the Pacific, the Atlantic, the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean.

10. Mr. BOUFFANDEAU (France) said that at the preceding session, in the Third Committee, his delegation had supported, the holding of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination because, in its view, that was the most appropriate means of enabling the international community to analyse the situation with respect to the struggle against racism, strengthen its resolve to oppose all manifestations of that scourge and better adapt its actions to the many forms in which it appeared. It was in that spirit that his country had participated in the Second World Conference, which had given two reasons for satisfaction that should help the international community gradually to reduce differences of opinion on certain aspects of the struggle against racism.

11. In the first place, a new impetus had been given to the struggle against racism, as was shown by the unanimous recommendation of the participants that a Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination should be launched. That was very opportune, because racism was still very much a reality throughout the world, whether in institutionalized form, as in South Africa, or in the collective or individual subconscious as a result of prejudices built up over the centuries. The second reason for satisfaction was the impetus that had been given to the substance of that struggle, since 9 of the 10 chapters of the Programme of Action adopted by the Conference had been approved by consensus. In addition, measures adapted to the multifarious and universal character of racism had been included in the Programme.

12. Constructive co-operation had developed at the Second World Conference with a view to effective action against racism and, although agreement had not been reached on all points, the participants had managed to agree on the essentials, which were that racism was almost universally condemned and that a Programme should be drawn up, most of whose chapters would provide the international community with

(Mr. Bouffandeau, France)

guidelines for action. The task now was to carry forward the struggle against racism and reduce even further the differences of opinion regarding the methods to be used in particular cases.

13. In order to combat racism and racial discrimination effectively, it was important to agree on the definition of that evil and to recognize its universal character; it was always well, in that connection, to bear in mind the text of article 1, paragraph 1, of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

14. In his introductory statement, the President of the Conference had noted the universality and the sometimes covert nature of racism, and the manifold aspects which discrimination assumed. That was completely cogent, since racism was not solely a question of skin colour and was found not only in certain regions but everywhere, in differing degrees and multiple forms. It must therefore be combated by diversified and realistic means in order to remove the prejudices, myths and irrational attitudes which infringed the dignity of the human person. In that connection, his delegation welcomed the agreement that had been reached on the chapters of the Programme of Action relating to education, information and migrant workers.

15. With regard to chapter A of the Programme of Action, his delegation vehemently condemned the policy of apartheid in South Africa, since that policy sought to institutionalize unacceptable and repugnant discriminatory practices. It was accordingly right to give maximum priority to that topic in the Programme of Action. With a view to eliminating that scourge, some recommended the imposition of sanctions against South Africa, including the severance of all relations with that country; but France had serious doubts about the efficacy of such a policy. For that reason, in other recent cases having nothing to do with South Africa, it had refused to take such action. History had repeatedly shown that an economic embargo could be counterproductive; one example had been Rhodesia, where a form of development had been evolved which had strengthened the country, but in the most wretched conditions for the workers. In the case of South Africa also, it was clear that a policy of economic sanctions would produce results opposite to those sought. On the other hand, it was necessary to express the categorical rejection of apartheid, unceasingly proclaim the system's monstrous character to South Africa's rulers and to those who were indifferent to it, and assist its victims while the development of the neighbouring countries progressed.

16. As for France's position, his country had spoken in favour of an arms embargo against South Africa, and had increased its contacts with the Special Committee against Apartheid; an office of the African National Congress had been established in Paris, and France contributed to assistance funds for the victims of apartheid. It had recently refused to conclude new contracts with South Africa in the nuclear field and had requested French sports federations to prohibit all their teams from taking part in sporting events in South Africa, an action which had a considerable impact on public opinion.

(Mr. Bouffandeau, France)

17. The General Assembly, and consequently the Third Committee, must now take a decision on the recommendation that a Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination should be launched. His delegation hoped that the consensus which had prevailed in 1973, when the first Decade had been initiated would again be achieved. That would be possible if points of agreement were taken into account and differences were set aside.

18. He noted that 121 States had so far signed, ratified or acceded to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. His delegation was pleased to see the constantly increasing number of signatories and the results achieved by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in its work. However, the delay in the submission of reports by States parties was to be regretted; France had made some proposals on that point, which appeared in the annex to document A/38/393.

