



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 13th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ZADOR (Hungary)

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

AGENDA ITEM 88: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE SECOND DECADE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (E/1985/16 and Add.1; A/40/3, 173, 320, 398, 416, 694 and Add.1 and A/40/750*)

AGENDA ITEM 93: IMPORTANCE OF THE UNIVERSAL REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND OF THE SPEEDY GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES FOR THE EFFECTIVE GUARANTEE AND OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/40/308, 331, 465 and Add.1, A/40/672 and 678)

AGENDA ITEM 94: ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued) (A/40/18, 77, 173, 276, 398, 606 and 607)

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

1. Mr. FLORESTAL (Haiti), after recalling Article 55 c of the Charter, whereby all Member States undertook to foster and promote "universal respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion", and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaimed recognition of the inherent dignity of all members of the human family as the foundation of freedom, justice and peace throughout the world, said that his delegation had noted with great interest the various reports submitted by the Secretary-General in connection with agenda items 88, 93 and 94, and the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. It had also taken special note of the work done by that Committee, by the Commission on Human Rights, the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, the Special Committee against Apartheid, the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Committee of 24, and a number of specialized agencies, such as the International Labour Organisation, UNESCO and others; their activities had his delegation's full support. In that context, it attached special importance to resolution 1983/3 of the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, which recommended that the Commission on Human Rights should urge Member States to include in their educational planning the teaching of the concept of the unity of the human race, including its biological unity. Implementation of that recommendation would enable States to participate more fully in the work done by UNESCO in that sphere. His delegation also attached great importance to the activities of the working group on indigenous peoples of the

* To be issued.

(Mr. Florestal, Haiti)

Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, and to the preparation of the draft Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families.

2. Regarding the implementation of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, he drew attention to paragraph 533 of the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (A/40/18), which stated that the members of the Committee had commended the Government of Haiti for its regularity in submitting reports and in maintaining its dialogue with the Committee, as well as providing information on legislative measures aimed at safeguarding human rights in Haiti and on the Government's compliance with article 3 of the Convention. Nevertheless, his Government disagreed with the Committee on a number of points. Regarding the need for the Government to provide information on the ethnic and linguistic composition of Haiti, the members of the Committee should be familiar with the circumstances which had given rise to the creation of the State of Haiti and the consequent homogeneity of its population, 98 per cent of which was black. The remainder, consisting of half-castes and persons from the Middle East for the most part, was fully integrated with the majority, whose language, culture and customs they shared.

3. The point on which disagreement with the Committee's report was greatest, however, was in regard to article 5, on the basis of which members of the Committee had felt entitled to interfere in matters relating to Haiti's political system, for which no provision of the Convention gave authority. His Government hoped that in future the Committee would do its best to remain within its terms of reference.

4. On racism and racial discrimination, his delegation regarded the policy of apartheid as the most virulent form of racism because it was set up as a system - a system incompatible with the fundamental principle of justice and human rights. It had rightly merited the condemnation of the international community. Haiti endorsed the demand that the resolutions of the Security Council should be applied and that mandatory sanctions should be imposed on the Government of South Africa as the only way to eliminate apartheid. Without the support of certain Western countries, in particular the United Kingdom and the United States, such measures would have been applied long before. It therefore welcomed the sanctions recently imposed on South Africa by those countries, although they were still inadequate.

5. His delegation also condemned the unlawful occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria régime in flagrant violation of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. It further condemned the savage repression of the Namibian population, the flagrant pillaging of its natural resources and the manoeuvres designed to destroy its national unity and territorial integrity. Haiti reaffirmed its support for the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). Haiti categorically rejected any attempt to link the independence of Namibia with geopolitical considerations or the settlement of matters related to the sovereignty of other States. It also declared itself in favour of the implementation of sanctions against South Africa on those grounds, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

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6. Mr. MAKHAOLA (Lesotho), speaking on agenda items 88, 93 and 94, said that his delegation associated itself with all those Member States which, in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, had reaffirmed their commitment to the objectives of peace which lay at the heart of the Charter. It also shared the anxiety and frustration of those peoples which, despite the successes already achieved in that sphere, continued to be the object of racism and colonial domination. The accession of 124 Member States to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and of 83 Member States to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid should encourage all countries to finish the work of eradicating racism and racial discrimination.

