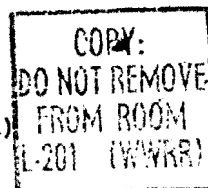




OCT 14 1982

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 6th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. CALERO RODRIGUES (Brazil)



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The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 75: ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND OTHER FORMS OF ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO COLONIAL AND RACIST REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (A/37/333, A/37/413 and Add.1)

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1. Mr. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar), speaking on agenda item 75, said that despite the punitive measures taken by the international community against South Africa over the years, a democratic system of government had not been established in that country. On the contrary, emboldened by assistance from certain Powers, the Pretoria régime was intensifying its repression of the African majority. The just demands of the oppressed people of South Africa should be supported by all, particularly by those countries which had major investments there and could therefore exert pressure on the régime.

2. Madagascar welcomed the positive psychological and moral results of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held at Paris in May 1981, and supported all the steps taken to implement the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The Security Council should renew its comprehensive and compulsory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. All those engaged in the legitimate fight for freedom in southern Africa and the peoples of the front-line States which had been the victims of repeated unprovoked acts of aggression committed by the racist régime must be supported materially and morally by all States.

3. The annual publication by the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of a list of the banks, firms and other organizations which gave assistance to the colonial and racist

(Mr. Rakotomalala, Madagascar)

régimes in southern Africa would be a way of arousing public opinion to put pressure on public authorities to compel firms under their jurisdiction to terminate such relations. Any contribution to the well-being of the white minority of South Africa was tantamount to perpetuating the apartheid system and to complicity in its inhuman practices.

4. Regarding agenda item 76, his delegation unreservedly supported draft resolution A/C.3/37/L.3. The regional seminars which had been held as part of the Programme of Action for the Second Half of the Decade had usefully focused on locally significant aspects of racism and racial discrimination in each region, and their conclusions and recommendations should be widely disseminated.

5. With reference to agenda item 79, he said that the principle of self-determination had become one of the most dynamic basic notions in international life, with political, legal, economic, social and cultural ramifications. A durable peace could never be achieved while unjust conditions that held people in bondage prevailed. The United Nations must therefore redouble its efforts to put an end to foreign occupation, to ensure respect for the right of self-determination and to eliminate all vestiges of colonialism and racism. Madagascar urged those involved in negotiations to implement the United Nations plan for Namibia and to reach an accord as quickly as possible, without seeking to tie that question to extraneous issues such as the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. It was also urgent for the international community to find a durable solution to the problem of the Middle East, at the heart of which lay the question of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to an independent State in Palestine. The parties to the conflict in Western Sahara should likewise enter into negotiations to put an end to the colonial situation existing there and to affirm the inalienable national rights of the Saharan people.

6. Madagascar had great hopes for the forthcoming Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and would support any other measures aimed at eradicating racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

7. Mr. LIGAIRI (Fiji) observed that all the human rights instruments adopted since 1945 had been based on the principle of the freedom and equality of all human beings and the principle of non-discrimination. Respect for those principles further demanded of every individual a special effort of understanding and tolerance for others.

8. The most extreme form of racial discrimination was being practised in South Africa, where it had been institutionalized with the full backing of the law. The effect of apartheid and racial discrimination was to make 25 million people in southern Africa aliens in their own land, unable to express opposition to laws that had stripped them of their birthright.

9. Fiji welcomed the fact that 116 States had acceded to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and it shared the hope that the forthcoming Second World Conference would provide a fitting

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(Mr. Ligairi, Fiji)

occasion for Governments which had not yet done so to become parties to the Convention. The main purpose of the Conference itself would be to devise specific ways and means to ensure full implementation of United Nations resolutions and decisions on racism, racial discrimination and apartheid, while assessing the activities that had been undertaken during the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Fiji looked forward to attending the Conference and hoped that those who would assemble in Manila from all parts of the globe would launch an offensive that would help eradicate racist attitudes throughout the world.

10. However, Fiji had been unable to send a representative to Geneva to attend the meeting of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, owing to its limited financial resources. He suggested that if the Committee wished States to participate when matters affecting them were being discussed, New York would be the most suitable venue for such meetings.

11. Fiji, with its policy of multi-racism, had anchored its commitment to eliminate racial discrimination in the fundamental principles of its Constitution and in the body of laws and regulations promulgated to prohibit such discrimination. As a result, its own multi-racial society was working together to build the nation in an atmosphere of trust and mutual respect, if not always of complete agreement. Such trust and tolerance would have to be the basis for the survival of any multi-racial society.

12. Mr. SOKALSKI (Poland) expressed concern at the fact that the continuing struggle in the United Nations and elsewhere against the persistent manifestations of racism had made no headway. The Organization should of course continue its opposition, even if that opposition was only verbal, but effective remedies would not be found until the real causes of the impasse in the struggle were grasped. The crux of the matter - as both the Secretary-General in his innovative report on the work of the Organization and the Foreign Minister of Poland in his recent statement to the General Assembly had pointed out - was the precedence given to selfish short-term advantages over the common good. There was little hope that the hardened oppressors for whom racism and racial discrimination were a way of life would ever abide by the decisions of the international community. There were, however, the oppressors by proxy, those who for their own one-sided advantage assisted the racist régimes and enabled them to pursue their pernicious practices; and that second group could, given some political goodwill, greatly help the oppressed simply by implementing United Nations resolutions. Appropriate action must prevail over hypocritical attitudes.

13. Most of the Committee's discussions had centred on the purely social and human rights aspects of racism and racial discrimination. Such a categorization, for all its truth, was far from complete: an essential point to consider was that racism provoked wars. That message had been brought home to Poles in 1939, when Hitler, impelled by racial hatred of the Slavic peoples, had invaded their country, and the peoples of Palestine and southern Africa were contemporary cases in point. The responsibility for the latest heinous massacre of the people of Beirut rested

(Mr. Sokalski, Poland)

squarely with the aggressive racist policies of Israel and with those who for the sake of their so-called strategic consensus with the aggressor would be ready to tolerate any form of racism. It was also symptomatic that the very first resolution of the current session of the General Assembly had had to be devoted to an expression of concern over the lives of three victims of racism and racial discrimination upon whom death sentences had been imposed by the South African régime.