19. France had very strict laws against discrimination, and in 1983 it had submitted its sixth periodic report. On 16 August 1982, the French Government as a reaffirmation of its desire to promote the aims of the Convention, had made the declaration provided for in article 14, thus recognizing the competence of its Committee. France had been the ninth country to make that declaration, and Senegal's subsequent declaration had raised the number to the 10 required in order for the Committee to exercise the functions assigned to it under article 14. His delegation hoped that more States would agree to recognize the Committee's competence by means of such declarations.

20. Mr. BALUCH (Pakistan) expressed his delegation's satisfaction at the progress achieved during the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination; it was especially noteworthy that the Programme of Action had been adopted without any dissenting vote, thus indicating that a consensus on the issues of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid, which was essential for the eradication of those evils, was gradually emerging. His Government was determined to extend maximum co-operation to the international community in the implementation of the Programme of Action, the principles of which it fully supported.

21. Much progress had unquestionably been made since the launching of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, but much remained to be done. That was very obvious when one saw that the Pretoria régime, in disregard of United Nations resolutions and the will of the international community, persisted in its abominable policy of apartheid, under which racism had been institutionalized in its most obnoxious form. The people and Government of Pakistan rejected and vehemently condemned that policy and the persecution and terror inflicted on the black and coloured people of South Africa, the policy of establishing "bantustans" and the Pretoria régime's so-called reforms, which were unacceptable, especially the limited parliamentary representation. South Africa's acts of armed aggression against neighbouring countries and its illegal occupation of Namibia must likewise be condemned. He expressed total solidarity with the oppressed people of Azania and pointed out that Pakistan had no relations whatsoever with the racist minority régime of South Africa. It had consistently

(Mr. Baluch, Pakistan)

provided support to the people of Azania in the struggle to secure their fundamental rights. His delegation fully supported the recommendation of the Conference that all States should implement strictly the embargo on the supply of arms and related military materials to South Africa, and the imposition of mandatory sanctions by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

22. The discriminatory treatment to which minorities and migrant workers were subjected in certain parts of the world was a reminder that racism and racial discrimination had not yet been totally eradicated. Pakistan therefore supported all measures that might be adopted to put an end to discriminatory practices.

23. Racism and racial discrimination were a product of ignorant minds, fed on myths and fallacies reflecting ideas of racial superiority. Education could therefore play a very useful role in bringing home to everyone the worth and essential equality of all human beings. Mass media could also make a significant contribution by mobilizing international public opinion against the evils of racism and racial discrimination.

24. The population of Pakistan belonged to a relatively homogeneous racial group and the majority espoused the religion of Islam, which emphasized human equality, brotherhood and tolerance for persons of other races and creeds. The practice of racial discrimination did not exist in his country and, therefore, it was no surprise that Pakistan had been among the first countries to sign the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Since that time, it had regularly submitted its reports to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and had taken the necessary constitutional and legislative measures to ensure effective implementation of the provisions of the Convention. His country participated in all international conferences on that subject and regularly observed International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, on which occasion the President issued a message in memory of the Sharpeville massacre and in support of the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

25. In speaking about the denial of human rights, his delegation had to condemn the inhuman and oppressive policies practised by Israel against the Arab and Palestinian population in the occupied Arab territories. The world press had provided detailed information on the atrocities committed by the Israeli authorities and the attempts to change the historical and demographic character of the occupied areas. The massacre of unarmed Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila camps was a reminder of Israel's disregard for all norms of decent and civilized behaviour. His delegation therefore called on the international community to adopt urgently measures to put an end to the reign of terror and persecution which Israel had imposed on the population of the occupied territories and to restore the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to a sovereign State.

26. His delegation had closely followed the progress made thus far by the Working Group on the Elaboration of an International Convention on the Protection of the

(Mr. Baluch, Pakistan)

Rights of all Migrant Workers and Their Families, and his Government attached great importance to the speedy elaboration and adoption of an international convention on that subject.

27. Lastly, he drew attention to the constructive suggestions made by the Secretary-General in document A/38/393 and expressed the hope that those suggestions would be considered by the States parties to the Convention.