7. As a southern African nation, Lesotho was particularly qualified to speak of the real state of war raging in its region, provoked by the ideologues of the white man's superiority and their fierce battle against the black majority inside South Africa and in the neighbouring States. A series of spontaneous upheavals was occurring and the countermeasures had already resulted in 700 deaths, the incarceration of black political leaders and the banning of political movements.

8. Inside South Africa a state of emergency was being established and there was a complete clampdown on political activity by the black population. Those measures were based on two serious miscalculations: the oppressed were denied the right to express their ideas and concerns, which was the only peaceful way to protest, and they were left no alternative but to resort to force; at the same time, the authorities were losing the opportunity of knowing what the black majority was thinking. The Government of South Africa should learn from history: the policy of apartheid was essentially violent and its violence begot further violence.

9. Outside South Africa, a systematic policy of destabilizing the countries of the region was being followed, under which the recent incursion into Angola opened a new chapter. Throughout the region, the racists had created, trained and deployed dissident bandit groups in an effort to export the internal contradictions of South Africa to neighbouring States. The countries of southern Africa had seen no signs of the reform process being talked about in certain capitals. On the contrary, apartheid and racism were being adapted to twentieth century conditions. Reform of the details in no way altered the essence.

10. It was in that spirit, therefore, that his delegation thanked all those countries which maintained some form of presence in South Africa, especially diplomatic, and in the last few weeks had exerted pressure on South Africa to abandon apartheid. It was especially significant that one permanent member of the Security Council, besides recalling its ambassador as other countries had done, had petitioned that supreme organ of the United Nations to consider the situation in South Africa. He hoped that its example would be followed by other countries.

11. With regard to the right to self-determination and the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, his delegation considered it only natural for the question to be particularly sensitive in an organization where more than half the Members had been colonies at some point in their history and still

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(Mr. Makhaola, Lesotho)

recalled only too well the harsh reality of colonial domination. In that context, South Africa's presence in Namibia was in defiance of the international community. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) continued to be the only acceptable basis for the people of Namibia to achieve independence under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole authentic representative. The international community should act as one in denouncing the so-called "internal administration" established in Windhoek, as it was designed to frustrate the whole process of independence in Namibia.

12. The problems of self-determination remaining in many regions of the world could be solved only in consultation with the regional organizations to which the countries involved belonged.

13. Mr. BEMBOY (Zaire) said that first among the more tangible achievements of the United Nations in its 40 years of existence was the adoption of international norms relating to human rights, in particular the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

14. Zaire had always condemned racial discrimination in all its manifestations. Before achieving independence 25 years previously, it had also been a victim of humiliation and forms of discrimination like those being inflicted on the majority of the black population of South Africa. Those forms of discrimination had naturally led to a struggle to assert rights and to the deplorable confrontations of 4 January 1959, when the colonial police had opened fire and caused many casualties among the black demonstrators. Zaire's citizens had then indulged in odious tribal discrimination and the country had been beset by all kinds of problems until it achieved national unity, peace and security. Every citizen of Zaire now had the right to live in any part of the national territory. Article 12 of the Constitution of the Republic proclaimed the equality of all citizens of Zaire without discrimination. Many citizens of neighbouring countries who worked in Zaire also lived there. Citizens of distant countries also came to Zaire which accepted all refugees seeking asylum.

