

36. Mrs. LUNAMA lu NIMY (Zaire) said that Zaire attached the highest importance to the Decade and had supported all the relevant General Assembly resolutions. As an African country and a member of OAU, Zaire had participated in the work of the OAU Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa and supported all the liberation movements recognized by OAU. She recalled that the President of the Republic of Zaire, in a statement made on 4 October 1973, at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly,² had condemned the racism and racial discrimination of which the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa were the victims. In Zaire, all the information media had been mobilized to inform the population of the danger to the world, and to Africa in particular, of allowing the *apartheid* régime in South Africa to continue. Racism and all forms of discrimination—for example, tribalism—were strongly condemned in Zaire. Her Government welcomed the action taken by the Government of Mozambique against Southern Rhodesia. Furthermore, Zaire had just deposited its instrument of accession to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

37. Her delegation was pleased to note that the United Nations, its expert bodies, the specialized agencies, non-governmental organizations and Governments were working to implement the Programme for the Decade. It was to be hoped that racism and racial discrimination would soon be banished from the world for ever.

38. Her delegation supported the Ghanaian Government in its request (see E/5763, chap. II) that the General Assembly make an exception to the rule established in General Assembly resolution 2609 (XXIV), paragraph 10, and agree to defray half the additional costs incurred for the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, since it should be held on the African continent where the problem of racism and racial discrimination was most acute.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2140th meeting.

39. Mr. VON KYAW (Federal Republic of Germany) said that, in its reply to the questionnaire from the Secretary-General in pursuance of paragraph 18 (e) of the Programme for the Decade, the Federal Republic of Germany had omitted to mention that it continued to contribute to the various funds established by the United Nations to alleviate the sufferings of the victims of racial discrimination in southern Africa, in addition to its pledge to contribute \$100,000 to the establishment of the Institute for Namibia.

40. In accordance with article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Federal Republic of Germany continued to condemn the policies of *apartheid*, racism and racial discrimination, and the Government of South Africa was fully informed of that position. His country had recently stated that it expected urgent measures to be taken for the full application of the principle of self-determination based on majority rule and guarantees for the minorities in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia. Those problems should be solved speedily in order to prevent foreign intervention in Africa, and particularly southern Africa, which might impair the sovereign right of the African people to determine their own destinies freely and independently. The steps taken by his country bilaterally and with its partners in EEC should be seen in that context.

41. A new element had been introduced into the Programme for the Decade by the adoption of General Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX), which had compelled the Federal Republic of Germany to vote against the resolutions concerning the Decade adopted at the thirtieth session. Similarly, it had voted against resolution 9 (XXXII) of the Commission on Human Rights. The measures taken with regard to the Decade at the thirtieth session of the Assembly and subsequently had been counter-productive, and there should be a general reassessment of the situation if the damage to the Programme for the Decade was to be repaired.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

1991st meeting

Tuesday, 27 April 1976, at 3.35 p.m.

President: Mr. Siméon AKE (Ivory Coast).

E/SR.1991

AGENDA ITEM 3

Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (*continued*) (E/5759 and Add.1, E/5760 and Add.1, E/5763, E/5799)

1. Mr. HELOU (International Association of French-Speaking Parliamentarians), speaking at the invitation of the President, said that he welcomed the opportunity to address a meeting dedicated to the struggle against racism and racial discrimination and to speak of the contributions of his organization, whose very existence, structure, statutes and activities testified to its dedication to that struggle. His organization represented over 200 million people from rich countries and poor, developed and developing, each attached to its own identity but also sharing a common language. They were united, not in spite of their differences, but

rather because of them. Many members of the Economic and Social Council also belonged to his organization, which shared and contributed to the Council's goals.

2. As an association of parliamentarians elected by the peoples of their respective countries, of interpreters and leaders of public opinion, the Association was a natural intermediary between the highest international bodies and the people, as well as between international assemblies and the national assemblies it represented. It therefore felt well equipped to help the Council in the sphere of information as well as in that of action, and had effectively done so in the past.

3. In promoting such common ideals as the struggle against racism, his organization felt that progress consisted essentially in changing the way human societies

thought and lived, which meant a basic change in man, without which any other change, no matter how beneficial, might be inadequate or fragile and precarious. It felt that the Council shared that conviction.

4. It was not enough to condemn racism in law; it must also be condemned in reality, wherever and in whatever circumstances it manifested itself. That included southern Africa, of course, but southern Africa was not only a region, it was also a state of mind. It was not his organization's role to repeat constantly the position taken by its member countries on every resolution adopted, but it hoped to be able to make a contribution by promoting what constituted the spirit of all civilization, namely, culture, in the sense of the development of human faculties in the service of truth, beauty and goodness, in order to enable mankind to overcome its ignorance and selfishness and become aware of its common origin and destiny. The achievement of human dignity and equality and an end to racial discrimination were matters of culture as well as legislation. Cultural growth, social justice and economic growth were all linked and were based on a diversity of resources and on trade. Unlike material values, however, spiritual and cultural values increased when they were shared. His organization was therefore dedicated not merely to ending discrimination but also to proclaiming the equality of rights between individuals and groups and to achieving a symbiosis of all values and of all individual civilizations. It represented a culture open to all cultures and the very negation of racism in all its forms. It transcended antagonisms and frontiers because its membership was based not merely on the use of a common language but also on the cultivation of the same values of liberty, equality and fraternity.

