



Chairman: Mrs. Helvi SIPILÄ (Finland).

AGENDA ITEM 54

Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (*continued*) (A/8367 and Corr.1 and 2 and Add.1 and 2, A/8403, chap. XVII, sects. B and F; A/8418, A/8439, A/C.3/L.1871):

- (a) International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General;
- (b) Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination;
- (c) Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mrs. GORBACHEVA (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the proclamation of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination faithfully reflected the importance attached by countries and Governments to the elimination of racial discrimination, imperialism, colonialism and exploitation, and indicated the urgent need for effective measures to eradicate those evils. Racism had caused the most terrible crimes in history, such as the slave trade, countless killings and the oppression of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America in the name of a so-called civilizing mission. Currently, in spite of having been condemned by the whole of progressive mankind, it continued to hold sway in South Africa, where *apartheid* was an official policy.

2. For the implementation of its inhuman policy, South Africa had promulgated a series of inhuman laws and had imprisoned progressive leaders. There was no aspect of life in South Africa in which Africans were not discriminated against by the whites. Africans could not live in the same areas as whites, work at the same jobs, obtain equal pay for equal work, travel without special permission or marry persons of another colour. In short, Africans had no right to live as human beings, that right being reserved in South Africa for members of the white race.

3. In 1965 Southern Rhodesia had proclaimed itself an "independent State", and had thereby, with the complicity of the Government of the United Kingdom, prevented five million Africans from participating in the life of their country, condemning them to an existence of misery and humiliation. In Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and the other Territories under Portuguese domination, 12 million people were suffering under the colonial domination of 250,000 Europeans.

4. World opinion had repeatedly condemned that attitude, and had regarded it as a threat to international peace. One might therefore ask why it persisted; the answer was to be found in the assistance provided by the imperialist countries to South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal, which they regarded as bastions of the struggle against national liberation movements in Africa. The resumption by the United Kingdom of arms sales to South Africa, in defiance of the arms embargo ordered by the United Nations and in spite of the fact that South Africa's policy of terror constituted a threat not only to itself but also to the independent States of Africa, could be viewed in that light. At the conference of Commonwealth countries held at Singapore, the President of Zambia had said that Mr. Heath, the United Kingdom Prime Minister, had betrayed Zambia, Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Botswana and other countries by his plans to sell arms to South Africa. Other similar events could be cited, testifying to the fact that the NATO countries were prepared to arm the South African racists, thus reinforcing their colonial aggression.

5. It had repeatedly been pointed out in the United Nations that the economic co-operation between many countries and South Africa had not decreased. Fifty per cent of industrial investments in that country was controlled by international monopolies, and more than 500 branches of United Kingdom firms and more than 300 branches of United States firms were operating there, making profits much larger than was normal on the world capital market. In Southern Rhodesia, foreign firms produced almost 80 per cent of the gross national product, while in the Portuguese Territories international monopolies controlled 75 per cent of the capital invested. Those figures showed that the increasingly close relationship of international imperialism to Portuguese colonialism and South African racism was a class union formed for the purpose of opposing liberation movements in order to maintain and reinforce the supremacy of imperialist monopolies.

6. Israel, in its desire to make the African countries believe that it supported their anti-racist struggle, had not made known its long-standing and close links with South Africa. Nevertheless, it was clear from certain Western publications that South Africa was in fact governed by members of a secret racist organization which prepared lists of candidates for Parliament, selected ministers and determined the course of South African policy. The board of directors of that organization was under a strong Zionist influence. It should be recalled that when the war against the Arabs had broken out, the Johannesburg newspaper, *The Star*, had reported that the organization had given moral and material support to Tel Aviv and contributed to a fund for Israel, established in South Africa. To reciprocate, a society of

friends of South Africa had been established in Israel. There was no doubt that the aggression against the Arabs was useful for South Africa; being unable to use the Suez Canal, many vessels were forced to circumnavigate Africa and to call at South African ports, thus benefiting South Africa.