14. Poland had given steadfast support to the victims of racism, and its conviction that the forces of racism, apartheid and other forms of discrimination would one day be overcome, although not without a fierce struggle, was fortified by its belief that a process of positive evolution was inherent in the objective laws of global socio-political development.

15. It was a sad commentary on the current state of affairs that almost one third of the Members of the United Nations were not parties to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and that still fewer had acceded to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. Anti-racist rhetoric meant little; it was deeds, not words, that counted. The overall record of accomplishment in actual deeds was not too encouraging as the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination drew to an end. However, the forthcoming Second World Conference, held out hope for constructive contributions, and in that spirit his delegation would unhesitatingly support draft resolutions A/C.3/37/L.3 and A/C.3/37/L.4. The attitude that individual Member States would choose to take towards the work of that Conference would be a litmus test of their true intentions.

16. Mr. LEWIN (France), referring to agenda items 76 and 80, said that the apartheid system in force in South Africa was a permanent and institutionalized violation of sacred human rights, an insult to Africa and a challenge to the international community as a whole. France unreservedly supported all those working for justice and human dignity in South Africa and had made its position clear in several recent statements.

17. However, racism also took the more insidious forms of distrust, ignorance, lack of understanding and rejection among individuals and groups belonging to different communities. Such behaviour stemmed from racism, and efforts must be made to put a halt to it. France itself had adopted very strict legislation against racial discrimination of any kind, and its Government energetically opposed the least sign of such tendencies, which if not stemmed would pave the way for tragic situations.

18. France noted with satisfaction the growing number of States which had acceded to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. It was the uneducated man not governed by reason who instinctively reacted to differences with fear and contempt. The International Convention was therefore right in article 7 in setting the task of education and information as one of the major obligations of States Parties, and the Committee for the

(Mr. Lewin, France)

Elimination of Racial Discrimination had made noteworthy progress along those lines. It was also obvious that no country could claim to be combating racism and its consequences unless it adopted legislation defining discriminatory practices specifically enough to prevent their being disguised as legitimate. Furthermore, there must be ready access to the courts for those bringing suit as victims of discriminatory practices and for anti-racist associations supporting individual claims legally or financially; in that connection, France had accepted the individual recourse provided for in article 14 of the International Convention. Lastly, until the individual rights enumerated in article 5 of the International Convention were expressly recognized by the States Parties, the struggle against racism and racial discrimination would not be complete.

19. Another weapon in the fight against racism was the forthcoming Second World Conference, which was the appropriate body for appraising the activities of the Decade and defining the general direction of whatever extended future action was needed for finally extirpating racism. Unfortunately, however, that fact was not a guarantee of its success. France wished to make a solemn appeal to all participants not to permit a repetition of the earlier experience of the First World Conference. In 1978 a large number of countries had refused to join in adopting the final acts of the Conference. Their opposition could not be attributed to a lack of good will, which the majority could well afford to disregard. It was fair to say that in 1978 the international community had failed to agree on the ends and means of the struggle against racism. That should not obscure the essential fact that racism was universally condemned and that all members of the Committee were in agreement on some of the means, methods and modalities to be used in opposing it. The 1978 declaration did indeed contain the essential points on which all countries had agreed, and it was highly regrettable that political factors had prevented that agreement from taking shape.

20. All the participants in the Second World Conference would be within their rights in bringing up and discussing the manifestations of racism wherever they were occurring in any part of the world. Nevertheless, France could not accept the equating of the situation in the Middle East with the system of apartheid prevailing in South Africa. The pitfalls of the past should be avoided, so as to achieve a consensus on the essentials in the Second World Conference, in a spirit of understanding and compromise. Success would depend on an understanding of what was essential and of the way to separate that from other considerations. To eliminate racism totally and universally, both national and international action was necessary.

21. Every country must work within its own borders to eliminate both the obvious and the more insidious aspects of racism. The Second World Conference should reaffirm that no State was free from that obligation and should establish a permanent plan of action specifically defining the kind of action each State should take to eliminate racism at home. One final document containing points on which there was general agreement could thus seek to identify, on the basis of the work of UNESCO, the causes of racism and the obstacles to its elimination and could then go on to describe the type of action each State should carry out in the sphere of

(Mr. Lewin, France)

education and information, legislation and judicial restraint. The proposals put forth should be as specific and concrete as possible. The final document could also declare that it was the duty of States not simply to eliminate racism in their own territory but also to take part in international action to eliminate the various forms of racism, including apartheid.

22. In a second final document the Conference could define the kind of international action needed to deal with situations of systematic racism. It was essential not to allow differences of opinion on certain points to stand in the way of affirming the general agreement that existed on other essential points, as had been the case in 1978. It was in that spirit that France would be taking part in the work of the Preparatory Sub-Committee, and it would not be doing so if it did not have good reason to believe that the Conference would be successful.

23. Mr. BHANDARA (Pakistan) said it was generally felt that while some progress had been made in certain areas, the Decade had, on the whole, fallen far short of the world community's expectations. The current session of the General Assembly was an opportune time to take a critical look at the strategy adopted in the past for the total eradication of the scourge of racism and racial discrimination.

24. It was gratifying to note the international community's increasing awareness of the need to end racism and racial discrimination so that individuals might enjoy their fundamental rights without distinction of race, colour or national or ethnic origin. However, despite all the declarations, conventions and United Nations resolutions, the Pretoria régime continued to flout international will by persisting in the abominable and inhuman policy of apartheid, which institutionalized racism in its most obnoxious form. The régime's unprovoked acts of armed aggression against its neighbours and the continued occupation of Namibia in blatant violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions clearly indicated that it had no intention of adjusting its policies to the norms of civilized behaviour and international law. In associating itself with the condemnation of the Pretoria régime, Pakistan expressed its solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa. Pakistan had no relations whatsoever with the racist minority régime; it had consistently provided moral and material support to the people of Azania in their struggle to secure fundamental rights and would continue to do so in the future. His delegation called for all necessary steps, including mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, against the Pretoria régime with a view to dismantling the apartheid system and establishing majority rule in South Africa.