Mr. Longerstaeve (Belgium) took the Chair.

5. Mr. KAISER (Bangladesh) said that, although the United Nations had achieved some progress towards the elimination of racism and racial discrimination, the goal had not been completely achieved and required priority attention.

6. His delegation welcomed the reports of the Secretary-General prepared in accordance with paragraphs 18 (e) and 18 (f) of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (E/5759 and Add.1 and E/5760 and Add.1). Those provisions of the Programme for the Decade (General Assembly resolution 3057 (XXVIII)) were important instruments for the Council and, through it, the General Assembly to monitor and evaluate the progress achieved towards the attainment of the goals set out in the Programme. They therefore deserved careful attention. In that connexion, his delegation wished in particular to emphasize the importance of publicizing the Programme for the Decade as widely as possible, since the mobilization of public opinion was one of the most important factors in eradicating racism.

7. In connexion with the Secretary-General's report on his consultations with the Government of Ghana concerning arrangements for holding the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (E/5763), his delegation agreed that the purpose of such a conference was not merely to provide a forum for an academic discussion of specialized problems by experts on race relations, but that it was also to be a high-level political gathering to focus world attention on the problem of racism and initiate action at both

the national and the international levels. To achieve that purpose, the Conference should analyse racism in all its ramifications, including the political, economic and social factors which contributed to it, and also recommend action to eliminate it. It would be very appropriate to convene the Conference in an African country since that would focus attention on an area where racism currently existed in its most extreme and extensive form.

8. Bangladesh was fully committed to the fight against racism and racial discrimination and sympathized with and supported the victims of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia and elsewhere.

9. Miss CAO-PINNA (Italy) said that her delegation continued to attach great importance to the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and to the successful implementation of the related Programme as outlined in General Assembly resolution 3057 (XXVIII). It regarded the Decade as a common and intensified effort aimed at the total and unconditional elimination of all forms of racial discrimination as defined in article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (General Assembly resolution 2106 A (XX)), which her Government had recently ratified.

10. Her country had been among the States which had submitted to the Secretary-General a first biennial report under paragraph 18 (e) of the Programme for the Decade. The information it had provided was not included in document E/5759 because the Italian report had not reached the Secretariat in time. She therefore briefly summarized the action taken within her country in terms of legal measures and penal sanctions, as an example of what could and should be done in a country where racial discrimination was alien to the conscience of the people and where, therefore, action had to be concentrated on preventive measures. In a country such as Italy where racial discrimination did not exist, the implementation of the Programme for the Decade required not only preventive penal legislation, but also a continuing process of education and information, aimed at ensuring the broadest participation of the people of the world in the fight against racism and racial discrimination, as well as scientific research. Her delegation had given the Secretary-General detailed information in that connexion. She suggested that the Division of Human Rights should prepare another addendum to document E/5759, to be presented to the Council at its sixty-second session to cover the reports still to be submitted by other Member States.

11. Italy's activities during the first two years of the Decade were a reflection of its firm opposition to and rejection of racial discrimination throughout the world, especially in southern Africa, and of its support for the right of the peoples of that region to self-determination. Her delegation felt, however, that if the Decade were to be successful it was essential to avoid any insertion in the Council's deliberations of elements which were extraneous both to the Programme for the Decade and to the Convention, on which her delegation's position remained unchanged.

12. Mr. WILSON (Liberia) said that, despite the unanimous adoption of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, racial discrimination persisted stubbornly through-

out the world. It occurred, however, in its most abhorrent form in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

13. He noted that a member of the United States Congress, Mr. Charles Diggs, had said after a visit to South Africa several years previously that it was quite impossible to convey the degree of suffering imposed by the *apartheid* system on its victims, and that it was not simply a matter of physical deprivation but also of mental suffering resulting from the destruction of the fabric of African society.

14. The Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination was designed primarily to benefit the black peoples in southern Africa who constituted the vast majority of the victims of racial discrimination and *apartheid*, although others, of course, might also derive benefit from the goals and objectives of the Decade. Liberia therefore appealed to the members of the Council not to include any extraneous issue in the draft resolution on the item, as such action might tend to defeat the aims and purposes of the Decade.

15. His delegation associated itself with those which had expressed support for the request of the Government of Ghana that the General Assembly defray half the expenses of the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

16. Mr. S. SMIRNOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that racism and racial discrimination had been resolutely condemned by the United Nations and world public opinion as a disgrace to humanity and a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter. It was not enough merely to condemn racism, however, and constant energetic efforts were needed to implement practical measures to eradicate racial discrimination and the last vestiges of colonialism and racism. It was to that end that the General Assembly had proclaimed the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and adopted a broad programme of measures to be implemented at the international and national levels.

17. He wished to take the opportunity to welcome the independent States which had freed themselves from colonial oppression, including the most recent, the People's Republic of Angola.

18. His delegation believed that the Council should assess the progress made in the implementation of the Programme for the Decade, and also of other related United Nations decisions, and work out new measures aimed at the intensification of the struggle against racism and racial discrimination.