7. In explanation of the above, it should be recalled that Israel was also a racist country which practised discrimination not only against the Arabs but even against Sephardic Jews. Proof of that assertion could be found in the book by Nathan Weinstock entitled *Le sionisme contre Israel*, which described the social situation in Israel as one in which the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the bureaucrats and the qualified workers, etc., were Ashkenazi, while the unskilled labourers and the lower levels of society were Sephardic. The latter constituted 60 per cent of the population, but were regarded as second-class citizens. In the past 20 years the inequality between the two groups had doubled and as a result, for example, Sephardic Jews constituted 50 per cent of the total enrolment at primary schools, but only 5 per cent of the total at institutions of higher education. It was therefore not surprising that in recent years they had rebelled and had attempted, by means of demonstrations and publications, to draw world attention to their situation.

8. The "chosen people" philosophy was the basis not only of Israel's foreign policy, but also of its anti-Arab and chauvinist domestic policy. In the Middle East, as in other regions, zionism was inseparably linked with imperialism and with the enemies of peace and progress. There was nothing strange in the fact that, according to *The New York Times*, the well-known United States evangelist Harris, had referred to Israel as a bastion of anti-Communism.

9. The reason behind Israel's desire for the immigration of all Jews to Israel was its need for additional human resources, and not a wish to minister to the spiritual needs of Jews.

10. In October 1971, *Time* magazine published an interview with Mr. Ben Gurion in which he had stated that Israel needed a population of at least 8 million. In 1968, Israel had established a Ministry of Immigration, with a level of finances exceeded only by the Ministry of Defence. The Israelis were still unceasingly recruiting people for their cause, which was contrary to all progressive ideas.

11. Those facts did not exhaust the description of racism in the world. To a certain extent, there was racism wherever capitalist monopolies and imperialism were dominant. Racism was a vice covering the whole planet. The United Nations must not delay in adopting more active measures to ensure the implementation of its resolutions, especially by the NATO Powers which had so far been recalcitrant.

12. Byelorussia had always played an active part in the preparation and adoption of international instruments aimed at eliminating racism. It had been one of the first countries to ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and had also ratified the similar instruments of the ILO and UNESCO relating to their respective spheres of competence. It complied scrupulously with General Assembly and

Security Council resolutions on South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, the Territories under Portuguese administration, Namibia, etc., and was always ready to support the struggle against racist and imperial oppression.

13. The Byelorussian SSR had been one of the advocates of the proclamation of 1971 as International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. On 21 March 1971, which had been designated the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the whole Byelorussian nation had paid a tribute to the victims of Sharpeville and had reaffirmed its unreserved support for the struggle against racism. On the same occasion a vast meeting of manual and non-manual workers, scientists, etc., had been held at Minsk, and had adopted resolutions condemning all forms of racial discrimination and supporting the freedom fighters who were opposing colonialism and racism. The meeting had also requested the United Nations to take effective measures to defend the rights of oppressed peoples. Her delegation therefore supported the initiative of Guinea and the Soviet Union regarding the adoption of an international instrument to punish *apartheid* (A/C.3/L.1871).

14. Mr. EL SHEIKH (Sudan) said it was regrettable that the problem of racial discrimination continued to be a permanent item on the agenda of the General Assembly and other United Nations organs. All the resolutions and declarations which had been adopted had proved insufficient, because the Organ had shown itself ineffective in enforcing them. South Africa had been condemned countless times. Nevertheless, it continued to defy the United Nations, as was shown by the absence of its representative from the Committee's debates on the item relating to the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. South Africa had not confined its discriminatory policies to its own territory, but had extended them to Namibia, which should lawfully be administered by the United Nations. In defiance of United Nations resolutions, it had assisted the white minority in Southern Rhodesia. Its provocative attitude was a bad example to Israel which, in spite of condemnation by all organs of the United Nations, continued to violate the basic human rights of the Palestinian Arabs whose land it had usurped.