15. His delegation joined with those who had spoken out earlier in their unanimous condemnation of South Africa's policy of apartheid; the cruelty and intolerance reigning there were an affront to the world's conscience. It also condemned the frequent violations by South African forces of the frontiers of the front-line States and deplored the refusal of the South African régime to open negotiations with the representatives of the black majority of the people, in particular the leaders of ANC. It further demanded the release of Nelson Mandela and welcomed the moral, political and material support given by the last Ministerial Meeting of the Non-Aligned Countries to the black population of South Africa.

16. In spite of the many Security Council and General Assembly resolutions warning the South African régime to withdraw from Namibia, it was adamantly determined, on false pretexts, to perpetuate its rule there. It was high time for the United Nations to give proof of its pragmatism and to adopt specific and effective measures for the liberation of Namibia and enable its people to enjoy all fundamental freedoms.

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(Mr. Bembo, Zaire)

17. Turning to the question of Western Sahara, his delegation was convinced that the solution to the problem was to organize a free and democratic referendum under United Nations auspices. As for the situation in the Middle East, it was the responsibility of the United Nations to see that right and justice triumphed in the area. Its role would mainly be to replace the spirit of war and confrontation by one of reconciliation and constructive dialogue. On the eve of the International Year of Peace, his delegation once more urged the fraternal countries of Iran and Iraq to become reconciled. In order to enable the peoples of Democratic Kampuchea to live in peace and independence and recover their honour and national dignity, all foreign troops should be withdrawn from their territory. In Latin America, implementation of the Contadora Agreement should be encouraged, as desired by the signatory States.

18. Mr. YEDID (Israel) said that the fortieth session of the General Assembly was convening 40 years after the end of the Second World War, in which millions of innocent civilians had been systematically murdered by the most inhuman death-machine in human history, driven by the ideology of anti-semitism. Its main victim had been the Jewish people, six million of whom had perished in the death camps during the holocaust. Even today, signs of anti-semitism remained in evidence throughout the world and even in the United Nations itself. Anti-semitism was flourishing in the Soviet Union; in the guise of anti-zionism, anti-semitism was employed in that country as a means of manipulating public opinion and anti-semitic slanders of the worst kind were openly published. Anti-semitism was also expressed in the form of rampant terrorism that singled out the Jewish citizens of many countries and not only of Israel. The first target of PLO terror had been the State of Israel and its citizens, but once the terrorists had discovered that their arms could seldom reach that target, Jews in general had become their favoured objective. Whenever terrorists acted beyond Israel's borders, they made a distinction between Jews and non-Jews in order to single out the former for more outrageous treatment. The murder of Leon Klinghoffer during the hijacking of the Italian liner Achille Lauro bore witness to the anti-semitic nature of PLO terror.

19. Israel had noted with increasing concern a trend towards increasingly anti-semitic rhetoric being practised with impunity in the United Nations. The Organization had been manipulated into a platform for racism of the worst kind. As one particularly outrageous example, he recalled that on 5 December 1984, in the course of the United Nations Seminar on the Encouragement of Understanding, Tolerance and Respect in Matters Relating to Freedom of Religion, the representative of Saudi Arabia had claimed that, according to the Talmud, if a Jew did not drink the blood of a non-Jew every year, he would be damned for all eternity. That foul lie could have come straight from Hitler's Mein Kampf rather than from the representative of the supposedly moderate Saudi State.

20. General Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX), which defamed zionism as a form of racism, had been designed to provide a justification for depriving Israel's existence of legitimacy. Its direct outcome had been to spread and deepen anti-semitic hatred towards the Jewish people. It was an outrage to compare zionism to racism. Indeed, the two concepts were antithetical. Zionism was a

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movement of self-emancipation and self-determination by a people who had suffered from racism for untold generations. Zionism was the national liberation movement of the Jewish people. It was among the oldest liberation movements in the world and the legitimacy of its aspirations had been recognized by the United Kingdom Government in 1917, the League of Nations in 1922 and the United Nations in 1947. Zionism was the conviction that the Jewish people had the right to freedom and political independence in its homeland.