19. The victorious liberation struggle of the peoples demonstrated that no one could thwart their desire for freedom. The peoples' national liberation struggle was taking place at a time when progress was being made in the international arena and when, as a result of the efforts of peace-loving States and peoples, détente had become the most prominent trend. Events showed that the reaffirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between States and the strengthening of international peace and security created new opportunities for the peoples' national liberation movements and for the victory over colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. In their struggle, the peoples enjoyed broad international solidarity and support from progressive and anti-imperialist forces throughout the world, including unfailing support from the socialist States.

20. The direct aggression of the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury against the independent African States of the People's Republic of Angola and the People's Republic of Mozambique was clear confirmation that those régimes constituted a constant threat to international peace and security. The aggressiveness of the racist régimes and their disregard for the rules of international law and human morality made it necessary for the peoples of those countries to be particularly watchful and united. The elimination of the remaining hotbeds of colonialism and racism was essential not only for the restoration of elementary human rights but also to ensure international peace and security.

21. All manifestations of racism, wherever they occurred and whatever form they took, were intolerable and totally unjustifiable. It would therefore be useful if all States included in their Constitutions provisions outlawing all forms of racial discrimination. Experience showed, however, that legislative measures alone were insufficient to bring about the complete elimination of racial discrimination. Racism was taking new forms in some countries and was reflected in statistics on education, pay, employment, housing conditions, and so forth. His delegation believed that the main reason for the persistence of racism was that the ruling classes used it to promote their own interests and to exploit their fellow men. The struggle against racism was therefore a major component part of the movement for social progress.

22. The Programme for the Decade must be fully implemented. Any reservations regarding particular provisions of the Programme could only be regarded as a deviation from the struggle against the evils of racism and racial discrimination.

23. The festering sore of racism in southern Africa was a matter of particular concern: the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes, in flagrant disregard of elementary human rights, were keeping millions of people in a state of utter servitude. The South African racists, openly challenging the whole international community, stubbornly persisted in pursuing an inhuman policy of *apartheid* and continued their illegal occupation of Namibia, subjecting millions of Africans to massive repressive measures. The illegal white minority régime in Southern Rhodesia continued a policy of cruel oppression of the indigenous population. The racists of Pretoria and Salisbury had recently shown increasing militancy and aggressiveness, with the support of certain transnational capitalist monopolies and the Governments which stood behind them, which, for their own mercenary interests, constantly afforded the régimes every kind of political, economic, military and other assistance. Their complicity with South African racists had been condemned many times by United Nations bodies, including the Commission on Human Rights and the Security Council, whose resolution 387 (1976), which had been adopted unanimously, was a serious warning to the racists of southern Africa and reflected the opinion of the world community. The imperialist Powers, flagrantly ignoring the will of the peoples, were trying to maintain the racist régimes in southern Africa as a bridge-head; that was no doubt why South Africa had publicly declared itself to be a bastion of the so-called "free world". The protectors of the racist régimes were very inventive in finding pretexts to justify their support of those régimes, such as allegations that foreign investments in southern

Africa helped improve the material situation of the local population.

24. It would be a major contribution to the attainment of goals of the Decade if all forms of assistance to the racist régimes were to cease, if political, economic, military and other ties with those régimes were broken, and if the régimes were completely isolated and boycotted. The time had come to make a careful assessment of how the numerous United Nations decisions and resolutions adopted with a view to the elimination of racism and colonialism were being implemented and what new measures needed to be taken to ensure their strict observance.

25. Zionism, a militant imperialist ideology which incited to racial hatred and enmity among peoples and which had been condemned by the General Assembly as a form of racism and racial discrimination, should be universally condemned. The unholy alliance of *apartheid* and zionism which had been condemned by the United Nations continued to gain strength, as had been shown by the warm welcome given to Mr. Vorster by the Israeli Zionists a few days previously.

26. The Soviet Union strictly implemented all United Nations decisions directed at the elimination of racism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination and in support of the peoples' national liberation struggle. The Soviet Union's unequivocal position in the struggle against colonialism and racism was based on the very nature of the Soviet socialist State, since discrimination of any kind was completely alien to the socialist order. In the Soviet Union there was no exploitation or oppression, and the equal rights of all its people, irrespective of nationality or race, were guaranteed in all spheres of life.

27. Throughout its history, the Soviet Union had consistently opposed all forms of exploitation and oppression. True to the principle of socialist internationalism, the Soviet Union assisted and would continue to assist those peoples which were waging a noble struggle for their freedom. In the programme for the further struggle for peace and international co-operation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples, which it had approved at its twenty-fifth Congress, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had defined the complete elimination of all vestiges of the system of colonial oppression and of the infringement of equal rights and the independence of the peoples, as well as the elimination of hotbeds of colonialism and racism, as among the most important international goals, essential to the peace and security of peoples.

28. His delegation believed that the current session of the Council should give new impetus to the implementation of the goals of the Decade. Consistent and purposeful action was needed, as well as the intensification of the efforts of States, United Nations bodies, the specialized agencies, international and national organizations, and the broad mobilization of public opinion, directed at the eradication of racism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination. It was important that the greatest possible number of States should accede to the International Conventions on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*, as tangible proof of their sincerity and concern for true respect for the peoples' rights.