25. Other forms of racial discrimination and denial of human rights had appeared in new guises. At times it was difficult to determine whether a discriminatory practice was based on race alone or on other factors, such as religion. It was a matter of sad record that the Moslem minorities in some countries were the victims of discrimination. His delegation hoped that the international community would take note of that form of discrimination and adopt the necessary measures to correct the situation. Pakistan celebrated the fact that the glorious message of Islam enjoined a belief which totally rejected racism and racial discrimination and

(Mr. Bhandara, Pakistan)

fostered the ideals of equality, justice and the brotherhood of mankind. The right to equality before the law in Pakistan was not merely a form of words enjoined by the Constitution but, more important, the fulfilment of divine law.

26. Pakistan believed that the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities should be given the opportunity to update his report on the list of banks, firms and other organizations which gave support to the racist régime in South Africa. That would enable the international community to take action against individuals and organizations that supported and encouraged the Pretoria régime.

27. No discussion of the violation of human rights could be complete without condemnation of Israel's inhuman and oppressive policies against the Arab and Palestinian population. The brutal invasion of Lebanon and the massacre of unarmed Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila camps, which had evoked world-wide condemnation, again illustrated Israel's cruel disregard of all norms of decent and civilized behaviour. It was imperative, therefore, that the international community should take determined action to put an end to the reign of terror and persecution that Israel had let loose against the Arab and Palestinian population and to bring about the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to a sovereign State in its homeland.

28. Pakistan attached considerable importance to the early drafting of a convention on the rights of migrant workers and their families, who were subjected to discriminatory treatment because of traditional prejudices based on ethnic, religious or economic factors.

29. Lastly, guided by the universal values of human dignity, equality and justice, the people and Government of Pakistan remained determined to extend full support and co-operation to the international community in its struggle to eradicate racism and racial discrimination in all their manifestations and to achieve the objectives of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

30. Mrs. DRACHEVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the evil of racism had to be eradicated in order to ensure the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. As the world's first unified multinational workers and peasants' State, now celebrating its sixtieth anniversary, the USSR constantly supported all United Nations efforts which embodied the determination of peoples to put a final end to discrimination on the basis of race, colour of skin or ethnic origin.

31. In her country, the Great October Socialist Revolution had eliminated social and national oppression, one of the first legislative of the Soviet authorities being to repeal all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions. The establishment of common socialist ownership of the means of production had laid a firm basis for the development of all nations and nationalities and for their close unity and friendship. The equality of the rights of citizens of different races and nationalities, a firm principle of socialism, was set forth in the

(Mrs. Dracheva, USSR)

Constitution and was guaranteed not only in law but in practice. In the 60 years of her country's existence, previously backward nations had achieved a high level of economic development and social progress and had seen a flowering of science and culture. The problem of equalizing the economic development of the Soviet republics had been essentially solved by accelerating their economic growth. For example, while economic production in the country as a whole increased twenty-one-fold between 1940 and 1980, in Kazakhstan it increased thirty-two-fold, in Kirghizia thirty-seven-fold, in Armenia forty-five-fold, and in Moldavia fifty-one-fold. No other State in history had ever done so much in such a short time for the all-round development of nations and nationalities. As far as education and culture were concerned, many nations in the USSR, not only had discovered their literature since the October Revolution, but had produced poets, writers and scholars who had won renown throughout the country and abroad. Daghestan, whose population had been totally illiterate before the Revolution, now had twice as many students per 1,000 people as the major Western countries. It was Communist Party policy to increase the material and spiritual potential of each republic and use it to the maximum to promote the harmonious development of the entire country. Socialist democracy firmly defended the social and the national interests and rights of workers and gave every person a genuine opportunity to participate in running the affairs of State and society. In the organs of State power, the Soviets of People's Deputies, there were 2.3 million elected representatives, who represented more than 100 nationalities.

32. A new historic community, the Soviet people, had been formed; it was based on the inseparability of the historical destinies of the people of the Soviet Union, and had arisen through the development of socialist nations, among which there now existed a relationship based on true equality of rights, fraternal mutual assistance and co-operation, respect and mutual trust. The experience of the Soviet Union had won wide international recognition. Indeed, the English historian Arnold Toynbee had described the USSR, which included so many peoples, languages and cultures, as a model of the world as a whole and had said that its experience demonstrated what could, and he hoped would, be achieved in the world as a whole.

33. In accordance with its peace-loving foreign policy, based on the Peace Programme for the 1980s adopted at the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet State resolutely supported the elimination of the remnants of colonialism, racism and apartheid. It therefore had given and continued to give comprehensive support to peoples fighting for their national freedom, consistently advocated the implementation of all the provisions of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and took an active part in the measures contained in that Programme. Those measures had helped to spur the efforts of the international community to eradicate racism and colonialism. As a result of their selfless struggle, the peoples of many colonial territories had thrown off the hated yoke of racism and colonialism. The international campaign to condemn the crimes of racists and their supporters and protectors had grown in scale. However, the remnants of colonialism, along with racism and apartheid and other manifestations of racial discrimination, continued to exist, helped primarily, by the aggressive imperialist groups' policy of

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poisoning the international climate, whipping up the arms race and increasing the danger of war. Therefore, the campaign for disarmament and against the danger of war was also a struggle against colonialism and racism.

34. A key problem in the eradication of colonialism and racism remained that of speedily eliminating the racist-colonial régimes in southern Africa. The racist Pretoria régime, infringing the Charter and many decisions of the United Nations and ignoring the legitimate demands of the international community, was persisting with its inhuman system of apartheid and in its endeavour to prolong its rule in illegally occupied Namibia and was keeping the indigenous population of South Africa in a state of slavery. The continuing crimes of the South African racists and their policy of bloody terror and mass oppression aroused world-wide anger and indignation. Thousands who refused to bow to the racists were thrown into prison, tortured or killed, regardless of whether they were children, women or old people. The régime's aggression against independent African States was on the increase and was creating a serious threat to international peace and security.

