



UN/CA COLLECTION

THIRD COMMITTEE
29th meeting
held on
Wednesday, 25 October 1978
at 3 p.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 29th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. DJIGO (Senegal)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 82: IMPORTANCE OF THE UNIVERSAL REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND OF THE SPEEDY GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES FOR THE EFFECTIVE GUARANTEE AND OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 81: ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued)

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

AGENDA ITEM 76: ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND OTHER FORMS OF ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO COLONIAL AND RACIST REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (continued)

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

AGENDA ITEM 74: WORLD CONFERENCE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

* This record is subject to correction. Corrections should be incorporated in a copy of the record and should be sent *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, room A-3550.

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

Distr. GENERAL
A/C.3/33/SR.29
30 October 1978

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 82: IMPORTANCE OF THE UNIVERSAL REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND OF THE SPEEDY GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES FOR THE EFFECTIVE GUARANTEE AND OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/C.3/33/L.15)

AGENDA ITEM 81: ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued)

- (a) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued) (A/C.3/33/L.12)
- (b) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/C.3/33/L.10)
- (c) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF APARTHEID: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/C.3/33/L.14)

AGENDA ITEM 76: ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND OTHER FORMS OF ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO COLONIAL AND RACIST REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (continued) (A/33/269; E/CN.4/Sub.2/383/Rev.1; A/33/151)

AGENDA ITEM 73: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME FOR THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/33/263, A/33/151, A/33/206; A/C.3/33/L.13)

AGENDA ITEM 74: WORLD CONFERENCE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/33/262, A/33/206)

1. The CHAIRMAN invited members who wished to do so to explain their votes on the draft resolutions adopted at the previous meeting.
2. Mr. GUIAKORA (Central African Empire) said that the right of peoples to self-determination and the speedy granting of independence for the effective guarantee of human rights was a question to which his Government had always attached the highest importance. The history of his own country had illustrated the process of evolution from colonialism. The principles underlying the Charter of the United Nations constituted the basis of friendly relations between States. Nevertheless, certain operative paragraphs of draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15 had been inconsistent with the policies of his Government. His delegation had therefore abstained in the vote and he wished to have its name withdrawn from the list of sponsors. He nevertheless wished to record the unity of his delegation with the African Group.
3. Mr. HALFHUID (Suriname) said that his delegation had voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15 because it was in agreement with the principle underlying that text, which was that the universal realization of the right to self-determination and the speedy granting of independence to colonial peoples and

/...

(Mr. Halfhuid, Suriname)

countries must be considered a fundamental condition for the enjoyment of human rights. His delegation doubted, however, whether operative paragraphs 4, 8 and 12, in their existing form, would further the cause of fundamental freedoms. On the contrary, those paragraphs might well exacerbate further already existing adversary positions. If a separate vote had been taken on those operative paragraphs, his delegation would have abstained.

4. Mrs. SHERMAN-PETER (Bahamas) said that her delegation had always given its unequivocal support to the principle of the effective guarantee of human rights in Africa and elsewhere in the world. Draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15 had, however, been unbalanced. Her delegation certainly believed that stronger measures were necessary to ensure the effective guarantee of human rights but it could not subscribe to many of the paragraphs in the draft resolution. Her delegation was not opposed to the principles underlying the draft resolution but only to the methods suggested. It had therefore not been able to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

5. Mr. SHIOGUCHI (Japan) said that his delegation had abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15. His Government was opposed to the policy of apartheid of South Africa, but had nevertheless felt obliged to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution containing the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly because certain of its provisions had reflected legally ambiguous concepts. There had been no change in the position of his Government since that time. Japan had consistently expressed its sympathy with the concept of self-determination and the independence of colonial peoples as a prerequisite for the full realization of human rights. It was therefore with regret that his delegation had felt obliged to abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15 because of the wording of certain of its stipulations.

6. Mr. RIGIN (Indonesia) said that his delegation had voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15. If the draft resolution had been put to the vote paragraph by paragraph, he would have abstained on operative paragraph 8 because of the selective condemnation which it reflected.

7. Miss CARRION (Bolivia) said that her delegation had voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15 but wished to record its reservations on operative paragraphs 2, 8, 11 and 12. Operative paragraph 2, in particular, was not consistent with the position adopted by her Government in regard to the peaceful settlement of disputes.

8. Mrs. CAMEJO (Venezuela) said that her delegation had voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15 because it covered all those points which needed to be emphasized under agenda item 82. While her delegation had reservations in regard to operative paragraphs 2 and 12, it had not abstained. She wished to reiterate her delegation's solidarity with the just causes for which the developing countries were struggling.

/...