28. Mr. BELL (Canada), referring to agenda item 83, said that many countries had had serious doubts about the usefulness and likely outcome of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, in view of the disappointment over the results of the First World Conference in 1978. Canada had decided to attend the Second World Conference because the commitment to eliminate all vestiges of racism and racial discrimination, especially the institutionalized violence of apartheid, had obliged it to participate.

29. His delegation agreed with the view expressed by the President of the Conference concerning the moderate success achieved. That assessment was justified in view of the fact that 128 States had participated in the Conference and that there had been no negative votes on the Programme of Action, which, in the opinion of his delegation, was the more useful of the two Conference documents since it set forth specific and practical measures for Governments to consider and possibly adopt.

30. That success had also been due in part to the unstinting efforts of the President and the Secretary-General of the Conference and also of the Secretary-General and his staff in the preparatory work, and in part to the firm determination of the large majority of participating delegations to avoid a repetition of the frustrating experience of 1978. He drew particular attention to the efforts and work of the African Group at the Conference.

31. It was gratifying to note that other delegations at the Conference had shared the concern of his delegation that special attention should be given to those manifestations of racism which were hidden in social systems or in legislation itself. It was the experience of his country that special programmes were the most effective means of protecting the groups which were most vulnerable to such hidden discrimination. He expressed satisfaction, therefore, that in its two final documents the Conference had recognized the insidious nature of hidden racial discrimination and the need to counter it with special programmes.

32. Unfortunately, there had also been disappointments on that occasion. Since the Conference had departed from the strict terms of its mandate, a number of votes had been cast against the Declaration. Furthermore, agreement had not been achieved at the Conference on the need for an unequivocal statement in the Declaration that racism and racial discrimination were universal phenomena. The expression of that truth in the Declaration was circuitous, when it should have been honest and forthright.

(Mr. Bell, Canada)

33. The moderate nature of the success of the Conference was perhaps due as much to the type of forum in which it had been held as to other factors. International political meetings were usually the occasion for international political statements which were more suited to establishing a general framework than to finding a means to solve the practical everyday problems arising out of discrimination. The two World Conferences to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination held to date had established the political context and the basis for further deliberations. At the current stage, more serious and detailed discussion of practical measures and programmes was required. It was perhaps necessary to hold more meetings of experts and workers in the field, who could compare problems and programmes. It was basically at the national and local levels that practical difficulties were overcome, that individuals were helped and that the goals set for the Decade were achieved. If a second Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination were proclaimed, Canada would look forward to sharing its own experience and would exchange views with other countries in order to achieve finally the goals which had been pursued for so long.

34. With regard to agenda item 87, he expressed satisfaction that the number of countries which had ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination had increased to 121. Those ratifications symbolized the acceptance by the respective Governments of the international norms of human rights and their intention to implement them in their domestic legislation.

35. Ratifications, however important, should be accompanied by an effective mechanism to monitor compliance with the respective obligations, which in the case of that Convention was the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Nevertheless, the very short intervals allowed under the Convention for the submission of reports by States parties, together with the increase in the number of States parties and the proliferation of other reporting obligations in accordance with various international instruments, had demonstrated the flaws in the system established by the Convention, which daily grew more serious.

36. The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had itself recognized those difficulties and, as a result, the General Assembly in resolution 37/44 had requested the Secretary-General to analyse the problem and recommend solutions. The relevant report of the Secretary-General (A/38/393) did not limit its analysis to the system provided under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, but also considered the five international human rights instruments, which established similar reporting systems and information procedures. Since the problems concerning the submission of the reports required by the other instruments were increasing daily, Canada had supported the proposal made recently by the delegation of Greece on behalf of the European Economic Community that all human rights instruments and related questions should be grouped under one agenda item. It was regrettable that that proposal had not been given more serious consideration.

37. The most serious problems with regard to the submission of reports currently arose in connection with the International Convention on the Elimination of All

(Mr. Bell, Canada)

Forms of Racial Discrimination. As the Secretary-General had said in his report, if no attempt was made to solve them quickly, they might become insurmountable. As reporting obligations increased, the difficulties became more pronounced, particularly for small developing countries. However, other States parties, including Canada, were also experiencing difficulties in coping with the short intervals which had been stipulated because, under the Canadian federal system, jurisdiction for the questions covered by the Convention was shared by the federal, provincial and territorial governments.