35. The reason for the Pretoria régime's continued existence was the continued political, economic, military and other assistance it received from a number of NATO countries, primarily the United States, which was conducting an undisguised policy of expanding its relations with South Africa. Because of their military-strategic and economic interests, those countries continued to ignore the demands for the international isolation and boycott of the South African racist régime and were opposing the introduction of comprehensive sanctions against it, thereby, in practice, protecting the racists. That might be their real reason for refusing to participate in the Programme for the Decade. Such a policy could only arouse legitimate condemnation.

36. Another source of indignation was Israel's close co-operation with the racist régime, particularly in the military and nuclear field, an unholy alliance between zionism and apartheid.

37. With the Decade coming to a close, it was all the more necessary to take decisive measures to implement the programme of activities for the second half of the Decade, including the application of sanctions against the racist régime and its complete isolation. It was also important to concentrate efforts on putting into practice the decisions of the 1981 International Conference on Sanctions Against South Africa, which condemned the continuing co-operation of Western Powers and their transnational corporations with the Pretoria régime.

38. The Israeli actions in the occupied Arab territories were a clear manifestation of racism. All right-thinking people of the world could not but be angry and outraged at that country's aggression against Lebanon and the bloody massacre arranged by those aggressors in the Palestinian camps in West Beirut. Israel was conducting a policy of genocide on Lebanon's soil, the aim being to annihilate the Palestinians as a nation. Having been condemned by the United Nations as a form of racism and racial discrimination, zionism had finally revealed its racist essence. The Israeli blood-bath in Beirut had been rightly equated with

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the mass annihilation of people by Fascists during the Second World War. There was no denying that Israel would not have been able to carry out its aggression against Lebanon and its policy of genocide against the Palestinians if it had not been given massive assistance and support by Washington. Such were the results of the so-called "strategic consensus" between the United States and Israel.

39. It had often been noted in United Nations resolutions that the various forms and manifestations of racism and racial discrimination were a product of certain social conditions and constituted a means for the exploitation of man by man. That, indeed, was one of the main reasons why racism still existed. Everyone knew about the massive discrimination against the non-white population, national minorities, indigenous peoples and foreign workers in capitalist countries, whose ruling circles hypocritically expatiated at length about "human rights". A number of those countries were a breeding ground for Fascist and neo-Fascist organizations and similar organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, and the increased activity of such organizations, propounding theories of racial superiority and inflaming hatred among peoples, inevitably gave cause for serious concern. Therefore, it was essential to take effective measures to curtail the spread of racist ideas and to outlaw racist, particularly neo-Nazi and Fascist, organizations. The United Nations had made such demands on a number of occasions, inter alia in the decisions adopted as part of the Programme for the Decade.

40. Stressing the importance of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid in the effort to achieve the goals of the Programme for the Decade, she noted that certain Western States, including the United States, were not parties to the former Convention and that not a single Western State had yet become a party to the latter. As a result, it was difficult to make the important provisions of those documents truly universal. Therefore, her delegation felt that the General Assembly should again call upon all countries which had not yet done so to accede to those Conventions.

41. Noting the importance of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination within the Programme for the Decade, she said that the refusal of the United States and its NATO partners to take part in the preparatory work for that Conference and in the work of the Preparatory Sub-Committee could be seen only as a continuation of the policy of thwarting the efforts of the international community to eradicate racism in all its forms and manifestations.

42. In conclusion, she said that her delegation supported draft resolutions A/C.3/37/L.3 and A/C.3/37/L.4 and urged all countries to contribute actively to the implementation of the Programme for the Decade and to the preparation and work of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

43. Mr. HAOUES (Algeria) said that the items under consideration were all too timely because the most revolting of today's realities were racism, apartheid, zionism and the subjugation of peoples in contempt of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. More than 30 years had passed since the

(Mr. Haoues, Algeria)

proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, whereby mankind proposed to eliminate injustice and oppression and to guarantee equality among all people. It was painful to note that today people still continued to live under the yoke of colonial oppression and were daily enduring the horrors of racial discrimination.

44. At a time when the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination was drawing to a close and when the Second World Conference was being actively prepared, it was regrettable to note that in South Africa, that bastion of institutionalized racism, the inhuman system of apartheid continued to exist. Neither the mobilization of world public opinion against the South African racist minority régime nor the condemnation of its hateful policy against the black African population had brought about an end to the escalation of that régime's violence within the country and in Namibian territory which it continued to occupy illegally, defying all decisions and resolutions adopted by the United Nations. The arrogance and cynicism which characterized Pretoria's policy against the South African and Namibian black man, as well as the acts of aggression which it carried out against neighbouring countries, stemmed from the support given South Africa by its Western and other partners. The most recent aggression by the Pretoria régime against neighbouring countries, primarily Angola and Mozambique, were further proof of the profoundly warlike and colonialist nature of South Africa.

45. The international community, which had on many occasions demanded the complete isolation of that régime and sanctions against it under Chapter VII of the Charter, must today more than ever adopt measures to ensure the isolation of the racists of Pretoria. It was clear that without the continuation of co-operation in many fields between the South African régime and some Western countries and without the important support which the latter provided it, that régime would not be able to systematize its policy of aggression, as it had currently done, much less perpetuate its domination over the Namibian and South African people. Consequently, it was imperative that those countries should put an end to their relations with the régime in accordance with the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. In that connection, he welcomed the very valuable work done by the Special Rapporteur, Mr. Ahmed Khalifa, on the activities of foreign banks and corporations in South Africa and Namibia. Accordingly, his delegation joined others in requesting that the mandate of the Special Rapporteur should be continued, so that the international community might benefit regularly from the specific information on relations with the racist Pretoria régime.