9. Mr. ERRAZURIZ (Chile) said that his delegation had voted in favour of the second preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.14 because it had already approved the Declaration and Programme of Action which had been adopted by the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. However, his delegation wished to reiterate the formal reservation to paragraph 18 of that text which it had expressed at the Conference. His delegation had also voted in favour of the draft resolution as a whole in order to demonstrate its agreement with the moral content of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. However, his Government had not been able to ratify that Convention because of certain inconsistencies with its domestic legislation.
10. His delegation had voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15 because of his Government's support for the principle of self-determination and its condemnation of the policy of apartheid. It nevertheless had reservations regarding operative paragraph 2. The approval given to the use of armed force represented a departure from the Charter of the United Nations. The wording of operative paragraphs 8 and 12 seemed somewhat unbalanced, particularly in the light of recent developments. If separate votes had been taken on those paragraphs, his delegation would have abstained. His delegation's vote must be interpreted in the light of the peaceful traditions of his country and of its support for the letter and spirit of the Charter and the principle of co-operation between States.
11. Ms. MATTESON (United States of America) said that she wished to explain her delegation's vote on draft resolutions A/C.3/33/L.12 and A/C.3/33/L.14. With regard to the former, she said that her delegation strongly supported the role of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination but was concerned that that Committee might be going beyond its terms of reference. It had therefore abstained in the vote on operative paragraph 5.
12. Her delegation had abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.14 as a whole because it was not a party to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. Furthermore, operative paragraph 6 would lead to the further politicization of United Nations agencies.
13. Miss MANGANARA (Greece) said that although her delegation had voted in favour of the second preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.14 and of the draft resolution as a whole it maintained the reservations which it had expressed at the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. It also had reservations, for legal reasons, on operative paragraph 5.
14. Her delegation had not been able to approve draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15 because some of the points contained in that text should have been included in other resolutions. Her delegation wished, however, to place on record that it stood by its Government's known position of support for the self-determination of peoples and that its vote should not be interpreted as detracting in any way from that support.

15. Mrs. BEN-AMI (Israel) said that her delegation had reservations on draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.12 in regard both to the first preambular paragraph and to operative paragraph 5 and had accordingly abstained in the separate vote on the latter.
16. Her delegation had reservations regarding the second preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.14. However, in the separate vote on that paragraph it had abstained because it had not wished to take a negative position with respect to a cause which her Government had always supported.
17. Ms. BEAGLE (New Zealand) said that serious legal difficulties had prevented New Zealand from ratifying the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. Those reservations had led her delegation to abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.14. The second preambular paragraph of that draft resolution had been unacceptable to her delegation because it could not "welcome" a document which it did not support.
18. Mr. HLA (Burma) said that his delegation had voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.14 but wished to repeat the reservations which it had expressed during the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.
19. His delegation also had reservations on operative paragraphs 6 and 12 of draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15, although it had voted in favour of that text.
20. Mr. NTAKIBIRORA (Burundi), recalling that his delegation had submitted draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15 on behalf of the sponsors, said that as Chairman of the African group he clearly had the full confidence of that group. Israel had adhered to another group of States but had never been Chairman of any group. Furthermore there had been a time when Israel had been rejected by all groups. The United Nations could not trust Israel. The history of zionism had been marked by destruction and by constant violations of United Nations resolutions. It contained the germs of destruction of the Organization.
21. Mrs. BEN-AMI (Israel), speaking on a point of order, inquired whether the representative of Burundi was speaking in explanation of vote or in exercise of the right of reply.
22. After a brief discussion in which Mr. NTAKIBIRORA (Burundi), Mrs. BEN-AMI (Israel), Mrs. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) and Mr. ELHOFARI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took part, the CHAIRMAN said that a precedent had been admitted at the 28th meeting when he had authorized a statement to be made in the course of the exercise of the right of reply. In the light of that precedent he could not stop the representative of Burundi, who was explaining his vote on draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15.

23. Mr. NTAKIBIRORA (Burundi) said that his people had been united by history and culture as a State for centuries, notwithstanding the destructive impact of colonialism. Such had not been the case with the Zionists who had illegally occupied the territory of Palestine and had therefore prejudiced the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the effective exercise of their human rights. It was for that reason that his delegation had voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15.

24. Mr. SIMELANE (Swaziland) said that he had intended to abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15, but had unfortunately pressed the wrong button.

25. Mr. DZAMBEYA (Congo) said that he had been surprised to note that his delegation was not among those recorded as having voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.14. The consistent support of his country for self-determination and its opposition to racism were well known, and it had always voted accordingly.

26. Mr. ALSAIDI (Yemen) said that, for reasons beyond his control, he had been absent during the voting on draft resolutions A/C.3/33/L.14 and A/C.3/33/L.15. Had he been present, he would have voted in favour of both draft resolutions.