15. The time had come for action. Those who still called for restraint must understand that the oppressed peoples of southern Africa and Palestine could no longer suffer injustice passively. They had learnt the lesson of history and knew that privileged groups were seldom, if ever, likely to surrender their privileges voluntarily. Yet the oppressed peoples had not lost faith in the United Nations. They still believed that, if the selfish interests of a few powerful States were set aside and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations followed, their cause would not be lost. Goodwill was not enough, however, and moderation only favoured the oppressor. The United Nations should not confine itself to condemning the perpetrators of inhuman policies of discrimination; it must also combat the silence of those who claimed to sympathize with just causes.

16. Mr. ARNAUD (Argentina) reaffirmed his country's tradition of opposing and condemning all forms of discrimination, on grounds of race, religion or sex, and in particular *apartheid*.

17. Since 1853, the Constitution of Argentina had established the right of all inhabitants to enter, remain in, pass through and leave Argentinian territory; the country had not had and did not have any form of discrimination, nor were there problems of minorities.

18. Argentina had studied with interest the Secretariat documents on the item and the study by Mr. Santa Cruz. It had signed and ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and urged those States which had not yet done so to follow its example.

19. It was to be hoped that the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination would provide an opportunity for countries where such practices still existed, to whatever extent and in whatever form, to bring them to a rapid end.

20. Mr. HANDL (Czechoslovakia) said that the question of the elimination of racial discrimination was of the utmost importance. The United Nations should take decisive steps, particularly in the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, to promote universal respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all, regardless of race, sex, language or religion.

21. It was clearly anachronistic that the struggle against a phenomenon which should have disappeared from the face of the earth long before had still to be waged in the second half of the twentieth century. It was even more so that the struggle had achieved only qualified results, despite the many recommendations and resolutions of the United Nations.

22. Although the United Nations had certainly done much to speed the liberation of colonial peoples, colonialist and racist practices in South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia were a matter of almost daily repugnance to the conscience of humanity. The Portuguese colonies were at present witnessing one of the blackest scenes in world history, representing not only a basic violation of the United Nations Charter, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but also a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security.

23. One might wonder how, despite the pressure of world opinion and the sanctions, even if not fully enforced, the reactionary threesome of colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa could maintain and even consolidate its power. A simple glance at history might provide the answer. In many ways, the resolutions adopted by the United Nations on racial discrimination and *apartheid* called to mind those adopted by the League of Nations on fascism. On both occasions, the condemned régimes had advanced unflinchingly, spurred on by the moral, political, economic and military support cunningly furnished by international capitalist monopolies. The member States of NATO were interested in the preservation of the racist régimes, which were bulwarks of colonialism and imperialism on the African continent, and their attitude constituted the major obstacle to the liberation of the peoples of southern Africa.

24. Dialogue with the racist régimes would achieve nothing; they must be completely isolated and the support they enjoyed eradicated. That support nullified all the praiseworthy efforts of the United Nations to combat racial discrimination.

25. Yet it was not enough to urge full implementation of the United Nations resolutions. The celebration of the International Year offered an opportunity for deciding whether new measures should be taken to do away with *apartheid*. The adoption, as proposed by Guinea and the Soviet Union (A/C.3/L.1871), of an international convention on *apartheid* whereby States parties would undertake to participate in international measures aimed at the suppression and punishment of the crime of *apartheid*, including measures adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, would represent a significant advance in the struggle against that aberration.

26. Racism and racial discrimination were not confined to the southern part of Africa. Thousands of racist organizations had been set up and were operating freely, since many countries worshipped the idea of absolute freedom of expression or took refuge in the "theory" that all wrongs were ultimately self-destructing. The Czechoslovak people, however, knew that toleration of racism could have disastrous consequences. The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which had entered into force on 4 January 1969, marked a decisive step in the international community's fight against racism. That Convention, together with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, could be the basis for new national and international measures against racial discrimination. The time had plainly come to take practical steps; in that respect, measures to suppress the publication and dissemination of racist propaganda and to proscribe all fascist, neo-nazi or similar organizations were especially important.