29. His delegation welcomed the invitation of the Government of Ghana to act as host to the World

Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and was prepared to take an active part in the preparations for the Conference, the main goal of which should be to adopt measures to strengthen the struggle against racism, racial discrimination, *apartheid* and colonialism. His delegation was prepared to support actively all proposals for the rapid attainment of the goals of the Decade.

30. Mr. AL-HUSSAMY (Observer for the Syrian Arab Republic), speaking at the invitation of the President, said that his Government attached great importance to the success of the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, commended the Government of Ghana on its initiative in offering to act as host to the Conference despite the vast financial implications, and fully supported the request of the Government of Ghana that the United Nations should defray half the expenditure involved in holding the Conference away from United Nations Headquarters.

31. It was well known that the Syrian Arab Republic, a founding Member of the United Nations, had consistently supported the struggle against racism and racial discrimination in all United Nations organs and had drawn attention to the evils of racism and racial discrimination, especially in Africa, where the colonial and racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia had created the most ugly forms of discrimination to oppress and exploit the indigenous population.

32. He noted that the struggle against racism and racial discrimination had not begun with the proclamation in 1973 of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination; in fact, the struggle was as old as the United Nations itself. The Programme for the Decade was an achievement of the United Nations as a whole and did not belong to any one continent or group of countries. Its provisions must be respected whenever and wherever the international community faced a racist régime or discrimination of any kind. The international community must give more serious consideration to the accelerated collaboration on scientific, military and economic matters between the racist régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv, since that collaboration endangered the efforts of the United Nations and the international community to bring about the elimination of *apartheid*.

33. He referred to the recent visit of Mr. Vorster to Israel and to a new agreement between South Africa and Israel concerning an increase in scientific relations, the expansion of financial aid to Israel's arms production, the purchase of Israeli fighters in exchange for South African uranium, the utilization of South African raw materials and Israeli manpower in joint projects, and the immediate expansion of trade. He also called attention to a recent meeting of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*¹ on the subject of the collaboration between Israel and South Africa, on 30 April 1976, at which grave concern had been expressed over the increasing collaboration between Israel and South Africa in flagrant defiance of United Nations resolutions. The Chairman of the Special Committee had also expressed the hope that all Governments and organizations would condemn Israel's actions in developing closer collaboration with the Pretoria régime and warn the Israeli Government that the Governments and

¹ A/AC.115/SR.322.

peoples opposed to *apartheid* and racism could not ignore such collaboration.

34. *Apartheid* and zionism were similar in their ideologies, origin and practices since both were based on racial or religious supremacy, colonization by aliens, discrimination, and oppression of the indigenous population. It was not without reason that the General Assembly had adopted resolution 3379 (XXX) equating zionism with racism.

35. His delegation drew attention to the fact that those States which were attempting to obstruct the Programme for the Decade by using a very recent General Assembly resolution as a pretext were, and always had been, supporters of the racism régimes in South Africa and Palestine. Indeed, almost all Member States had joined the struggle against racism and racial discrimination, with the exception of a number of countries with well-known histories of colonization of the peoples of Africa and Asia and the two racist régimes. Those countries had never responded to the resolutions marking the various stages of the struggle against the racist régimes and they still provided those régimes with financial and military aid in defiance of United Nations resolutions.

36. Miss ILIC (Yugoslavia) expressed satisfaction at the large number of replies provided by Governments in accordance with paragraph 18 (e) of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination on measures taken or contemplated at the national level in order to implement the Decade. She commended the report concerning the activities of United Nations bodies and organizations (E/5760), particularly the part relating to activities that had a direct bearing on the areas and peoples most affected by policies and practices of racism, racial discrimination, *apartheid*, and colonial and alien domination and subjugation, such as assistance to the liberation movements, assistance to refugees from territories under racist rule in southern Africa, and other activities aimed at informing and educating the public at large concerning the evils of racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*. Measures to prevent discrimination and to protect and promote the rights of individuals and groups such as national and ethnic minorities and migrant workers were especially important.

37. Her delegation welcomed the recent Security Council resolutions condemning the illegal activities of the racist régimes in southern Africa. The decision of the Government of Mozambique to sever all economic and trade relations with the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia, in compliance with relevant United Nations resolutions, was commendable. It was to be hoped that the international community would effectively assist the Government and people of Mozambique in their noble effort. Her delegation believed that racism, racial discrimination, *apartheid* and the subjugation of the people of southern Africa would soon come to an end and that the bastions of racism and *apartheid* in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, as well as any other strongholds of colonialism and alien domination, would be eliminated by the very peoples which those régimes now oppressed.

38. Yugoslavia would continue to extend full moral and material assistance and support to the peoples and liberation movements fighting for their independence. It believed that, were it not for the political, military, economic and other interests of some States and transnational corporations, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* would long since have been eliminated. By

maintaining economic and other relations with racist régimes, those States and corporations contributed to the perpetuation of racist régimes and their policies of discrimination and oppression in direct violations of United Nations resolutions, and endangered peace not only in southern Africa but in the world as a whole.

39. She noted that the Yugoslav Constitution guaranteed the equality of all citizens, regardless of nationality, race, sex, language, religion, education or social status, and that all citizens were equal before the law. The principle of non-discrimination and equality was fully integrated into the educational system, and special attention was given to the teaching of better understanding, tolerance and friendship among nations and between nations and nationalities.