46. Elsewhere in Africa, the people of Western Sahara had been suffering since 1975 the tragic consequences of a new foreign domination. That occupation, which had impeded normal progress towards decolonization of the Territory, had denied the Saharan people the exercise of the inalienable right to self-determination and independence, recognized by the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

47. Another oppressed people, the Palestinians, was the victim of mass slaughter and degrading practices carried out by the Zionist régime in Palestine and in other

(Mr. Haoues, Algeria)

Arab territories. It was no accident that there were increasing relations between the Zionist régime and that of Pretoria; for that reason, the international community had correctly declared in 1975 that zionism was a form of racism. The collusion between the Zionist régime and South Africa had been the subject of regular reports both to the Special Committee against Apartheid and to the General Assembly. The close co-operation between those two régimes in different areas was no longer a secret and was reflected in the relevant United Nations documents.

48. The latest tragic events that had taken place in southern Lebanon, then Beirut, and finally in the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian camps, was a clear indication of the warlike and racist nature of zionism. The emotion raised in the international community by the barbarous massacres perpetrated by the Zionist army in West Beirut against the Palestinian people was matched only by the will of that people to continue the struggle by every possible means for the recognition of its legitimate national rights, the first of which was the right to establish a State in its homeland.

49. The struggle against racism, racial discrimination, apartheid and zionism could not be limited to affirmations of principle. It implied concrete action and effective implementation of measures adopted by the United Nations, and it also implied the abandonment of selfish interests of every kind. For that reason, countries which maintained relations with those régimes must bow to the will of the international community and comply scrupulously with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. Algeria had suffered for long years the harmful effects of colonialism and racism, and on the basis of its own experience, it had regularly reaffirmed its deep attachment to and respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and independence and its high regard for basic human rights. His delegation welcomed the progress in the preparations for the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and his country would do its utmost to contribute effectively to the success of that Conference.

50. Mrs. LLOYD (Zambia) said that the root cause of the critical situation in southern Africa continued to be South Africa's policy of apartheid. Since the adoption of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the Pretoria régime had become even more ruthless in its application of the obnoxious apartheid system in defiance of United Nations resolutions and decisions. In its continuing effort to dramatize its so-called policy of reform of apartheid, the racist régime had recently announced that it had given the Coloured and Indian communities the right to participate in the political system of the country. Those reforms were not real because the Coloured and Indian communities would have no power in practice to oppose segregation legislation without risking imprisonment, torture and even death. By giving so-called voting rights to the Indian and Coloured communities, the régime hoped to create divisions within the rank and file of the oppressed non-white population groups enabling it to perpetuate apartheid in the country.

51. The oppressed people of South Africa, aware of the machinations of the racist régime, would not relent in their firm opposition to an identified enemy, namely,

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(Mrs. Lloyd, Zambia)

apartheid. For peace to prevail in South Africa, it was imperative for the Pretoria régime not to engage in manoeuvres through its so-called reform measures aimed at perpetuating apartheid, but to accept as inevitable a complete structural transformation of the system of government. Zambia supported the oppressed people of South Africa in their determination to eradicate apartheid and establish a democratic system of government.

52. The wanton acts of aggression by South Africa against the independent countries of the region, in particular Angola, and measures by the racist régime to destabilize and subvert the Governments of Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia and other countries of the region, were aimed at discouraging those countries from supporting the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa. However, acts of aggression or subversion against independent countries would not deter those countries from supporting the struggle for freedom and independence. Her delegation wished to reaffirm the view that only by realizing the right to self-determination and independence could a people be assured enjoyment of other human rights. The Namibian and South African peoples wanted freedom of movement, freedom of association, freedom to choose where to live, freedom from economic exploitation and, above all, freedom to exercise the right of self-determination. Effective measures should be worked out by the international community to assist the oppressed majority of South Africa. Maximum pressure should be exerted on the racist régime of South Africa to abandon its policy of apartheid. In particular, countries with strong economic and other relations with the Pretoria régime should respond to appeals by the international community to exert such pressure. They could co-operate by ending their collaboration with South Africa in the economic, military and other fields. The refusal of South Africa and its collaborators to heed warnings about the dangers of apartheid in South Africa and of denial by South Africa of the right to self-determination and independence of the people of Namibia and South Africa spelled doom not only for the people of South Africa and Africa as a whole, but also for the whole world.

53. Her delegation also wished to warn Israel of the dangers of continuing to refuse to recognize the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence in their homeland. Israel's discriminatory treatment of the Palestinian people in occupied Arab territory was a form of racism which must be fought very strenuously. Peace in the Middle East could only be guaranteed if Israel respected and implemented the relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions on the question of Palestine.

54. Finally, her delegation wished to reiterate Zambia's commitment to all efforts aimed at the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination in southern Africa, the Middle East and wherever it was practised. In that connection, her delegation supported the recommendations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and reiterated Zambia's support for the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

55. Mr. HEGYI (Hungary) said that an integral part of his Government's foreign policy was its participation in consistent efforts aimed at the complete and final liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the implementation of the right of peoples to self-determination and the eradication of racism, racial hatred, racial discrimination and apartheid. The Hungarian people and Government used all available means to render effective political, diplomatic, material and moral support to peoples under colonial domination and to their liberation movements in their just struggle for freedom and independence.

56. The notion of apartheid and the policy of the South African régime had become inseparable. That oppressive régime was being bolstered by the assistance provided by several Western countries, Israel and transnational corporations. The increasing military build-up and the potential nuclear power of the South African régime made possible by assistance from those countries, constituted a threat to world peace and security. That collaboration was strengthened by the veto exercised by those countries in the Security Council on draft resolutions providing for mandatory sanctions against South Africa. The acts of aggression committed against Angola and the repeated incursions into Mozambique demonstrated the grave danger to peace posed by collusion between imperialist and racist forces. The Hungarian people and Government strongly condemned the policy of the Pretoria régime and, in compliance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, had applied sanctions against South Africa and maintained no contact whatsoever with its racist and Fascist régime.

57. Hungary continued to regard the Decade as a highly important landmark in the world-wide struggle for the elimination of racism and racial discrimination. It reaffirmed that any manifestation of racism and racial discrimination was alien to the social, political and legal system of Hungary which most resolutely condemned those crimes as an affront to human dignity. The primary role in the implementation in Hungary of the Programme for the Decade was played by the Hungarian Solidarity Committee in active co-operation with the National Peace Council. In its international relations, the Solidarity Committee provided broad support for peoples oppressed by racist régimes and for their national liberation movements. The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had recently considered the seventh periodic report of Hungary on the implementation of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and had found it to be open, substantial and comprehensive.