27. Ms. MARTINEZ (Jamaica) said that her country, because of its own colonial history, had strong bonds of solidarity with all colonial peoples, particularly those of southern Africa. It fully supported the right of those peoples to self-determination and independence, and the legitimacy of the struggle against the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes. It also supported the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the recovery of its inalienable rights. Its vote on the draft resolutions had been in accordance with those views. However, while fully supporting the general principles embodied in draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15, her delegation felt that operative paragraph 12 of that resolution placed the situation in the Middle East in a new perspective which was not in accordance with Jamaica's views. She regretted that her delegation had had no opportunity to participate in a discussion on the draft resolution, which dealt with a subject of great interest to her country.

28. Miss PADUA (Portugal) said that her country's support for self-determination, to which it attached great importance, was enshrined in its Constitution. She regretted that she had been obliged to abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15 because some of its provisions created serious difficulties for her Government. That did not, however, alter her Government's positive attitude towards the right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

29. Mr. TERZI (Observer, Palestine Liberation Organization) said that the first words of the Preamble of the United Nations Charter read "We the peoples of the United Nations", while according to Article 1, paragraph 2, the purposes of the United Nations were to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. That wording referred to all peoples without discrimination. Through the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Palestinian people thanked all delegations which had voted for draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15. The majority vote, in the proportion of five to one, in favour of the resolution was a positive result which strengthened faith in the United Nations as a means of achieving peace and justice. His organization had repeatedly affirmed its determination to co-operate with the international community in a sincere endeavour to achieve peace on the basis of the principles of equal rights and self-determination. In March 1977, the Palestine National Council had welcomed General Assembly resolution 3375 (XXX), especially that portion of the resolution which requested the Secretary-General to inform the Co-Chairmen of the Peace Conference on the Middle East of that resolution and to take all necessary steps to secure the invitation of the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the work of the Conference. General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) had reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence. However, current developments in the Middle East gave evidence of a clear intention to undermine the prospects for a comprehensive peace by by-passing the Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions. The three signatories of the so-called Camp David Agreement persisted in denying the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The aim of that Agreement was to legitimize the continued illegal Zionist military occupation. The Palestinian people were struggling for territorial integrity and national independence in the exercise of their right to self-determination. They were invoking their inherent right, under Article 51 of the Charter, of individual or collective self-defence in the event of an armed attack.

30. Ms. MATTESON (United States of America), speaking on a point of order, said that the statement made by the Observer for the Palestine Liberation Organization violated the Committee's rules of procedure, since he had asked to be allowed to exercise the right of reply whereas no mention of PLO had been made at the previous meeting which might warrant such a request.

31. The CHAIRMAN said that the Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization had made his statement in that capacity and not in exercise of the right of reply, which was restricted to members of the Committee. Therefore, no infringement of the rules of procedure had taken place.

32. Mrs. DORSET (Trinidad and Tobago) said that while her delegation had voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.3/33/L.15, it would have preferred a more balanced document. Operative paragraph 2 of that resolution would have been better expressed had the words following "all available means" been eliminated.

33. The CHAIRMAN said that consideration of items 81 and 82 had been concluded.

34. Mr. STOLTENBERG (Norway) said that discrimination existed in many forms, ranging from the degrading policy of apartheid in southern Africa to the more covert negative attitudes toward indigenous peoples and foreign workers which were manifested in most countries, including his own. Because discrimination, racist attitudes and apartheid arose from the prejudice of each individual, the goodwill of all human beings was required in order to win the struggle against them.

35. His Government had seen the adoption of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination as a proof of the world community's willingness to unite in a common effort to rid mankind of one of its most shameful evils. Divisive issues which had emerged during the first part of the Decade had, unfortunately, compromised the unity and consensus which had been achieved at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Many States, particularly African States, had worked to restore the international climate of consensus and a representative meeting of Government experts at UNESCO headquarters in March 1978 had adopted by consensus a draft declaration on race and racial prejudice. In those circumstances the Norwegian Government had decided to participate in the World Conference, with a sincere desire to contribute to its success. It was satisfying to note the unanimous decision taken at the Conference to intensify international pressure against the apartheid régimes through economic, political and diplomatic disengagement. A unanimous pledge had also been made to recognize and promote the rights of indigenous peoples, minorities, migrant workers and their families, and immigrants. There had been unanimous recognition of the need for special measures to protect women and children, two groups which were especially vulnerable to discrimination. Several of the commitments contained in the Programme of Action had been initiated by the Nordic countries.

36. His Government therefore regretted that sensitive and controversial issues which were not within the framework of the Programme for the Decade had again been introduced. It had been obvious from the outset that to introduce those issues would jeopardize the World Conference. The Norwegian delegation had therefore been obliged to vote in committee against the adoption of the Declaration of Principles and to dissociate itself from the adoption by the Conference in plenary session of the Declaration and Programme of Action. It had, however, stated the firm intention of the Norwegian and other Nordic Governments to continue to co-operate, within the United Nations and elsewhere, in humanity's common fight against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid. As the President of the Conference, Mr. Molapo of Lesotho, had observed, the Conference had considerably advanced the struggle against racism, and he therefore appealed to the Committee to strive to find common ground which would enable further progress to be made. Special attention should be paid to the Programme of Action contained in document A/33/262, on which the World Conference had agreed in substance. The Committee should recommend to Member States, the organs of the United Nations system and other international organizations specific measures to implement the actions listed in the Programme. All the tasks mentioned in the Programme of Action were equally important and interdependent.