21. Far from being racist, the State of Israel was an open, pluralistic society, comprising many ethnic and religious groups (including communities from Asian and African countries as well as Muslim and Christian Arabs, Bahais, Circassians, Druze and others). All were free to practise their faith and traditions, to develop their cultures and to participate in the country's democratic process. Israel fully supported the initial objectives of the first United Nations Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination but had not participated in its activities because of the adoption of the shameful resolution 3379 (XXX) which would be remembered as a terrible blot on the record of the United Nations.

22. The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had a central role to play in the elimination of racial discrimination worldwide. Israel's third periodic report was evidence of the importance which its Government attached both to the Convention and to the Committee. If CERD was to play its role effectively, it must adopt an even-handed approach to the reports presented. CERD should not allow itself to be turned into another political instrument for anti-Israel prejudice.

23. With reference to the eighth periodic report of the Soviet Union (CERD/C/118/Add.6), the Soviet Union was continuing to violate many articles of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in respect of Soviet Jews. The rights violated had included the right to leave the country, the right to freedom of thought and religion, through, inter alia, the prohibition of the study of the Hebrew language, and the right to freedom of opinion and expression which had been violated by the suppression of Jewish culture.

24. Israel categorically condemned racism in all its forms, including apartheid and had repeatedly expressed, both in world forums and directly to the Government of South Africa, its revulsion and opposition to apartheid. Israel was on the side of the just struggle to eliminate apartheid and all forms of racial discrimination. Israel's commitment was not motivated by political or tactical considerations but was unconditional and absolute.

25. Israel had repeatedly called upon all the countries in the Middle East to negotiate a peace agreement. To date, only one such agreement had been concluded. Direct negotiations, without pre-conditions, was the only way to proceed. During the debate, some Member States had favoured PLO participation in the peace process. The PLO's terrorist record ever since its establishment in 1964 had left no doubt whatsoever that it had not budged from its long-standing basic objective of liquidating Israel. It was a supreme irony that an attempt was being made to

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(Mr. Yedid, Israel)

introduce that body into the peace process when it was clear that the PLO was the biggest of all obstacles to that very process. Peace and the PLO were mutually exclusive. Israel therefore said "No" to a dialogue with the PLO but "Yes" to a dialogue with the non-PLO Palestinian Arabs.

26. Mr. CHIKETA (Zimbabwe) recalled that the United Nations had been established, inter alia, to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination. Both those purposes were threatened in many parts of the world currently because of discrimination between human beings on grounds of race, colour or ethnic origin; such discrimination was an obstacle to the development of friendly and peaceful relations among nations. Peace and security were disturbed in almost every State and region, reflecting varieties of tension and violence for different reasons and causes.

27. When unity and consensus had been restored at the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, many delegations had hoped that such restoration would increase the momentum of and facilitate the struggle against racism and racial discrimination. That hope had not been fulfilled as joint action for the attainment of the goal of the elimination of racism and racial discrimination had not yet been harmonized and some members were not acting in good faith. Many States, including those which had declared themselves opposed to the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, had not yet ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination or the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. Only a few countries had contributed generously to the Trust Fund for the activities of the Decade; there had therefore been no unity of action, no unity in the implementation of programmes and resolutions directed at the elimination of the obstacles to peace; instead, a number of countries were acting in a way calculated to undermine the Programme of Action and to further the interests of apartheid and Fascist organizations.

28. In the case of racist South Africa, it had been stated and proved that financial investment in that country, whether directly in the military sector or indirectly through the private sector, would end up by strengthening the military and suppressive capability of that régime. One reason was that it was difficult to draw a line between the purely civilian and the military and another that investment in the private sector released funds for the military sector.