27. His delegation welcomed the activities of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, established under article 8 of the Convention; the opinions and recommendations of the Committee, which it fully supported, could serve as guidelines for concrete measures by the United Nations to combat racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*. The proclamation of racial supremacy and any form of racism, such as *apartheid* or zionism, had always ended in violence and outrage, as exemplified by the flagrant violations of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Arab populations in Palestine and in Israel-occupied territories. No attempt to introduce the so-called "Jewish question" in the Soviet Union into the Committee's discussions could distract United Nations attention and world opinion from the situation in the Middle East. The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had quite rightly dealt with the situation in the Golan Heights area, where Israel was violating all the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Arab population, including those enumerated in article 5 of the Convention. The Committee's competence was beyond all doubt, since it had acted under article 9 of the Convention on the basis of the report submitted by the Syrian Arab Republic, of whose territory that area formed part.

28. Among the steps which should be taken against racism, educational and information measures were particularly important. In that connexion, the important study by Mr. Santa Cruz should be utilized for educational purposes and be disseminated as widely as possible. Clearly, while there was racial discrimination anywhere in the world or while colonial Powers invoked theories of racial supremacy to justify their actions, the international community could not cease to fight those evils and should do all it could to destroy them. Czechoslovakia had always denounced colonial oppression and racial discrimination and would therefore support any steps to end racist policies, and in particular the policy of *apartheid*. In that connexion, it would be recalled that Czechoslovakia helped to fight colonialism and racism by giving scholarships every year to students from colonial and dependent territories. Furthermore, it would support all United Nations measures in that field, as evidenced by the participation of a Czechoslovak expert in the seminar on the evils of racial discrimination held at Yaoundé in June 1971.

29. Although there was no racism or racial discrimination in Czechoslovakia, it had in 1966 ratified the Convention, all of whose provisions had been incorporated in the Czechoslovak legal system. His delegation would support the proposal of Guinea and the Soviet Union for the preparation of an international convention to suppress *apartheid*.

30. Mr. GUIAGOUSSOU (Chad) said that the problem of racial discrimination had been among the major concerns of the United Nations since its foundation; the Charter itself proclaimed the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small. However, if the ideals expressed in the Charter were to become a reality, the laws of all countries would have to be rid of any idea of discrimination and every human being would have to enjoy freedom of expression, freedom of information and the right to full and active participation in the political, economic, cultural and social life of his country. As Members of the United Nations, all States had an obligation to implement the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

31. The Constitution of Chad proclaimed the people's adherence to the principles of democracy and the principles set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It stated that the people of Chad were ready to co-operate with all peoples who shared their ideal of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. It also affirmed that the oppression of one part of the population by another was anti-constitutional, that any propaganda of an ethnic character would be punished by law, and that citizens had the right of association and of free expression of their thoughts, the only restrictions on the exercise of those rights being those imposed by the freedom of others and by public security. Public education was secular and free to all, and the right to work and family assistance were secured by social legislation.

32. Those provisions showed that the people and Government of Chad were convinced that it was States which should assume responsibility for the fight against discrimination; international action could only supplement action by individual States. All States should make sure that any political, economic and social or cultural action which they

undertook was based on the objective of defending the principle of human dignity. That was one—perhaps the most important—of the objectives of the United Nations. The Organization had embarked on a series of programmes aimed at the elimination of racial discrimination, but that shameful social phenomenon still existed. The violations of human rights in Africa and other parts of the world were a matter of deep concern to the international community, since they constituted a serious threat to international peace and security. It was therefore vital for all States to do everything within their power to liberate mankind from those evils.