58. Hungary had actively participated in the elaboration of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, had supported its adoption and had been among the first to become a party to it. It fully observed its provisions and submitted to the Secretary-General periodic reports on its application. It was to be noted with regret that the States bearing the greatest responsibility for the elimination of apartheid were not among the States Parties to the Convention. The General Assembly should call on all countries that had not yet done so to ratify the two international instruments against racial discrimination and apartheid.

59. His delegation condemned Israel's denial to the Palestinian people of their right to self-determination. That policy had led to expansion of the conflict in

(Mr. Hegyi, Hungary)

the Middle East, including military incursions into Lebanon and other neighbouring Arab countries. International public opinion did not believe that the attack against the Iraqi nuclear research centre and the illegal annexation of the Golan Heights were indispensable to secure the vital interests of Israel. Recent history had proved that régimes which pursued a policy of destroying neighbouring peoples could not gain the larger living space they sought and ultimately had to yield to the judgement of history. Israel must undeniably share responsibility for the massacre committed against civilians in two Palestinian camps in Beirut. His Government was convinced that terrorism could not be used as an instrument to achieve political aims. Hungary had been stunned by the news of Jewish people falling victim to acts of terrorism, but for the Israeli delegation to make the United Nations responsible for such actions, as it did in document A/37/392, reflected an odd way of thinking, particularly in the light of the bloodshed caused in Lebanon by the Israeli armed forces over the previous months.

60. Politicians all over the world had expressed their grave concern about the agreement concluded on strategic co-operation between the United States and Israel in late 1981. They had said that the accord could only encourage Tel Aviv to persist in its aggressive policy. Events had borne out their concern. Israel's continued disregard for the basic norms of international law, the aims and purposes of the United Nations Charter, the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and the sovereignty of the countries in the Middle East could not but be condemned as a threat to international peace and security. The Hungarian Government and people gave resolute and active support to the Palestinian people in their struggle for self-determination and independence.

61. The world was profoundly disturbed by the policies and actions pursued by the apartheid régime of South Africa against the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and independence. The apartheid régime's continuing repression of the Namibian people, ruthless exploitation of Namibia's natural resources and attempts to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia were inadmissible. In defiance of numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, and appeals by the international community, the Pretoria régime was violating the rights of the South African people to self-determination.

62. He wished to stress that despite all obstacles the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and the liquidation of the colonial system constituted an irreversible process. To accelerate that process, the United Nations would have to continue to make every effort and to use every means to help peoples in their fight against racial discrimination and colonial oppression and for the attainment of independence and the right to self-determination.

63. Mr. FURLAND (United Kingdom), referring to agenda item 80, said that racism and racial discrimination represented a denial of shared humanity, a flagrant offence against any decent system of morality or ethics, and provided the excuse for repression and persecution. His Government took its responsibilities in that area seriously and in 1982 had submitted its seventh biennial report under the

(Mr. Fursland, United Kingdom)

International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. In considering his country's sixth report, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had noted that the United Kingdom had made serious efforts to reduce the number and gravity of instances of racial discrimination within its territory. However, racism and racial discrimination were insidious and pervasive forces throughout the world, and his country was not immune from them; they could be progressively eliminated only if all countries critically examined their own performance and worked together for their elimination from the hearts and minds of all peoples everywhere.

64. His delegation strongly supported the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. However, it wished to stress that the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination was the only legal and acceptable basis for that Committee's activities as a treaty body. The mandate of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination flowed from that Convention, not from the General Assembly. Nevertheless, the Committee's credibility was enhanced when its work was unanimously endorsed by Member States. His delegation had voted for General Assembly resolution 36/12 on the Committee's work with considerable reservations, and it was to be hoped that at the current session the sponsors of that resolution would take account of the views of all regional groups, so that a consensus could be reached.

65. Similarly, it was important that the preparatory work for the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination should be conducted on a consensus basis. His delegation had a strong interest in making a full contribution to that Conference in the interest of maximum effectiveness. To that end, it was essential that the Conference should be so organized as to attract maximum participation. It was therefore regrettable that elements that were known to be controversial and to be unacceptable to many delegations, including his own, should have been introduced into the Conference agenda. His delegation endorsed the view expressed by the representative of Yugoslavia in that connection that delegations should devote their efforts to finding common ground for the Conference.

66. With regard to agenda item 75, his Government unreservedly condemned apartheid, a uniquely obnoxious institutionalization of racism, and the repressive measures used to enforce it. However, his delegation differed with certain others concerning the most effective means of combatting apartheid, and it was therefore pleased that the sponsors of Commission on Human Rights resolution 1982/8 on the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts had taken sufficient account of its views to enable it to vote in favour of that resolution.

67. His delegation did not support the premises of the report of the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1982/10, since it believed in maintaining economic and other contacts with South Africa, including the aid programme that his country had launched for black South Africans in 1979. The lists in that report were unrepresentative and excluded links that some countries privately maintained with South Africa.

(Mr. Fursland, United Kingdom)

68. Turning to agenda item 79, he said that the principle of self-determination was central to the problems of southern Africa, as it was to the problems of the Middle East, Afghanistan and Cambodia. A lasting and early resolution of the problems of the Middle East could be achieved only by reconciling the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and their aspiration for a land of their own on the West Bank with Israel's right to a peaceful existence within its own borders. His Government was ready to assist the peoples of the region in whatever ways it could.

69. His Government had continued its efforts to contribute to the early implementation of Security Council resolution 435 on the situation in Namibia and believed that a valuable opportunity existed to achieve a settlement.