40. As a contribution to the implementation of the goals of the Decade, an international seminar on education would be organized in Yugoslavia, where several studies on racial discrimination were in progress. Yugoslavia, as a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*, had no relations with racist régimes.

41. Her delegation welcomed the generous offer of the Government of Ghana to act as host to the Conference to be held as a major feature of the Decade and supported Ghana's request that the United Nations defray half the expenditures involved in holding the Conference away from Headquarters. Her delegation believed, moreover, that careful scrutiny of the expenses envisaged might permit substantial reductions.

42. Mr. HSING Sung-yi (China) said that, during the past year, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America had won new victories in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and hegemonism. The balance of forces in southern Africa had radically changed in favour of the indigenous people. In the dependent Territories, the people's struggle for national liberation and their mass movements were developing in depth.

43. The armed struggle of the people of Zimbabwe continued to make important progress. Guerrilla fighters had launched offensives along the border between Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia, doubling the area under their control, and the people of Zimbabwe were confident that final victory could be won without the intervention of foreign troops. In Namibia, the freedom fighters continued to deal heavy blows against the South African colonial troops in vast areas of the country. The struggle of the people of Azania against racial discrimination and *apartheid* was growing: a series of strikes by workers and students was throwing the South African racists into a state of panic. Those events vividly demonstrated the excellent prospects for the struggle of the African peoples against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

44. The South African racist régime, sensing imminent doom, was stepping up its counter-revolutionary tactics of brutal repression and political deception in a vain attempt to prolong its tottering rule. The racist régime of Southern Rhodesia was again speaking of "conciliation", "peace talks" and the convening of a "constitutional conference" in an attempt to weaken the liberation movement and deceive world public opinion. At the same time, it continued to expand its own troops and its attacks on the Zimbabwean people's armed

forces. It had even invaded Mozambique on the pretext of pursuing the guerrillas, thereby seriously threatening the security of neighbouring States. That act of aggression had met with a timely and forceful counter-attack by Mozambique and had further evoked the indignation of, and condemnation by, African and world public opinion. On the other hand, the South African racists had proclaimed so-called "major reforms", claiming that black Africans would be allowed to fill government posts, that certain *apartheid* laws in Namibia would be repealed or amended, that measures would be taken to improve the status of black Africans, that a "constitutional conference" would be convened, and so on. Yet none of those deceptive tricks could cover up the reality of the repressive measures taken by the South African régime against the people of Azania and Namibia. That régime was vigorously expanding its armaments to intensify its repression, declaring arrogantly that its policies had not changed and that it would "go all out to deal with guerrilla violence".

45. It was expanding its army and air force bases in Namibia in order to establish strategic strongholds. It had redeployed in Namibia the troops it had withdrawn from Southern Rhodesia and had openly invaded Angola. It had recently promulgated the so-called "Amended Defence Act" and had claimed that its armed forces had the right to cross borders in the vast region of Africa south of the Equator to retaliate against any move which threatened its security. That was an act of wanton provocation against neighbouring States.

46. In southern Africa, the people in areas yet to be liberated would continue to frustrate the schemes of the racist régimes. They would crush the enemy's brutal repression by means of armed struggle. They would also defeat the schemes of the super-Powers for meddling with the liberation movements in their contention for hegemony. The collapse of the Portuguese colonial system had aggravated super-Power rivalry in southern Africa.

47. In order to preserve its enormous economic and strategic interests, one super-Power was energetically supporting the local racist régimes. The rival super-Power, flaunting the banner of the "natural ally of the liberation movement" and motivated by its desire for hegemony, was infiltrating southern Africa by any means it could, trying to take the place of the old colonialists and to expand its sphere of influence there. A glaring example was the practice of Soviet social-imperialism which, on the pretext of supporting the national liberation movement and fulfilling its internationalist duty, had resorted to the tactics of supporting one group against another. It had introduced large quantities of armaments, military personnel and mercenaries into Angola and had carried out wanton intervention and aggression against that country. The grave situation there was unprecedented in the history of the post-war national liberation movement in Africa and would have serious consequences for Angola, for southern Africa and for the whole continent. If Soviet social-imperialism succeeded in Angola, there would be no guarantee against the appearance of another Angola, and unless such interference was eliminated, there could be no tranquillity in Africa.

48. The Chinese Government and people strongly condemned the South African authorities for their criminal intervention in Angola, and firmly supported

the people of Angola and other parts of Africa in their just struggle against South Africa's intervention. The Chinese Government and people also strongly condemned Soviet social-imperialism for its intervention and aggression against Angola and urged the immediate withdrawal of Soviet military personnel and mercenaries. That was also the righteous demand of just world opinion and the Governments of many countries.

49. Imperialism, racism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and social-imperialism were doomed; the struggle of the people of southern Africa for liberation would triumph. Since the African people had been able to expel the wolf of old colonialism from Africa through the front gate, they would certainly evict the tiger of Soviet social-imperialism through the back door, thereby overthrowing the racist régimes and winning the liberation of the entire African continent.