29. Much had been said about the Sullivan Principles: desegregation of the workplace; fair employment practices; equal pay for equal work; job training; job advancement; and improvement of the quality of the workers' lives. Critics of the Sullivan Principles had, however, pointed out that employment practices in signatory companies were little better than those in South African firms. Moreover, the Principles affected fewer than 30,000 African workers, representing a mere 0.4 per cent of the African labour force nation-wide. The real danger of that code was that it served to camouflage the crucial support provided by transnational corporations to the apartheid structure. Most of the corporations which had signed

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the agreement on the Sullivan Principles were those corporations which had the largest assets and annual sales and which were bolstering the most vital sectors of the apartheid economy. Such companies had the resources to produce the changes demanded and had the most to gain from a well-orchestrated public relations campaign. Not only did the Sullivan Principles obscure the true nature of United States business involvement in South Africa but they did little to alleviate the miserable conditions of the signatories' black employees.

30. Eight years after the introduction of the Sullivan Principles, the signatory companies had published a report which brought out clearly the inequality between white and African workers. For example, 77 per cent of the unskilled workers were African, while only 0.4 per cent were white; of the professional workers, only 7 per cent were African while 85 per cent were white; only 2 per cent of the managers were African; in 71 per cent of the signatory companies, not a single white employee was supervised by an African, mixed-race, or Asian worker. Those figures indicated that the signatories' training programmes had failed to upgrade the position of the vast majority of African employees. Given the overall concentration of Africans in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs and of whites in skilled and white-collar jobs, it was not surprising to find a huge discrepancy between African and white workers' wages. Accordingly, the third Sullivan Principle, mandating equal pay for equal work, was simply an empty slogan; where there was no equal work, there could be no equal pay.

31. With regard to the sixth Principle (improvement in the quality of workers' lives) many black workers had complained that the companies had invested substantial amounts of money in projects which were no more than public relations gimmicks and which moreover, in some cases, enhanced class distinctions. In the report, the signatory companies admitted that they were contributing strategically important goods and expertise to the apartheid system and that the employment code had never been intended to address that issue. It was therefore clear that the Sullivan Principles were absolutely irrelevant to the struggle for freedom and justice in South Africa.

32. Zimbabwe wished to stress that, among the States which generously granted scholarships and other forms of assistance to victims of apartheid, there were those which did not reap enormous profits from investments in and trade with racist South Africa. Some of those States were African and admitted thousands of South African refugees into their already overcrowded educational institutions. The Scandinavian and other socialist countries also granted scholarships. But no number of scholarships could satisfy the needs of millions. The thirst for education could only be satisfied in a majority-ruled South Africa.

33. There was not the least doubt that trade with and investment in South Africa, particularly at the present stage, strengthened the machinery of apartheid, which was used to brutally suppress those who protested against the inhuman and intolerable system. Under normal circumstances, the world would already have taken concerted action to eradicate apartheid, but the racist system had support from various States and organizations. Thus, even if apartheid was eradicated in South Africa, racism would still exist elsewhere.

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(Mr. Chiketa, Zimbabwe)

34. Zimbabwe was convinced, for example, that zionism was a form of racism and that the behaviour of the Israeli State was similar to that of the South African racists. The two States received economic and political support from the same super-Power and their aggressive behaviour was similar. Salvation for both those countries lay in respect for human rights and international law and in adjustment to reality.

35. No State was immune to the scourge of racism and racial discrimination. Zimbabwe was resolved to eradicate racism and to work for peace with friendly countries. To that end, it would shortly ratify 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.

36. The Government of Zimbabwe considered it necessary to alert young people to the evils and dangers of racism, since only thus would they inherit a world without racial hatred or prejudice. That was the best message which could be given to young people during the impending celebration of International Youth Year. The media should be urged to be sensitive to racial issues. Such an appeal should not be viewed as interference with the freedom of the press. Fascist and neo-Nazi organizations should not be left to spread their propaganda and ideology based on the superiority of one race or group, for such theories were a cancer in the human race.