(Mr. Stoltenberg, Norway)

37. As stated in the Programme, special effort was required in the field of education, training and information. The relevant UNESCO documents had shown that all countries were underdeveloped in that respect. His Government therefore supported the recommendations adopted by the UNESCO international congress on the teaching of human rights, held at Vienna from 12 to 16 September 1978. Those recommendations should be taken fully into account in the formulation of follow-up measures for the Programme of Action.

38. There was a particularly serious lack of information concerning the situation of indigenous peoples, who had always lacked spokesmen in international forums. The World Council of Indigenous Peoples should therefore be granted consultative status with the Economic and Social Council. It should be recognized that many of the fundamental problems of indigenous peoples were distinct from those of ethnic, national, linguistic and religious minorities, which were often supported by related majority groups in other States. Most indigenous peoples were totally dependent on their land and their ability to maintain the traditional structure of their economy and their way of life. The relevant United Nations bodies must therefore give priority to the elaboration of specific measures to implement paragraphs 8 to 11 of the Programme of Action. The Norwegian Government also supported the actions referred to in paragraphs 12, 13 and 14 for the purpose of eliminating discriminatory practices against migrant workers and immigrants.

39. Most of the Programme of Action was rightly concerned with apartheid in southern Africa, the form of racial discrimination which posed the greatest threat to international peace and security. The measures outlined in the Programme of Action were in line with the recommendations of the Maputo and Lagos Conferences. The mandatory arms embargo imposed by the Security Council in November 1977 should be extended to cover all forms of technological assistance which could facilitate South Africa's domestic arms production. His Government would also support internationally binding boycott measures in the economic sector, which should include petroleum, petroleum products and other strategic commodities. It had already refused to co-operate with South Africa in the nuclear field, as called for in paragraph 15, had refused to grant licences for the transfer of currency for investments in South Africa, and had granted no export credit guarantees since 1975. Visa requirements had been introduced for South African citizens. However, such action must be undertaken on a global level, and his Government therefore emphasized the recommendations in paragraph 16. It also supported the recommendation in paragraph 18 (i) that racism and apartheid should be proclaimed a matter of top priority to the international community.

40. The Norwegian Government would further increase its traditional financial and humanitarian aid to the African liberation movements and to the front-line States. Nevertheless, concerted action at the global level was essential in order to eradicate apartheid without bloodshed. Assistance to the victims of racial discrimination and apartheid should be increased on a bilateral and multilateral basis, as outlined in section D of the Programme of Action. Special attention should be paid to the effects of racial discrimination and apartheid on women and on children.

/...

41. Mr. SCHLEGEL (German Democratic Republic) said that the decision to inaugurate the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had marked a decisive stage of the anti-imperialist struggle. Great victories had been won in the struggle to eliminate racism and to achieve independence and self-determination, as evidenced by Angola and in Mozambique, and by the fact that the international front of solidarity with the national liberation movements had developed into a powerful force.

42. The first half of the Decade had shown who were the friends of the struggling peoples and who were their enemies. There were various urgent tasks to perform: millions of people in southern Africa were being subjected to racist barbarity, the Arab people were being deprived of their rights by Israeli aggression, many patriots were persecuted for their stand against racism and for national independence, and the migrant workers and national minorities in imperialist countries were being mercilessly exploited. There were also growing neo-fascist tendencies in certain countries.

43. The German Democratic Republic knew from experience how helpful international solidarity could be in overcoming fascism. It pursued a policy of solidarity with other States and peoples to foster their progress, and it supported the cause of all those fighting against racism, apartheid and colonialism. The German Democratic Republic had no relations with the racist régimes; it strictly complied with all United Nations decisions concerning sanctions against South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and advocated their extension. It supported the authentic national liberation movements of the African peoples - ANC of South Africa, SWAPO of Namibia and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe. Its policy of active solidarity was based on the socialist system of society, which had no room for racial discrimination, chauvinism and hatred among States. The value of the individual was determined, not by his colour or creed, but by his attitude towards the peaceful coexistence of peoples and by his contribution to social progress. The German Democratic Republic had therefore voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 3057 (XXVIII), and had also actively participated in attaining its objectives. At the national level, many activities had been undertaken under the direction of the Committee for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. During the first eight months of 1978 food, clothing, textiles and medicaments to a value of over 30 million marks had been contributed by the population to African countries and to liberation organizations. Since 1977, more than 350 injured persons from Africa had received medical treatment in the German Democratic Republic, and over 200 patriots from southern Africa were enrolled in institutions of higher and technical education or were receiving vocational training in his country.