33. Numerous resolutions had been adopted by United Nations organs. It could thus be seen that the question was one which concerned the conscience of men, rather than Governments. His delegation therefore believed, like many other delegations, that the greatest importance should be attached to education, since there was an urgent need to implement the principles of non-discrimination enshrined in international instruments.

34. Although the policy of *apartheid* was extremely dangerous, the United Nations should not concentrate exclusively on that practice. Racism existed whenever one group was oppressed by another. It was the duty of the international community to intervene wherever that evil existed. Any people subjected to discrimination had the sympathy of the people of Chad, but the fact of having experienced such a situation did not give one the right to invade the territory of other peoples. In view of the current situation on the African continent, it was to be hoped that the international community and particularly the great Powers were aware of their responsibilities. They should help to end violence in Africa, in order to avert a war which might have fatal repercussions. In order to qualify for membership in the United Nations, all States had to accept the principles proclaimed in the Charter, before they were admitted. The States which still practised racial discrimination, *apartheid* and colonialism were no exception. Nevertheless, they went unpunished and tolerance and indulgence were displayed towards them by the international community, particularly, by those who, because they were more powerful, bore a greater responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

35. The United Nations should surely be able to make South Africa, Portugal and their acolytes admit that all men were equal and had the same rights; that all men had a right and a duty to participate in the government of their country; and that their status as Members of the United Nations obliged them to respect the principles of the charter, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

36. Miss MELLOWES (Barbados) said that racial discrimination was one of the greatest injustices in the world and one which was at the root of many of the problems considered by the United Nations in the spheres of public order, economic and social development and harmony in relations among nations. Although her Government had not yet become a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, it endeavoured to adhere faithfully to the provisions of the

Charter, the Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. In addition, the Constitution of Barbados specifically prohibited any type of discrimination.

37. Although it was important for the law to protect the right of individuals, the best way of combating racism was through educational institutions and the information media. The recent debate in the United Nations about the representation of a Member State illustrated the important rôle played by the information media in manipulating public opinion, particularly when racial questions were involved. Ever since a decision had been taken on the subject, the information media in the host country had been referring to the jubilation displayed by certain delegations of developing countries at the outcome of the debate. As a result, some representatives of African and Asian countries had been abused. It was obvious that the bitter public reaction had been directly influenced by the way in which the news had been presented. One could not over-emphasize the importance of the information media, both in that case and, for example, in the case of many minority groups who were the victims of discrimination and were not even aware of the concern of the international community for their well-being.

38. Her delegation was disturbed by the hypocritical attitude of some developed countries which habitually supported the resolutions of the General Assembly condemning racial discrimination and, at the same time, introduced laws limiting exclusively the number of immigrants from countries with a predominantly black or coloured population. Even worse was the support which they were giving to the racist Government of South Africa. The Secretary-General had expressed great concern about the lack of co-operation from the Governments of those countries in the implementation of measures aimed at putting pressure on the Pretoria régime and regret at the United Kingdom decision to resume supplies of military equipment to South Africa. The trading partners of South Africa—the United States, the United Kingdom and France—were still investing in that country and trading with it, while paying lip service to the appeals from the majority of States in the United Nations.

39. With regard to the situation in South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese domination, her delegation attached vital importance to the liberation of those peoples who were still subjugated, since Barbados had experienced the kind of discrimination practised by the colonizers.

40. It would have been preferable for the draft convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of *apartheid*, submitted by Guinea and the USSR (A/C.3/L.1871), to be discussed in the Special Political Committee. Her delegation was, however, prepared to support any measures designed to exert pressure on or to isolate the Pretoria régime.

41. With regard to the allegations made about the refusal of the Government of the Soviet Union to allow Jews to leave that country, her delegation wished to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his outstanding success in

helping some 400 Soviet citizens of Jewish faith and race to obtain permission to join their relatives in Israel. Such quiet diplomacy was the most expedient way of solving that human problem. The sympathetic attitude displayed by the Soviet authorities in that matter disproved the accusations made and her delegation was convinced that those authorities would continue to co-operate with the Secretary-General in that connexion.