50. Mr. NEUGEBAUER (German Democratic Republic) said that his delegation attached great significance to the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and was particularly interested in the actions, suggestions and proposals of Member States designed to eliminate racial discrimination. The German Democratic Republic supported the struggle to achieve that end by rendering material, moral and political assistance to the oppressed peoples to the best of its ability. That support had been evident to the members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* when it had held its meetings in 1974 at Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic. It did not maintain relations of any kind with the racist régimes and consistently complied with the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. It had been among the first States to sign and ratify the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*, and its position in support of the national liberation movements had been publicly proclaimed by its Minister for Foreign Affairs in the General Assembly² and by the Chairman of its Council of Ministers on the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.³ The latter had emphasized, in particular, that it was time for the Security Council to decide on effective measures under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter to put an end to the policy and practices of the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and to the illegal occupation of Namibia. Moreover, the German Democratic Republic's Committee for the Decade for Action had initiated a number of measures in support of the cause of the Decade (see E/5759) and among its related projects was the organization of a scientific conference on the imperialist character of racism in southern Africa.

51. The discussion of South African aggression in Angola in the Security Council had been of special importance. The resolution adopted by the Security Council (387 (1976) of 31 March 1976) had demonstrated the determination of African and non-aligned States and the socialist States to reaffirm continuing support for the implementation of the goals of the Decade for Action. The debate in the Security Council had also warned the accomplices of the racist régimes in southern Africa that there were clear limits to the supportive action they could take. The policies of racism and racial discrimination were instruments of imperialist and colonialist oppression and the apolo-

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2360th meeting.

³ See A/AC.115/SR.320.

gists and advocates of those policies could not deny that the Vorster régime, in its aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, had allied itself with the forces of reaction. The German Democratic Republic had resolutely condemned that aggression, and with the help of the peace-loving peoples in Africa and throughout the world, the People's Republic of Angola had defended its independence and cleared the way for the full exercise of its right to self-determination.

52. The German Democratic Republic fully supported resolution 9 (XXXII) adopted by the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-second session (see E/5768, chap. XX) on the Decade for Action, and, in particular, the recommendation that the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its thirtieth session should be taken into account in a study to be prepared by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. It should be noted that the Assembly had pointed to the dangers for peace and security in southern Africa arising from the access of the Vorster régime to nuclear weapons (resolution 3411 G (XXX)). That question should be given full attention during the Decade.

53. The German Democratic Republic also welcomed the adoption of resolutions by the Commission on Human Rights condemning all forms of political, military, economic and other co-operation between certain States and the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. However, the representatives of some States on the Commission had dissociated themselves from the objectives of the Decade; more recently, a reappraisal of those objectives had been demanded, especially from States which had repeatedly been criticized for their support of the racist régimes in southern Africa. There could no longer be any doubt that political, economic, and military support by NATO States and transnational monopolies continued to enable those régimes to continue their racist policy. Nor was it a coincidence that, at a time when it was most acutely isolated by the international community, the Vorster régime had extended its political and military co-operation with Tel Aviv. In the circumstances, those who questioned the provisions of General Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX) were really demanding that the racist régimes be supported.

54. The World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, to which the Government of Ghana would act as host in 1978, should draw up a mid-term balance sheet for the Decade and devise further measures for uprooting racism. It was his understanding that the Conference would be based on the relevant United Nations resolutions concerning the right of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa to self-determination and independence. Its main concern should be to decide on measures to increase support for the struggle of those peoples, investigate the roots of racism, analyse the role of the racist régimes as a threat to peace, and identify the main obstacles to the eradication of racism. The struggle to achieve that goal was an important part of the anti-imperialist movement of peace, international security, independence and social progress. World peace and détente permitted a maximum deployment of forces to implement the objectives of the Decade.

55. Mr. ABDALLAH (Tunisia) said that the international community should exercise greater vigilance in order to protect peoples from the evils of racism and racial discrimination. He drew attention, in that con-

nexion, to the seminar held at Tunis from 12 to 24 November 1975 on the human rights of migrant workers. He further cited a statement by President Bourguiba of Tunisia pledging total support for and solidarity with the oppressed peoples of southern Africa and Palestine in their struggle to achieve their legitimate aspirations for self-determination and independence.

56. The condemnation of the international community should be directed not only against the racist régimes of southern Africa but, even more, against those really responsible for the persistence of racist policies, namely, those States which provided political and material aid to the racist régimes, without which the oppressors would long ago have yielded to the overwhelming desire of the oppressed peoples to establish their true identity, as had been the case in Portugal.

57. Under the constitutional, legislative, judicial and administrative systems in force in Tunisia, all discrimination based on race or other factors had been eliminated, and Tunisia wished to renew its pledge of solidarity with the oppressed peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Azania and Palestine and to urge all peace-loving States to intensify measures to liberate them from racism and hasten their independence. After the experience of Viet-Nam and Cambodia, the victory of those peoples could not be long delayed.