44. The liquidation of the racist régimes in southern Africa was a task of paramount importance in the struggle against racism. The policy of permanent aggression of those States against free African States was a dangerous threat to the whole continent. His country therefore appreciated the decision of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly to proclaim 1978 International Anti-Apartheid Year and had adopted a programme of national measures to implement the objectives of the Year. He himself was Secretary of the Government Commission

(Mr. Schlegel, German
Democratic Republic)

established to co-ordinate national activities, headed by Alfred Neumann, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers. The German Democratic Republic had held international days of solidarity, and a Week of Solidarity held in May had been dedicated to support for the peoples in southern Africa fighting against racism and for liberation. Many donations had been made by various groups in the population, and the proceeds of bazaars and extra work shifts had been remitted to a special solidarity account. The students' summer work and recreation programmes during 1978 had included days of solidarity. A contest entitled "Children paint for African friends" had been organized among schoolchildren. In November 1978 there would be a symposium on apartheid at the Karl Marx University of Leipzig. Graphic and cinematic art showed the commitment of artists in the German Democratic Republic to the cause of solidarity. His country had mounted an exhibition at the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and had participated actively in the Conference, which had demonstrated the increasing strength of the fighting front against racism and apartheid. The German Democratic Republic unreservedly supported the documents adopted by the Conference. The failure of imperialist States to attend the Conference or to remain until its conclusion indicated their real attitudes.

45. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic had told the Conference that the German Democratic Republic would do its utmost to implement the aims of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The struggle against racism and colonialism would be promoted by the fundamental changes which had taken place in favour of détente, security, disarmament and economic co-operation.

46. Mr. ABED (Algeria), speaking on item 7, said that his delegation felt compelled to stress its deep concern regarding the oppressed peoples of southern Africa and the denial of their most fundamental rights. Certain Western countries collaborating with the racist régimes of Salisbury and Pretoria continued to ignore resolutions adopted by the United Nations, the non-aligned countries and OAU condemning those activities. Furthermore, those Western countries were secretly encouraging multinational corporations to establish themselves in southern Africa. Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/383/Rev.1 provided evidence that the minority racist régimes were able to pursue their illegal and immoral policies only because of the economic, military and political support of certain industrialized countries.

47. One of the adverse consequences of that large-scale collaboration was the denial of the right to the free determination of political status, a denial facilitated by the significant military assistance provided to the racist régimes in southern Africa by certain NATO countries and by Israel. That assistance enabled Pretoria and Salisbury to acquire both conventional armaments and nuclear technology and permitted South Africa to consolidate its role as protector of the multinational corporations in the region. It also helped

/...

(Mr. Abed, Algeria)

Pretoria to perpetuate its policy of "bantustanization" and so-called "separate development", actually a form of colonization. At the regional level, Pretoria and Salisbury, confident of their military superiority and of the support of certain Western countries, did not hesitate to commit aggression against their neighbours, as had recently been the case in Zambia. Those activities reflected contempt for international law and seriously threatened peace and security in the region.

48. Another adverse consequence of collaboration with the racist régimes was the plundering of resources. Referring once again to document E/CN.4/Sub.2/383/Rev.1 and to The New York Times of 6 November 1977, he said that loans to southern Africa reached \$400 million each year. As a result, South Africa was able to import arms factories and exploit the uranium, cobalt and other resources of the region.

49. The economic plundering of South Africa, in which Western countries played a role, was intensified by shameless exploitation of the black population. The recruitment of white skilled workers from abroad harmed black Africans, since positions of responsibility were never delegated to them. The evidence showed that the activities of the Western transnational corporations coincided with the interests of the white minority and deprived the African majorities of their fundamental rights.

50. The denial of the rights of southern Africa's black populations was accentuated by Israel's aid to and collaboration with South Africa, both in the economic and in the military and nuclear sphere. In fact, Israel's support to the racist régime of Pretoria was quite consistent with its racist and repressive measures against Palestinians and the populations of the occupied Arab territories.

51. Aid of various kinds to colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa unquestionably obstructed the right of peoples to self-determination and reinforced the policy of apartheid. It was a threat to the independence and territorial integrity of independent African countries and threatened peace and security in the African continent. It was a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and of all the international instruments on human rights. The illegal activities of monopolies and the collusion of States that supported the racist régimes should be unequivocally condemned. Sustained aid should be given to the liberation movements and to the front-line African countries struggling for liberty, human dignity and the elimination of racism and apartheid.

52. Mrs. YAZYKOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), expressing her delegation's position on items 73 and 74, said that the struggle against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid played an important role in the general struggle of peoples for peace and security, for human rights and for social progress. The results of the first half of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had convincingly demonstrated that the international community was attaching increasing importance to the need to eliminate such phenomena, which posed a threat to mankind.