70. Regrettably, the occupying Powers in both Afghanistan and Cambodia had remained unmoved by the appeals of the international community for the withdrawal of their forces, and by the continuing hostilities and suffering that their invasions had provoked. They also refused to put to the test their assertions that the régimes in Kabul and Phnom Penh enjoyed popular support. Millions of the inhabitants of those countries had expressed their opinions by fleeing their homes thus imposing a tremendous burden on neighbouring countries, while many others had continued to resist the invading forces. General Assembly resolutions 36/34 and 36/5, which had both been adopted by an overwhelming majority, reaffirmed the right of the peoples of the two countries in question to self-determination, and his Government continued to hope that the occupying Powers would withdraw their forces.

71. The United Nations had always stressed the fundamental importance of the right to self-determination. It had also consistently recognized that the principle of self-determination was a universal principle, and that it applied to the small populations of Pitcairn, the Cocos (Keeling) Islands and St. Helena with as much force as to the millions in Namibia, Palestine, Afghanistan and Cambodia. As clearly indicated in article 1 of both International Covenants on Human Rights, the right to self-determination was indivisible. All States Members of the United Nations had a strong interest in maintaining the principle of self-determination. In 1982 there had been yet another instance of foreign military intervention in defiance of that principle: against the people of the Falkland Islands. The people of the Falkland Islands had the right to self-determination, and it remained his Government's responsibility and its objective to uphold that right. The case of the Falklands illustrated what could happen to almost any State when the universal principle of self-determination was not observed.

72. Mr. GERSHMAN (United States of America), referring to agenda items 75, 76 and 80, said that the issues of racism and racial discrimination had a profound meaning for Americans, because they bore upon the question of race relations in the United States and the historic struggle of its black minority for full racial equality. Nearly four decades earlier, in An American Dilemma, Gunnar Myrdal had referred to the conflict between the "American Creed" of liberty and justice for all and the social reality, particularly for the black minority, which fell far

(Mr. Gershman, United States)

short of that ideal. That creed had been a living expression of ideals passionately espoused by all Americans, regardless of race. According to Myrdal, the strategy of the black minority, which flowed from that belief, had been to play on the conflicting values held in the white majority group and to identify their cause with broader issues in American politics and social life and with moral principles held dear by white Americans.

73. Although there was a tendency to minimize the changes introduced by the Civil Rights Movement, there had been remarkable progress over the past quarter of a century in bringing the American social reality more closely into conformity with the American creed. However, such changes did not alter the fact that many complex problems remained unresolved and required continued attention. The persistence of those socio-economic problems illustrated the hard reality that social and economic development did not automatically or quickly follow political change. Yet evolutionary change was infinitely preferable to violent change. The fact that the United States was a free and open society offered the best prospect for a continuation of peaceful change. Freedom encouraged innovation, adaptation to change, the creative search for solutions, and the amelioration of conflicts.

74. The most meaningful forms of change flowed from an inner necessity of society to change and to adapt to new conditions. In the United States the decisive factor had been the existence of a system of cherished ideals, a secular creed. Such a creed was a very different thing from international declarations, resolutions, and other official pronouncements. In too many cases, the language of human rights was used by States to conceal the abuse of freedom and of the principle of opposition to racial discrimination. The best protection for human rights was the existence of institutions and procedures that translated rights into realities. However, in many countries such institutions and procedures existed in only a limited form, if at all. A strategy to defend human rights must therefore focus on supporting, wherever possible, institutional change towards greater democracy and on identifying and opposing institutions and ideologies that persistently denied fundamental human rights.

75. Within the United Nations, the conventional wisdom held that the most extreme case of an unchanging institution that would succumb only to revolutionary violence was the apartheid system in South Africa. However, there was growing evidence that that judgement did not take into account significant possibilities for non-violent change in that country. The clearest evidence of change in South Africa appeared in the fields of trade unionism, employment, and education and training. The question was whether such change would lead to resolution of the issues of national political rights for South Africans and was therefore deserving of international recognition and support. The growth of the trade union movement and the increased well-being of the work force that had resulted from changes in South African legislation would have a progressive impact on the political structure in South Africa. However, while the trade union movement had progressed, there had also been increased pressure against trade unionists. Clearly, there existed two contrary trends in the trade union area.

(Mr. Gershman, United States)

76. For a number of reasons, the wage-scale difference between blacks and whites had become less unequal, and, while the differences remained startling, the trend had been in a positive direction. There had also been dramatic increases in government spending on education for blacks, and the trend was towards equalizing spending and equalizing educational opportunities, regardless of race.

77. Although the progress that had been made must be weighed against the continued existence of apartheid, change as an organic process was clearly under way in South Africa, even in the political sphere. The question was whether the change that had taken place was in the direction of establishing government by consent of the governed and whether that change was acceptable to the people of South Africa, irrespective of race.

78. The view that the only effective way of encouraging peaceful, democratic change in South Africa was through increased international pressure and support for sanctions overlooked internal factors, like a self-fulfilling prophecy, that view could help to bring about an Armageddon. The United States had therefore adopted a policy of positive support for the process of reform that was under way in South Africa. That policy of "constructive engagement" was intended to influence the situation in that country through dialogue with those both inside and outside the Government of South Africa who supported moves away from apartheid to a more equitable system. In addition to his country's active involvement in the negotiations that it expected would lead to independence for Namibia, new initiatives had been taken to assist black South Africans who were disadvantaged as a result of the apartheid educational system. The private sector in his country had also played a positive role in fostering peaceful, evolutionary, change away from apartheid. United States corporations had made a positive contribution to economic change by subscribing to the Sullivan Principles, a voluntary code of fair employment practices. In addition, the American labour movement continued to provide vital assistance to the black unions.

79. It was to be hoped that an irreversible process of reform was beginning to gather momentum in South Africa. An extreme approach towards effecting change in South Africa amounted to a repudiation of those inside that country who were trying to find a middle ground between paralysis and confrontation. By seizing the opportunity that existed for the exercise of reason and the application of democratic will, the United Nations could enhance the prospects for peace within South Africa and contribute to the cause of peace in the region and throughout the world.