42. Mr. POJANI (Albania) said that, despite the deep concern of Member States about the racial discrimination practised by the Government of South Africa and by other reactionary régimes in southern Africa, the United Nations had been unable to put an end to the policies of racial discrimination and segregation or to implement effectively the numerous resolutions adopted with that aim. Racial discrimination and *apartheid*, the natural companions of colonialism and imperialism, had been incorporated into the political and legislative system still prevailing in southern Africa. On that basis, the Government of South Africa had promulgated over a hundred laws and degrees legitimizing the oppression, exploitation and deportation of the coloured population. As a result, the white minority had appropriated over 87 per cent of the most fertile land, while the African population was left with only a small preserve of uncultivable land. In addition, living conditions were so bad that the mortality rate among coloured children was 400 per thousand, whereas among the white population it was only 27 per thousand.

43. The United Nations had expressed legitimate indignation at those social injustices and peace-loving States had repeatedly demanded their elimination. Nevertheless, the imperialist Powers, and primarily the United States, showed no interest in opposing policies of racial discrimination. On the contrary, the international imperialist monopolies needed that system of oppression, which provided them with cheap manpower and enormous profits. According to United States statistics, the profits of that country's monopolies in Africa had increased eleven-fold over the last decade, whereas four out of five South African families were in a state of starvation. Nothing could be expected from the statements by the United States, Portugal and other NATO allies, or from resolutions approved by them, since they were maintaining economic, political and military ties with the racist régimes in southern Africa, with the aim of transforming the countries of the region into military bases from which they could launch or incite armed aggression against other countries and undertake subversive activities against the African national liberation movements. Even in the United States itself, the black population was subjected to ruthless oppression. Unemployment and poverty were much more acute among blacks than among whites. Black children were still discriminated against in schools and the superiority of the white race continued to be an essential part of the education of white children in many states and cities. All those inhuman policies were accompanied by unrestrained violence on the part of the police apparatus, which was evidence not of the strength but of the increasing weakness of United States imperialism. In that connexion, one could see the constant revolt of the black population and of other popular masses against the external and domestic policies of the United States.

44. With the direct support of the United States, the Government of Israel was pursuing the same policies of racial discrimination and oppression against the Palestinian people, who had been denied the fundamental right to live in freedom and independence in their own land. The Zionist aggressors were still propagating fascist theories concerning the superiority of one race over another and committing crimes against the Arab peoples in the occupied territories. That reactionary policy of Israel posed a permanent threat not only to the Arab peoples but also to international peace and security.

45. The African peoples, for their part, had come to realize that the struggle for the elimination of racial discrimination and *apartheid* was part and parcel of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. It was the duty of Member States which prized freedom and independence to give effective support to the liberation struggle being waged by the oppressed peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, the Portuguese colonies, the Arab peoples and others against all forms of imperialist oppression. Any measure adopted by the United Nations would be ineffective as long as peace-loving States did not join forces to liberate the Organization from the domination and influence of the two big Powers. Only then would the United Nations be able to make its contribution, as envisaged in the Charter, to the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence and for international peace and security. The Government and people of Albania, who had always sympathized with that struggle, would never fail to join other Member States in efforts to attain those objectives.

46. Mr. FASSOU (Guinea) said that the development of communication channels in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries opened the way to trade between Africa and Asia and led to the discovery of a new world. At that time the European traders exchanged their manufactured goods for the agricultural wealth of those continents. A century later, they added thereto the exploitation of human resources which they supplied, as slaves, to the plantations in the Caribbean and the Americas. The effect of slave-trading was to lead those who practised it to regard their victims as chattels with no rights, not even a claim to be human beings.