/...

(Mrs. Yazykovich, Byelorussian SSR)

53. The inhuman policy of racism pursued by the illegal régimes in southern Africa was causing the international community deep concern. Racism was a social phenomenon generated by the capitalist world. The imperialist policy of maintaining racism allowed workers to be mercilessly exploited and served as a weapon for creating disharmony among the labouring masses and for sowing hostility and distrust among peoples in order to weaken their struggle against racism and racial discrimination and for freedom, national independence and social progress.

54. The inability or unwillingness of certain States to take active measures to eliminate racism was illustrated in a number of Western countries by the activities of organizations preaching and practising racial terror against other races. The claims that domestic legislation made it impossible to ban such organizations were untenable. The existing situation in those countries was contrary to United Nations decisions, and in particular to article 9 of the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

55. In addition to the struggle against overt forms of racism and racial discrimination, it was no less important to oppose the pseudo-scientific theories of racial superiority or racial inferiority that were still being used by various racists to justify inequalities among peoples on the basis of nationality, race or colour.

56. The reactionary nature of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid had been exposed at the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The open boycott of the Conference by the United States of America and Israel and the refusal of a number of Western countries to take part in formulating its final documents had been vigorously condemned at the Conference. The Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the Conference (A/33/262) contained important provisions reflecting the determination of peoples to put a speedy and unconditional end to racism and racial discrimination.

57. The judgement pronounced by history and by the will of the peoples was clear: racism and racial discrimination must be wiped off the face of the earth. Efforts and actions by the countries and peoples of the entire world should be directed towards that end.

58. In the Byelorussian SSR, as pointed out in document A/33/263, full equality for all citizens irrespective of their race or nationality was guaranteed in domestic legislation and in practice. Guided by the Leninist principles of its foreign policy, the Byelorussian SSR consistently advocated the principles of equality of peoples and called for support for the struggle of peoples against all forms of racial discrimination, for national liberation and for social progress. It resolutely condemned racism and apartheid and called for rigorous and complete implementation by all countries of United Nations resolutions on those matters.

59. The Byelorussian SSR fully approved the Declaration and Programme of Action of the World Conference and would support all positive decisions and measures aimed at realizing the tasks and goals of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

/...

60. Mr. ELHOFARI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) said that racism, racial discrimination and apartheid were the most hateful phenomena in the contemporary world. More than 30 years had passed since the creation of the United Nations; yet, despite the retreat of colonialism, the liberation of many peoples from foreign domination and advances in the technological and scientific domains, racism continued to be practised by racist régimes which had risen on the ruins of colonialism and used its practices and methods. Those régimes, with the support of their allies, sought to ignore international condemnation and international human rights instruments.

61. The withdrawal of certain countries from the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had been one more expression of their efforts to defeat its purpose and of the close co-operation they maintained with the racist régimes. That withdrawal had, in any case, been expected, since some States had threatened behind the scenes to withdraw if certain questions were broached, as if by so doing they could impose their conditions upon the international community. Despite all efforts to reach a compromise solution on the final documents and to ensure the success of the Conference, those States had persisted in their decision to withdraw. Still, the results of the Conference, especially the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by an overwhelming majority, had once again demonstrated the international community's determination to eradicate racism. The Conference had proved a milestone in the history of United Nations activities against racism and the climax of a series of conferences held during the first half of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

62. If properly implemented, the Declaration and Programme of Action, which constituted an indivisible whole, could be highly effective in the elimination of racism. His delegation regretted the manner in which the Secretary-General's report on the World Conference had been presented: the reservations had been shown on the first page of the report, as if the Secretariat wished to involve itself in them. They were, moreover, not reservations in the proper sense but clarifications.

63. Many recent conferences, symposia and round tables had stressed the need to support liberation movements in their struggle against racist régimes and to refrain from giving them military, economic or other assistance, which abetted the terrorism they practised against the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The news media had reported the torture and repression the racist régimes practised against Africans in a desperate attempt to suppress them, as well as their attacks on neighbouring States. International forums had repeatedly adopted resolutions condemning racism and racial discrimination, but that had not prevented Western countries from continuing their assistance overtly or covertly, through their companies which exploited the natural resources of southern Africa. The facts of the situation were amply proved by the excellent report of the Special Rapporteur on agenda item 76 (E/CN.4/Sub.2/383/Rev.1). He wished also to commend the Special Committee against Apartheid for its efforts to present the truth to the world community.

64. Although co-operation between the racist régimes of Israel and South Africa was more than 30 years old, public opinion had become fully aware of it only in recent years, when the scale of that co-operation had become so great that it was

(Mr. Elhofari, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

impossible to dissimulate. Paragraphs 34 to 40 and 89 to 94 of the report of the Special Rapporteur, as well as the reports of the Special Committee against Apartheid, provided ample information on the relationship between those two régimes. The world press had recently published lengthy articles on their relations, especially after the high-level visits of their leaders.