80. Mr. SLABY (Czechoslovakia) speaking on agenda item 79, stressed the importance of the realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and the speedy granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples for the full and effective guarantee of human rights. The right to self-determination was one of the most basic human rights, recognized in the United Nations Charter and reaffirmed in a number of exceptionally important United Nations documents, including the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly

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Relations and Co-operation Among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. It had not been easy to obtain recognition for that right, and it was even more difficult to ensure that it was consistently implemented. It had been the Soviet Union which had first announced it and practiced it consistently in its internal and foreign policy and had been behind the drafting and adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The socialist countries had always been and continued to be in the vanguard of those fighting for its consistent implementation.

81. Although significant progress had been made in decolonization through the efforts of the national liberation and anti-colonial forces supported by the United Nations, the final goal, freedom and independence for all colonial peoples, had not yet been achieved. The right to self-determination of the peoples of the South Africa, the Arab people of Palestine and the people of a number of small colonial and non-self-governing territories continued to be violated. The colonial Powers continued to impose a sort of pseudo-decision on many of those peoples instead of true freedom and independence. It was, however, impossible to deny the rights of people to self-determination forever. History showed that people never gave up that elementary right, and many had had to take up arms to fight for its realization. That fact should never be forgotten by those who were committing genocide against the Palestinian people, occupying the Arab territories and carrying out acts of aggression in the Middle East or by those who continued to practice apartheid, racism and colonialism in southern Africa, illegally occupying Namibia and practicing aggression against sovereign States in southern Africa. Nor should it be forgotten by all those who were giving every possible support to Israel, South Africa and other Powers which flagrantly flouted the right of people to self-determination.

82. There was no doubt that the infringement of the right of peoples to self-determination was inextricably linked with the infringement of other basic human rights, including the right to life. The Israeli policy of genocide against the Palestinians went hand in hand with the violation of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent State. The murder of defenceless old people, women and children in Palestinian refugee camps, the activities of Israel in the occupied Arab territories as well as the shooting of Arab demonstrators, summary justice and the illegal confiscation of Arab lands were all manifestations of the policy of the denial of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination. Similarly, the mass and flagrant violation of human rights in South Africa, the forced deportation of the non-white population and other inhuman measures, were part and parcel of the violation of the right of the people of South Africa to self-determination. In considering human rights questions in the United Nations, the link between the right to self-determination and other elementary human rights should not be ignored, since without the right to self-determination other human rights could not be guaranteed.

83. Those delegations which had spoken of the alleged need to guarantee the right to self-determination of the peoples of Kampuchea and Afghanistan had based their

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attacks on ignorance and distortions. Not long ago, those same delegations, now posing as defenders of the peoples, had denied even the theoretical possibility that such a right existed. They had not worried about the misery, sufferings and even the annihilation of some members of those populations. Now, they were using the right of peoples to self-determination to suit their own selfish purposes, as if the concept itself had no intrinsic meaning and could be interpreted in various ways depending on their interests at any particular moment. Dissociating himself from such efforts, he said that they constituted a flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, two sovereign States.

84. In conclusion, he said that his country had supported and continued to support effective measures to realize the right of peoples to self-determination and to achieve complete decolonization. His delegation was determined to continue to play an active part in all United Nations efforts to achieve those goals.

85. Mr. O'DONOVAN (Ireland), speaking on agenda item 76, said that the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had concentrated quite properly on the unique situation in South Africa. Ireland had supported General Assembly resolution 3057 (XXVIII), proclaiming the Decade, and had worked towards the goals and objectives set out in that resolution. As far as South Africa and Namibia were concerned, his country had been able to support most of the proposals made during the Decade, including most of those contained in the Plan of Action of the First World Conference. The Decade had, however, been controversial because the situation in the Middle East had been assimilated with that prevailing in southern Africa. In the view of his delegation, those situations were distinct and should be treated separately.

86. He regretted that it had not been possible to develop an understanding which would have allowed all regional groups to participate fully in the work of the Preparatory Sub-Committee for the Conference. There was also a danger that the Sub-Committee's recommendation to insert the question of the Middle East in the agenda of the Conference in a way which assimilated that situation with the situation in South Africa would endanger the Conference and the successful conclusion of the Decade. After the failure during the first regular session of the Economic and Social Council in April 1982 to obtain general agreement on the draft provisional agenda for the Conference or on modalities for obtaining such an agreement, it appeared that the current session of the General Assembly was the last opportunity for reaching an agreement which could pave the way for a successful Conference. His delegation was prepared to engage in further discussions to that end and was aware that a number of other delegations were prepared to do likewise. The introductory statement of the Secretary-General of the Conference had been encouraging, and his delegation hoped to have the opportunity to discuss the matter further with him informally.

87. There was no need to rush the adoption of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.3/37/L.4. Given the importance of the subject-matter, his delegation believed that the greatest flexibility should be exercised in considering that

(Mr. O'Donovan, Ireland)

draft resolution and, more importantly, the issues to which it gave rise. Given a spirit of understanding and compromise, as urged by the Secretary-General of the Conference, it might indeed prove possible for a generally satisfactory solution to be found. There were many ways in which the preparations already made for the Conference could be improved. In particular, his delegation believed that there were ways of structuring the draft provisional agenda in a manner acceptable to those delegations which had expressed difficulties with it, without infringing in any way the right of representatives at the Conference to speak of racial discrimination wherever they believed it existed.

88. Mr. CORTI (Argentina), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the United Kingdom did not shrink from using any means to achieve its ends. In his statement, the representative of that colonial Power had referred to a number of small islands with small populations but had been careful not to refer to his Government's position with respect to self-determination for the population of 1,800 islanders living on Diego García.

89. An article that had appeared in The Guardian on 9 August 1982 had commented on a report of the Minority Rights Group, a body with headquarters in London. That report drew a comparison between United Kingdom defence policy with regard to the Malvinas Islands and the savage victimization of the population of Diego García, which had been deported some 10 years earlier to Mauritius so that Diego García could be sold for use as a United States military base. According to the report in question, the desires of the population of the Falkland Islands had been so important to the United Kingdom Government that they had virtually determined its foreign policy with respect to South America, whereas the desires of the population of Diego García had not counted. The article concluded that the chief reason for the preferential treatment offered to the Falkland Islanders was simply that their skins were white.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.