47. Present-day racial discrimination took the form of *apartheid*, with the separate development of the races living in the same territory enabling one race to consider itself superior to the others, to deprive them of their legitimate rights and to exploit them systematically. Thus a minority of 3 million whites discriminated against 15 million blacks who were the rightful owners of that part of the continent. That form of racial discrimination was characterized, in the first place, by the creation of Bantustans, which were truly on a par with nazi concentration camps. In order to achieve the progressive extinction of the coloured races, the white racists forcibly separated wives from their husbands, thus reducing births among races which they considered to be inferior, while striving to bring about a rapid increase in the number of whites. Secondly, by means of political exploitation, they deprived the blacks of the right to vote or to be elected and of freedom of expression, religion, association and movement. Thirdly, racial discrimination took the form of economic exploitation, characterized by subsistence

wages, unhygienic housing and the absence of social laws to protect the workers from dangerous working conditions.

48. The *apartheid* régime at present practised in South Africa was a repetition pure and simple of the nazism which had been overthrown in Europe but a short time ago. Every one of its manifestations was a violation of the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations and a negation of fundamental human rights. Thus, merely because of their colour, the blacks had no rights while the whites had them all, including the right to treat blacks as they wished. Hence *apartheid* was a danger which threatened southern Africa, particularly since South Africa was occupying Namibia illegally and allying itself with Ian Smith, while Portugal was seeking to perpetuate its rule over Mozambique and Angola.

49. The Director of the Division of Human Rights had recalled in his preliminary statement on the item under consideration (1845th meeting) that the General Assembly, in the declaration adopted on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, had paid a tribute to the work of the Third Committee and had set it objectives which attainment was undoubtedly difficult but nevertheless essential if the twentieth century was to feature in history as one of those which had corrected the errors of the past and made it possible for the human condition to progress towards greater well-being and respect for the individual.

50. If the Organization wished to discharge that mission, it had to combat *apartheid* by adopting, in respect of South Africa, the measures referred to in articles 5 and 6 of Chapter II and in articles 41 and 42 of Chapter VII of the Charter, namely, the blockade of South Africa, the complete severance by Member States of their economic and diplomatic relations with Pretoria and the expulsion of the Republic of South Africa from the United Nations.

51. As to colonialism, it was merely an extension of slavery. In fact, while the European traders were concentrating on the slave trade, their Governments were inclining, during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, towards armed conquest of lands in other continents in order to exploit their human and material resources. The poet José María de Heredia (some of whose verses he quoted) had reflected with particular skill the spirit of rapacity, racial hatred and contempt for coloured people shown by the conquistadors in embarking on the conquest of the third world and its peoples. Those centuries had been the age of colonialism and slavery, but the twentieth century must mark the end of that wickedness, and to achieve that end it was essential that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) should be implemented to the full. Those who persistently refrained from implementing it and who claimed that a country could be the irrevocable extension of another when both were separated by thousands of miles, were engineering their own downfall, for the peoples had become aware of the situation and the brutality of the racist conquerors would in future be opposed by revolutionary violence. The United Nations, which recognized the legitimacy of the struggle for freedom by the oppressed peoples, should support the movements that sought to put an end to colonialism, which was not



only an anachronism in the twentieth century, but also the century's shame.

52. His country had always supported the peoples struggling for just causes and had thus attracted the hatred of racists and imperialists, and especially that of the Portuguese colonialists, who on 22 November 1970 had launched an attack against the peaceful people of Guinea, in blatant violation of all international and moral standards.

53. The elimination of racism demanded the unity of allied forces, while the elimination of *apartheid*, racial discrimination and colonialism demanded the unity of Member States.

54. Mrs. ESHEL-SHOHAM (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, described the attack made against her country by the Byelorussian representative, echoing previous statements by the Soviet Union and Ukrainian representatives, as completely unfounded. She hoped that one day the policies of those countries would change. Throughout their history, the Jews had been victims of the most savage racial discrimination and had consistently been in the forefront of the fight for human rights and against discrimination. Indeed, she could only wish that the human rights enjoyed by the Arabs in Israel were enjoyed by Arabs in neighbouring countries.