65. His country would continue to maintain full solidarity with and give assistance to the liberation movements combatting the racist régimes of southern Africa.

66. Mr. ALSAIDI (Yemen) said that countries which gave assistance to the racist régimes in southern Africa were accomplices in the policies of apartheid and colonialism. His delegation condemned all military, economic and other assistance to those régimes. The peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Palestine were suffering under the most despicable forms of racism and struggling to put an end to them. Racism was being practised against both the peoples of southern Africa and the people of Palestine as a result of the relations between the Israeli and South African régimes. Numerous United Nations resolutions had condemned the imperialist collusion between Israel and South Africa in technical and scientific fields.

67. His country had taken an active part in the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, where its representative had served as Chairman of the Arab Group, and had supported all efforts for the success of the Conference. It had been disappointed at the decision of some countries to withdraw from the Conference, supposedly because of their objections to references in paragraphs 18 and 19 of the Declaration to Israel and to the question of the Palestinian people. Since those references were couched in the usual language of United Nations bodies, it was clear that the countries in question had merely used them as a pretext to withdraw, the true reason being the condemnation of their co-operation with the South African régime and the appeal for severance of all such relations. Studies by United Nations experts, such as that of the Special Rapporteur on item 76, had factually demonstrated the co-operation by Israel and certain Western countries with the South African régime. His delegation looked forward to reading the list of Western companies having dealings with South Africa which the Special Rapporteur had been requested to prepare. Despite all that had occurred at the World Conference, his delegation still hoped that States would strive for the success of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and implement its Programme.

68. Mr. OZADOVSKY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that documents A/33/263 and A/33/262 demonstrated the contribution made in recent years to the struggle for the elimination of racism and racial discrimination.

69. The socialist community and the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America strongly condemned racial discrimination. It was through the joint efforts of those countries that the General Assembly had adopted the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and a number of resolutions condemning various forms of racism. The growth of the struggle of peoples against racial, national and social oppression on the one hand and the

/...

(Mr. Ozadovsky, Ukrainian SSR)

efforts made by the forces of international reaction to maintain racism as a form of exploitation of human beings on the other had brought about an obvious polarization of positions. The work of the Lagos, Maputo, Addis Ababa and Delhi Conferences had played an important role in the struggle of the progressive forces against racism. That struggle had already been marked by significant achievements, but racism had not yet been eliminated. Many Western States had not joined in implementing the Programme for the Decade and had avoided ratifying international instruments aimed at the elimination of racism.

70. The General Assembly should take the necessary steps to ensure that more countries ratified or acceded to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

71. Previous speakers had convincingly demonstrated that the existence of racist régimes in South Africa was made possible only by constant economic, military and other aid from certain countries. It was a matter of concern that in recent years a number of international organizations, some within the United Nations system, had been widely utilized for financing the South African economy. In a period of only two years (1976-1977) South Africa supported by Western countries, had received \$463 million from the International Monetary Fund; by way of comparison, all of the developing African countries together had received a much smaller amount of money from that Fund.

72. The activities of the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had combined efforts aimed at the furthering of détente with the struggle for the complete and final elimination of colonialism and racism. It was entirely appropriate to combine those two concerns, since racism not only violated human rights and freedoms but held the potential for serious danger to world peace and the security of peoples.

73. His delegation believed that the Declaration and Programme for Action adopted at the Conference were of great political significance. It was important to note that the decisions of the Conference drew attention to the danger of the resurgence of nazism and fascism in a number of countries. Indeed, although 33 years had passed since the destruction of Hitler's Nazi régime, the struggle against fascism continued to be a problem today. It had brought tragedy to peoples in southern Africa and elsewhere. The rebirth of neo-Nazi activities in a number of bourgeois States was a source of great concern. For that reason, his delegation believed that it was essential to expose constantly the manifestations of neo-fascism in the modern world and to condemn the activities of neo-Nazi organizations and groups as a gross violation of human rights and of the principles and goals of the Charter. Measures should be taken to ban neo-fascist and other racist organizations. In that connexion, he supported the statement of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination at the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (A/33/18, annex V).

74. Racial discrimination was an anachronism in a civilized world. In the socialist countries, inequality and other phenomena generated by the capitalist

/...

(Mr. Ozadovsky, Ukrainian SSR)

social system, including discrimination on the basis of colour, had been completely eliminated; all nationalities lived in equality, friendship and co-operation. That example convincingly demonstrated that there existed a real possibility for putting an end to the criminal ideology and practice of racism.

75. In the Ukrainian SSR, humanitarian principles of human relations and the democratic organization of social life had been constitutionally codified. The new Constitution adopted in 1978 guaranteed equality for all citizens of the Ukrainian SSR and for workers of all nationalities. The Ukrainian SSR consistently opposed racism and racial discrimination wherever they occurred. It had often been among the initiators of important United Nations documents aimed at the suppression of the crime of apartheid and the search for new forms and methods of combating racism.