58. The Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination should strengthen the determination of all States to eliminate all forms of discrimination and the World Conference to be held in Ghana in 1978, to which the Ghanaian Government had graciously consented to act as host despite its limited resources, should evoke full support and assistance from the international community. The aim of the Conference should be to commit government authorities and private agencies to take stronger action at all levels to eliminate racism and to develop new, bolder and more effective means of accomplishing that objective. The success of the Conference would also depend on the measures it took to mobilize public opinion in support of its purposes and to block the manoeuvres of those who sought to perpetuate racism and colonialism. The Conference at Accra would be a test of the sincerity of those who paid lip-service to the objectives of the Decade while continuing to support the racist régimes. It would also test the solidarity expressed by many States with the cause of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa and Palestine and the fidelity with which States had implemented relevant United Nations resolutions. His delegation hoped that the United Nations would defray half the expenses incurred by the host country in organizing the Conference, thus making an exception to the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2609 (XXIV), in order to ensure its success. As the preparatory organ for the Conference, the Council should urge all Member States, the specialized agencies and regional intergovernmental bodies dealing with human rights, and the liberation movements recognized by OAU and the League of Arab States to participate actively in the work of the Conference.

59. Miss LOPEZ (Venezuela) deplored the continued support given to the racist régimes of southern Africa by the big Powers, which were protecting their own interests. As it had stated in its reply to the Secretary-General's questionnaire (see E/5759), the Venezuelan Government unequivocally supported the measures

taken and the action to be developed to eliminate racism and racial discrimination in all its forms. It fully supported the Decade as a means of riveting public attention on the monstrous practices of the racist régimes and condemning the Government engaged in those practices. Her delegation ardently hoped that the World Conference to be held at Accra would constitute a further advance in the struggle to eliminate racist policies and practices in Africa, the continent which had suffered most from those evils.

60. Mr. BROAD (United Kingdom), speaking in exercise of his right of reply and also on behalf of the delegations of the United States and France, directed his remarks to the reference to Berlin in the statement of the representative of the German Democratic Republic. The position of the three Governments on the status of Berlin was as stated in document A/10078 of 14 April 1975 and document A/10126 of 26 April 1975.

61. Mr. NEUGEBAUER (German Democratic Republic), observing that every State had a right to determine the name of its capital city, said that it was an internationally recognized fact, as could be seen from all official United Nations publications, that the capital of his country was Berlin. The attempt to construe a so-called Berlin question prompted the question whether one wanted to make more difficult the fruitful exchange of ideas on the substance of the problem or whether one wanted to become the spokesman for certain circles which pursued aims consistent neither with the Charter of the United Nations nor with other important documents of international law and suited only to endanger peace and disturb peaceful co-operation.

62. Mr. S. SMIRNOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) protested against the attempt of the Chinese delegation, in its lengthy description of China's support for the liberation struggle in southern Africa, to cast aspersions on the USSR's policy of friendship for the oppressed peoples of that part of the world. The USSR categorically rejected those slanderous remarks. In keeping with the Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism, it would continue to provide moral and material support to those peoples and to implement the relevant United Nations decisions, including the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

63. The struggle of the Angolan people for national liberation had clearly shown that weapons provided by China had been used by the mercenaries of the South African racists and that Chinese instructors and other personnel had served as mercenaries of South Africa in committing acts of aggression against the Angolan people. The efforts of the Chinese delegation to resort to provocation by misrepresenting the facts were intended to create confusion, but they would not mislead those who knew the truth of the situation in Angola. The Soviet delegation rejected those fabrications categorically.

64. Mr. HSING Sung-yi (China) said that the USSR representative's vilification of his country could not tarnish the image of the Chinese people and would only expose the guilty conscience and ugliness of Soviet social-imperialism.

65. The aggression and intervention by Soviet social-imperialism against Angola were not isolated events; they were the continuation of Soviet expansion over the past decade and an integral part of the USSR's conten-

tion with the other super-Power for hegemony in the south Atlantic and the world. They constituted an important component of the USSR's global offensive strategy, and had opened the eyes of people to what was really behind such nonsense as "détente has become a major trend", "support for the liberation movements", "natural ally" and "the consolidation of peace and security will contribute to the victory over colonialism", propagated by the Soviet Union. Lies could not conceal the facts: within a few short months, the USSR had sent into Angola over 10,000 tons of armaments, modern weapons and large numbers of military personnel, as well as mercenaries. Countless Angolan villages had been razed by those weapons and over 100,000 Angolans had been brutally massacred by the guns of the Soviet aggressors. Over a million Angolans had been driven into desolation and made homeless. Those were the bloody crimes committed by the new Soviet czars in their aggression against Angola under the guise of so-called "internationalism" and "assistance", crimes of such magnitude as to dwarf those of the old-line colonialists.

66. Nevertheless, the African peoples had a tradition of opposing imperialism and the aggression and intervention by Soviet social-imperialism had heightened their vigilance and determination never to allow the new czars to act at will. The people of Angola, and of all Africa, were fully capable of strengthening their unity, eliminating outside interference and handling their own affairs. Angola belonged to the people of Angola and Africa to the people of Africa, not to imperialism, racism and hegemonism. It was an irresistible historical trend for nations to want liberation and for peoples to want revolution. Soviet social-imperialism was vainly plotting to sow discord in the militant friendship between the peoples of China and Africa; that scheme was doomed to failure, as were Soviet plans for aggression, expansion and division of the African peoples.