38. In section IV of his report (A/38/393), the Secretary-General had made recommendations to stem the progressive deterioration of the reporting systems under the various human rights instruments and in particular the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and Canada's views accorded very closely with those of the Secretary-General. The recommendations regarding co-ordination among the relevant human rights bodies and technical assistance and co-operation could easily be carried out by a resolution of the General Assembly. The first recommendation, regarding periodicity in the submission of reports by States parties to the Convention, was somewhat more complicated, as it involved a revision of article 9, paragraph 1 (b), of the Convention. To make such a revision, in accordance with article 23 of the Convention, the General Assembly could adopt a protocol to the Convention which would establish a new reporting cycle. The protocol, upon adoption, would be binding immediately on those States parties which had acceded to it, and the new reporting procedure could be put into effect without delay.

39. On page 124 of its report (A/38/18), CERD had expressed an opinion on the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), whose situation had been the object of bitter political controversy. In accordance with article 15 of the Convention, the Committee did receive information from the competent bodies of the United Nations regarding Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories so that it could express opinions on matters "directly related to the principles and objectives" of the Convention. The problem of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) was very complex and delicate, but it was not a problem of racial discrimination; thus, CERD had in that case strayed beyond its mandate and set an unacceptable and dangerous precedent.

40. Agenda item 86 dealt with self-determination, an issue which occupied a central place in the Charter. Articles 1, 55, 73 and 76 were enough to give a clear indication that its drafters had held an unshakeable view that there was no more urgent task for the new world Organization than the universal fulfilment of that principle. A historical perspective covering the four decades that had elapsed since the establishment of the United Nations brought the successes and weaknesses of the Organization into focus. One of the undoubted successes had been the progressive realization of the right of peoples to self-determination; the increase in the membership of the Organization, which had almost tripled, bore witness to that success. However, several important tasks of decolonization remained. The most obvious was Namibia. Since the Security Council had adopted resolution 435 (1978), the fundamental issues regarding its implementation had been resolved. In the Canadian view, no credible reason remained for the continuing illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa.

(Mr. Bell, Canada)

41. The violation of the right to self-determination was not restricted to situations of colonialism. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) also addressed situations where self-determination could be threatened as a result of foreign military intervention and occupation of a territory. Some recent Third Committee resolutions (35/35 B, 36/10 and 37/42) reinforced that view. There were the examples of the Afghan and Cambodian peoples, whose legitimate aspirations to self-determination had been brutally turned aside by the military intervention of the Soviet Union in the first case and of Viet Nam in the second. Despite numerous General Assembly resolutions and calls for the withdrawal of troops, despite constructive proposals from regional groups and the efforts of the Secretary-General, the Soviet Union and Viet Nam had persisted in their defiance of international opinion, international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

42. Mrs. MANEIRO (Venezuela) said that her country had always reiterated, in all international fora and especially within the United Nations, its repudiation of any form of racial discrimination, its condemnation of the apartheid régime and its determined support for all peoples fighting for self-determination. For historical, political and social reasons, racial discrimination was alien to Venezuelans. Venezuela, a multi-racial society whose way of life was inspired by the ideals of Bolívar, identified with any political process anywhere in the world aimed at instituting independence, peace, democracy, equality and justice. It therefore fully supported any kind of struggle to combat racism and racial discrimination in any part of the world and in any of its forms and manifestations.

43. Venezuela had supported the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held at Geneva from 1 to 12 August 1983, and had been part of the preparatory Sub-Committee for the Conference. Even though it had not been possible to reach consensus at that Conference, the Declaration and Programme of Action it had adopted constituted a solid basis for future work. Venezuela firmly endorsed the recommendation made by the Conference to the General Assembly that it should proclaim a second Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. It also supported the specific steps outlined in the Programme of Action to combat apartheid, to make effective use of education, teaching and training in order to stamp out racism, to disseminate information through the mass media for that same purpose, to promote and protect the human rights of minority groups and to implement effectively the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and other related international instruments. Venezuela had submitted to CERD its seventh national report (CERD/C/91/Add.27) in implementation of that International Convention.