55. The statements by the Byelorussian representative were meant to drown Soviet Jewry's appeal to the world for help. The fact of their plight, however, was no "fabrication by Israel". On the occasion of the visit to France by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 50 prominent French personalities, including Jean Paul Sartre and René Cassin, had issued an appeal to world public opinion which she read out to the Committee, in which they had deplored the fact that in a great country like the USSR, which had played such a decisive role in the struggle against nazism, there were Jews who had been sentenced following trials discountenanced by the whole of world opinion, and they had requested that the Jewish community should be granted full recognition of its cultural, religious and national rights, on the same footing as any other nationality in the USSR. Furthermore, they had requested that Soviet citizens should be permitted to leave their country and return to it freely, and had requested an end to obstacles which prevented the emigration of those Jews who so wished to settle in Israel.

56. Considering the matter from another aspect, it was regrettable that some delegations wished to introduce into the debate political issues which fell within the competence of other organs of the Assembly. The accusations by the Byelorussian SSR, Czechoslovakia and Albania were completely unfounded, and their purpose was simply to distract attention from one of the great human tragedies of the present age.

57. Mrs. GORBACHEVA (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, reaffirmed that in the Soviet Union the so-called "Jewish question" did not exist. The daily anti-Soviet propaganda

delivered by the representative of Israel could be explained only by the hatred which Jews—and Zionists in particular—felt towards socialism. That was the sole motive that could explain such a series of unfounded accusations. Israel had referred to the appeal launched by the French intellectuals: she might equally well refer to innumerable declarations by Soviet Jews which repudiated that Zionist "concern", but she preferred to reject the Zionists' accusations with contempt. No one had ever dared, nor could ever dare, to deny the USSR's success in achieving the total elimination of racial discrimination in all its forms.

58. Mr. SAYEGH (Kuwait), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of Israel, in seeking to criticize the Byelorussian SSR, had also attacked the Arabs. Israel had no hesitation in declaring that since the Jews had for so long been victims of racial discrimination, it was impossible to accuse them of racism. He agreed with the representative of Israel that that would be the logical expectation, but unfortunately it was not the case. It was clear that Israel was practising racism, which represented the essence of Zionism. The Zionists aspired to create a Jewish society in a non-Jewish country, and to that end attempted to displace the inhabitants of that country and to replace them by "imported" Jews. That was essentially a racial practice based on the principle of differentiation between Jews and non-Jews.

59. And it was not only the Arabs against whom Israel discriminated: it now also discriminated against black and oriental Jews. At a previous meeting, the representative of Israel had denied that fact, alleging that the oriental Jews, coming as they had from more backward countries in which they had been oppressed, suffered from a sense of inferiority. She should become informed: *The Jerusalem Post* of 3 August 1971 had reported a statement by Mrs. Meir to the effect that the Jews arriving in Israel from Islamic countries had enjoyed higher standards than the people of the countries from which they had come. It was regrettable that Israel refused the entry of black Jews while at the same time it defrayed the cost of travel to Israel of Soviet Jews.

60. As to its treatment of Arabs, Israel described that question as a result of the political conflict in the region. A political problem certainly existed in the Middle East due to the racism which Israel practised against the Arabs, but the political problem was the result of racism.

61. Mrs. ESHEL-SHOHAM (Israel) doubted whether the Byelorussian representative's scornful rejection of the appeal launched by the French intellectuals during the visit of Mr. Brezhnev to France changed the facts of the tragic reality or whether her objections could lessen the impact of that appeal on world opinion. As to the statements by the representative of Kuwait, she reserved the right to refute them in due course.

62. Mrs. GORBACHEVA (Byelorussian SSR) reserved the right of reply.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*