67. Mr. ORTIZ RODRIGUEZ (Cuba) said that the Council should not allow itself to become the forum for diversionary tactics and the obvious manoeuvres of reactionary interests which paid lip-service to the struggle against racism while providing the support which sustained the racist régimes in southern Africa. Since the facts regarding events in central Africa had been mercilessly distorted, his delegation felt morally obligated to state, as it had done in the Security Council debate on South African intervention in Angola, what motivated those distortions and where the peoples fighting for liberation could find a true explanation of those events. In his specific reference to mercenaries, the representative of Maoism was creating fantasies. There was photographic evidence, which most representatives had seen, clearly showing who had helped the Angolans in their struggle for independence and who had tried to stop them. He reaffirmed the determination of the Cuban people to respond when called upon by fraternal peoples to help fight aggression and the imperialist racism which sought to perpetuate colonialism.

68. Mr. S. SMIRNOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), observing that the Cuban representative had quite rightly replied to the slanderous remarks of the Chinese representative directed against the USSR, said that the object of the Chinese delegation was clearly to use the Council as a platform for such slanders and not to participate in the debate on the

urgent questions before it. In connexion with the Chinese comments regarding aid to the mercenaries of racism, it should be noted that the representative of China had kept his hand down when the Security Council had voted against South Africa. Indeed, China had not yet recognized the victorious people of Angola which had freed itself from colonialism, thus providing further evidence that the Chinese leadership was becoming as reactionary as the most reactionary forces in the world, namely, the military racist forces of South Africa.

69. Miss BALOGUN (Nigeria) appealed to delegations not to pursue their quarrel on the events in Angola. There had been a full-dress debate on the question in the Security Council and they should conserve their energies for another debate on *apartheid* to be held the following week. If they truly sought to defend the interests of Africa, they should not fight about it. With the military operations in Angola over, they should find ways to help to reconstruct the coun-

try so that it could effectively exercise its independence.

70. Mr. HSING Sung-yi (China) said that in its attempt to divert attention from the Soviet aggression in Angola, the USSR delegation had not dared to touch upon the substantive issues raised by the Chinese delegation. Moreover, the Cuban role in that Soviet aggression was known to the whole world: it was clear that the Cubans had served the Soviet authorities. He had already replied to the Soviet statement and would not waste the time of the Council on a further reply.

71. Mr. S. SMIRNOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that he would accede to Nigeria's appeal not to discuss the question further. What was now required was action, not words, specifically, action to halt collusion with reaction and with the racists seeking to oppress the peoples of southern Africa. Those who were working towards that end did not indulge in slanderous allegations in the Council.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.

1992nd meeting

Wednesday, 28 April 1976, at 3.40 p.m.

President: Mr. Siméon AKE (Ivory Coast).

E/SR.1992

AGENDA ITEM 3

Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (continued) (E/5759 and Add.1, E/5760 and Add.1, E/5763, E/5799, E/5813)

1. Mr. SCRANTON (United States of America) said that every Member State had supported the decision taken by the General Assembly in 1973 to launch the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (resolution 3057 (XXVIII)). It had been the product of a consensus which the United States had helped to shape on the basis of its own experience in attempting to institutionalize the results of the civil rights revolution which had been sparked by the United States Supreme Court decision of 1954 in the case of *Brown v. the Board of Education*. Consequently, the United States Government understood the difficulties of elevating the moral principle of social and racial equality to the level of national law and then making it applicable to the daily lives of individuals, and it had approached the goals of the Decade with hope and with realism. In that painful and complex task, in which even small steps stirred resistance, the success of United Nations efforts depended on developing and sustaining a strong supporting consensus. In its own country, the United States had succeeded in maintaining that basic consensus and would continue to do so, for without a general belief that the elimination of racism and racial discrimination were central goals of the society, rightly defined and fairly pursued, its efforts would inevitably fail.

2. Over the past 30 years, the United Nations had maintained a similar consensus and the action it had taken in the field of human rights had been inspired by a common commitment to work against certain universally defined wrongs. For its part, the United States had supported every proper effort to combat racism

and racial discrimination at the international level. It absolutely opposed *apartheid* and believed that South Africa must be exposed to relentless demands of the world community until that system was eradicated. It took the same position on racial discrimination wherever it persisted.

3. However, the unwise, unjust and completely unacceptable action by the General Assembly in adopting resolution 3379 (XXX), equating zionism with racism, had demolished the United Nations consensus on questions relating to racial discrimination. Zionism was not racism or racial discrimination. It was a justifiable and understandable manifestation of national feeling on the part of a people whose claim to a homeland had been recognized by the United Nations almost 30 years earlier. The final borders of that homeland had not been agreed upon, and the search for a just and lasting settlement of that dispute had absorbed the attention of the United Nations for a number of years. However, the Organization's early act of recognition was not at issue.

4. The United States would never accept the thesis of General Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX) any more than it would agree that other legitimate national movements were to be condemned as forms of "racism" or "racial discrimination". That position was not the policy of a particular Administration at a particular moment; it was a view strongly held in the Congress, in the executive branch and throughout the nation as a whole. The United States felt so strongly about the Assembly resolution that it had announced that it could no longer participate in the Decade for Action or support it or attend the proposed World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination in Ghana. It would adhere to that position and could resume its participation in the Decade only if the latter were to return to its original basis, which had once been accepted by a broad consensus.