44. From 16 to 18 September 1983, the Latin American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid, organized by the Special Committee against Apartheid in co-operation with the Government of Venezuela, had been held in Caracas. The Caracas Declaration adopted at that Conference denounced the inhuman nature of apartheid, recognized the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to independence and the legitimacy of their struggle, by all means at their disposal, to secure their liberation, and declared that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remained the only basis for a negotiated settlement of the question of

(Mrs. Maneiro, Venezuela)

Namibia. The Foreign Minister of Venezuela, in his opening speech to the Conference, had deplored the policy of certain States which did not hesitate to support the Pretoria régime and favour it with political, diplomatic, military, economic and financial support. Such an attitude was extremely serious and incomprehensible, since it was a proven fact that apartheid and racial segregation were the cause of disturbances to international peace and the security of all States.

45. It was time that the community of nations understood the full extent of the urgent need to make common cause and work together to eradicate apartheid, since a new economic order based on equitable participation by all peoples in production and wealth could emerge only in an egalitarian social order. That need gave full value to the example of men like Nelson Mandela, the central figure among those fighting for justice and human rights in southern Africa, who had recently been given the Simón Bolívar Prize established by UNESCO as a tribute to those who were fighting for the dignity of the human race and of peoples everywhere.

46. Mr. SY (Mauritania) recalled that the Islamic Republic of Mauritania had been a signatory to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination since 21 December 1966. Two Member States of the United Nations did not adhere to the Convention even though one of them was a signatory to and had ratified the Convention on 3 January 1979. His aim was to denounce systematically the inhuman practices of those two countries - South Africa and Israel.

47. In the case of South Africa, the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, proclaimed by the General Assembly on 20 November 1963 in resolution 1904 (XVIII) was null and void. Despite the many occasions on which the United Nations had criticized racism and despite the numerous resolutions it had adopted calling for a boycott of the racist South African régime and the breaking off of all ties with it, that régime remained and continued to oppress the South African people and to attack neighbouring African peoples. South Africa would never have managed to commit crimes and genocide with such impunity had it not been for the help and support of the international imperialists under the auspices of one great Power. In order to secure their selfish economic interests those imperialist forces preferred to help South Africa in its treacherous manoeuvres, which were reminiscent of Nazi's actions, rather than allow the indigenous black peoples to accede finally to dignity and life.

48. The time had come to take effective steps to secure the complete international isolation of the racist South African régime for the international community could not tolerate the continued existence on earth of the apartheid system, that odious form of racism. Racism must be eliminated and those who constituted the main obstacles to the struggle of peoples for peace and national independence and to the establishment of equitable international economic relations must be discouraged. Accordingly, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania would always stand by the peoples of Namibia and South Africa who were oppressed by racism and would support them in their struggle to exercise their inalienable right to freedom and independence and

(Mr. Sy, Mauritania)

it would also firmly support the African States which were the victims of constant aggression by the Pretoria racists.

49. Everyone was aware of the fact that in the Arab region, Zionist racists, supported by imperialists, had established another racist régime as despicable as the South African régime with which it had the most cordial relations in all areas. The racist Zionist régime, embodied in the State of Israel, was guilty of crimes and atrocities, not only in Lebanon - where the appalling massacres of Sabra and Shatila remained etched on the minds of all people - but also on the West Bank, in the Gaza Strip and on the Golan Heights where it continued to expropriate Arab lands in order to establish Jewish settlements and practised racial discrimination against the real Arab owners. The policy of aggression, expansion and flagrant violation of the inalienable rights of the Arab peoples, particularly the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, practised by the Israeli leaders were a clear manifestation of racism. Even though the Zionist leaders had tried many times to conceal from the world the racist aspect of their policy in the Arab territories which had been occupied since the 1967 war, their practices and actions against the Arab people of Palestine and neighbouring Arab countries proclaimed the underlying ideological racism which led to the expulsion of the Arab people, the massacre of women, children and old people, the usurping of land and property and the adoption of a brazen policy of racial discrimination against those who continued to live under Israeli occupation. It was particularly to be deplored that that racist policy would not be possible if certain major Powers, which proclaimed themselves the champions of human rights, did not support the Israeli régime thus hindering the United Nations in its efforts to preserve mankind from the dangers of racism and racist practices.