76. His delegation felt that it was essential to intensify United Nations efforts for the speedy elimination of racism and apartheid. For that reason, it supported the draft resolution on the Implementation of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (A/C.3/33/L.13). He was confident that the General Assembly would approve the decisions of the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and take steps for their realization.

77. Mrs. de ARANA (Peru) said that items 81, 82, 73, 74 and 76 concerned the most basic right of peoples, the right to equality. That right was being denied to millions of individuals in societies where doctrines of racial superiority prevailed. The opposition of Peru, a proudly multiracial and culturally diverse country, to all segregationist practices had been embodied in its new Constitution, soon to be approved by the Constituent Assembly. Peru had signed and ratified the International Covenants on Human Rights and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. She appealed to countries which had not yet done so to sign or ratify that Convention, whose universal application was necessary for the achievement of the objectives of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. No society was completely free of racial prejudice but there was no more hateful practice than the institutionalized racism of apartheid. The situation in southern Africa was not only a violation of human rights but a great threat to international peace and security. Her delegation was therefore concerned at the increasing economic and other assistance being given by certain transnational corporations to the racist régimes, with adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights by the majority of the population. Peru reiterated its condemnation of the policy of apartheid in all its aspects, having always voted in favour of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions to that effect.

78. From the start, Peru had been firmly and totally committed to the just cause of peoples subjected to the colonial yoke and to foreign domination in their just struggle to achieve self-determination, sovereignty, territorial integrity and economic and social development. The pursuit of those fundamental objectives, however, should be based on just, peacefully negotiated solutions.

/...

79. Mr. AZIZ (Afghanistan) said that, as the principle of equality gained acceptance, it became increasingly clear how strongly inequality was embodied in the racist theories invoked for centuries to justify patterns of racial relations maintained by force. Colonialism had nurtured racial prejudice and discrimination by depicting indigenous peoples as culturally or morally inferior. The idea of "the white man's burden" had given colonial imperialist Powers a convenient rationalization for their profitable slave trade. But when the slave trade had been threatened by the conversion to Christianity of some South Africans, the Church Council of Capetown had ruled in 1827 that neither secular nor church law prohibited the retention of baptized persons in slavery where that was the custom. Racial discrimination, a part of the barbarism of colonial Powers, was still practised in Namibia, Azania and Zimbabwe. To fund a just and a lasting solution to the problem of Rhodesia it was necessary to work with the Patriotic Front towards a genuine resolution of the conflict, which must cover the elements outlined by the representative of Tanzania in the Security Council on 6 March 1978: an end to the illegal régime and the dismantling of its instruments of oppression, principally its armed forces; effective transfer of power to the majority and the emergence of Zimbabwe as an independent State, which pre-supposed the establishment of a new Zimbabwean army; creation of a climate of confidence permitting the people freely to determine their future government.

80. His delegation strongly condemned the recent barbaric bombing attacks by the Smith régime in Mozambique and Zambia.

81. It was striking and inspiring that, in Namibia and South Africa, the people were shaping their identity not along the lines of ancestral ethnic ties but around a common experience of suffering and struggle. The cries of the people of Namibia for liberation were being heard through SWAPO, which had paid a tremendous price in human life. A decision on the future of Namibia could not be valid without the approval of SWAPO, which was recognized by the United Nations and OAU as the genuine organization responsible for Namibia.

82. The report of the Special Rapporteur on item 76 of the Committee's agenda showed the policies of the Pretoria régime to be not merely an expression of prejudice by South African whites but a part of an international network of economic, political and military relations.

83. Those who questioned the legitimacy of armed struggle by Africans and preached a spirit of forgiveness should recall the view expressed to the Security Council in 1975 by the Reverend Canon Burgess Carr, spokesman of the All-Africa Conference of Churches, who had said that Christians, by their silence on burning issues of social and political injustice and by their active support of a social order that denied millions their birthright, had too often helped to sow the seeds of violence, by hindering any possibility that non-violence could be a realistic or viable alternative. African peoples just attaining independence and facing enormous problems had no desire to embark on a course of violence; they were driven to it by the intransigence of the political order of apartheid. The All-Africa Conference of Churches had therefore taken the view that the use of violence as an ultimate course of action was legitimate when the established authorities were instruments of injustice and oppression.

(Mr. Aziz, Afghanistan)

84. Despite the vast inroads made against racism, the overriding fact that must not be lost sight of at the mid-point in the Decade was the persistence of racism and racial discrimination, phenomena rooted in social, economic and political conditions. Greater efforts were required to find new ways to eradicate those evils. The World Conference had played its role as a focal point to draw world attention to the plight of millions who were still victims of colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid and had also succeeded in exerting pressure on those responsible for maintaining oppressive racist policies and practices.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.