50. In conclusion, he drew attention to the fact that the problem of Palestine was a consequence of the racist nature of zionism and the support and the protection given to the Zionists by the international imperialists.

51. Mr. BEIN (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that it was the height of absurdity when the representative of the allegedly "free and independent republic" of the Ukrainian SSR had the audacity to compare zionism to apartheid. In the annals of Jewish history, the Ukrainian SSR was notorious as a country in which racial discrimination had been the law of the State, one known for its racial atrocities and pogroms against all minorities, and against Jews in particular, from the times of Bogdan Chmelnicki, the murderous Cossack chief, through the Second World War when the Ukrainians had been known for their cruelty and open co-operation with the Nazis, up to the present day when anti-Semitism - in its new guise, anti-zionism - was the current policy of that satellite of the Soviet Union.

52. Zionism was the very opposite of racism, the reaction of the Jewish people to racial discrimination and anti-Semitism. It was the national liberation movement of the Jewish people, and had been so defined by Mr. Gromyko in the Security Council, in May 1948. Nevertheless, at the previous meeting, the representative of the Soviet Union had accused Israel of having racial policies and had dared to use

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(Mr. Bein, Israel)

the word "genocide". That was ironical coming from the representative of a country which had promoted racism as an instrument of policy - not only against Jews, but also against Crimean Tartars and Volga Germans, to name but a few - a country that, for the past three years, had been carrying out the genocide of the Afghan people. By being so brazen in the statements of its representatives and those of its satellites, the Soviet Union was not only exposing itself to the ridicule of the civilized world but, more importantly, was undermining its own credibility.

53. It was also interesting to note that the Soviet Union had chosen to accuse other countries of discrimination against minorities on the opening day of the trial of Joseph Bigon - who had been arrested twice previously simply because he was a proud Jew - who had not been granted even the basic right to select his own attorney and who had therefore chosen to argue in his own defence rather than rely on a lawyer chosen by the KGB. That was an example of the double standard applied by the Soviet Union, a country which so self-righteously claimed to oppose racism and racial discrimination.

54. Mr. KHMEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the statement by the representative of Israel was part of the vociferous campaign undertaken by international Zionists against all the socialist countries and against the Ukrainian SSR in particular. There was no need to analyse the glorious history of the people of the Ukrainian SSR whom the representative of Israel had endeavoured to tarnish. The only point worth making was that those who had carried out anti-Jewish pogroms before and during the revolution and had co-operated with the Nazis in the Second World War were currently co-operating with the Zionists and with the enemies of the Soviet power and socialism. They were the bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists who were closely allied to the Zionists under the protection and in the service of the imperialists.

55. The insidious slander of a State which comprised over 100 nations and peoples was all the more perfidious in reference to the situation of Jews in the Ukrainian SSR and it was worth pointing out that during the spring of the present year Soviet public opinion had established an anti-Zionist committee in which the Jews living in the Ukrainian SSR were broadly represented. The committee had defined zionism as extreme nationalism, a form of xenophobia and racial intolerance, justification of annexations, armed adventurism, worship of political arbitrariness and impunity, demagoguery and ideological sabotage, dirty manoeuvres and lies. Zionism was a form of racism as had been openly stated in General Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX). The Ukrainian SSR had endorsed that definition of zionism and the Soviet Jews had clearly stated that they despised the Zionist attempts to interfere in their lives and considered themselves an inalienable part of the Soviet people.

56. Mr. BYKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the many absurd calumnies which the representative of Israel had let fly demonstrated clearly that the criticism of Israel's expansionist policy, based on the racist Zionist ideology, were totally justified; the representative of Israel had been unable to refute them. He rejected the calumny

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

levelled against the Soviet Union, labelling it perfidious and recalled that the supreme authorities of the Soviet Union had battled consistently against all forms and manifestations of racism, including zionism and anti-Semitism. Concerning the invective of the representative of Israel in response to the acts of the Israeli aggressors being branded as genocide, he recalled that the Commission on Human Rights had even decided to designate a day commemorating the victims of genocide and had clearly stated Israel's responsibility in the matter.

57. The CHAIRMAN reminded the Committee that the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions on the items under consideration was 6 p.m. on Monday, 17 October.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.