37. The right to self-determination had never been freely granted to colonial countries. In the case of Zimbabwe, the people had had to take up arms and fight a protracted war. No colonial country had ever won independence through massive investment from abroad. The Namibian people had been denied their right to self-determination for too long. The very States that were responsible for delaying Namibia's independence were exploiting and depleting its mineral and water resources in violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. Further, the racist South Africans were illegally occupying the Territory of Namibia, whence they staged illegal incursions against Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

38. The people of Zimbabwe had recently exercised their right to vote and had elected a Government. South Africa feared Zimbabwe's success in its endeavours to establish a racially harmonious and economically stable State, since it would encourage some of Pretoria's erstwhile supporters to seek to emulate that example. However, it was too late to halt the march of events, and the use of commando units, mercenaries, bandits or dissidents against independent African countries would not stop the peoples of Namibia and South Africa from demanding their right to elect their own Governments.

39. It was impossible to develop friendly relations among nations when peoples were denied the right to self-determination and a policy of racial discrimination was pursued. The only means of removing such obstacles in the case of South Africa and southern Africa was through the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions. The international community could not be seen to be protecting the economy at the expense of the right to life.

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40. Mrs. FOTSO (Cameroon) said that her country was a major crossroads at which had witnessed the intermingling of many peoples belonging to different ethnic and linguistic groups, with customs and religions which frequently varied from one region to another. Upon becoming a sovereign State, Cameroon had endorsed the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in a desire to guarantee the peaceful coexistence of the various elements of its population.

41. With respect to the right of peoples to self-determination, Cameroon regretted that, despite the considerable attainments of the United Nations in the sphere of decolonization, the question of Namibia remained unresolved. Accordingly, Cameroon, which was a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia and of the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity, would spare no effort to speed Namibia's accession to independence. In that connection, Cameroon reiterated its support for the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) as the only valid basis for a solution of the question.

42. Her Government once again categorically rejected the so-called provisional Government which had been established in Windhoek a few months earlier by the bloodthirsty South African régime, and the régime's efforts to link independence for the international Territory of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. In the view of Cameroon, that was blatant interference in the internal affairs of Angola and a time-wasting manoeuvre on the part of those who sought to perpetuate the illegal occupation of Namibia.

43. A just and lasting solution to the problem of the Middle East depended on the evacuation of the occupied Arab territories, recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights and an opportunity for all the States of the region to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

44. The South African régime continued its pitiless harassment of the black majority population of Azania, whose race was their only crime. The black population had already understood that the only means of ensuring respect for their dignity was to fight. Such a situation provoked ferocious repression, with a daily death toll of thousands and arbitrary arrests. In that connection, Cameroon demanded the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners detained and condemned without trial in defiance of the norms of contemporary civilization.

45. The Government of Cameroon considered it necessary to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter in order to compel the régime to co-operate in the quest for a just and lasting solution to the situation in southern Africa. Further, Cameroon condemned Pretoria's terrorist incursions into Angolan territory and its manoeuvres aimed at destabilizing the countries which bordered on Azania and reaffirmed its solidarity with the African National Congress.

46. Finally, Cameroon co-operated to the fullest extent possible in the eradication of racial discrimination. As part of those efforts, an international seminar on assistance and international aid to peoples and movements fighting against apartheid would shortly be held in Yaoundé.

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47. Miss ASTAKHOVA (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the defeat of fascism and nazism in 1945 had given such impetus to national liberation movements that since that date over two billion people had attained independence. There was not the least doubt that the collapse of colonialism was the main characteristic of the post-war period. The uniting of anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces had been consolidated with the adoption, 25 years earlier, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The countries liberated were now full members of the international community, providing cogent proof of the progress made in the attainment of the right of peoples to self-determination.

48. Yet it had not proved possible to eliminate colonialism completely. The most serious instance was that of southern Africa. The racist South African authorities persisted in denying the indigenous population their most basic rights. Further, the régime continued its illegal occupation of Namibia and had made the Territory a launching pad for aggression against neighbouring States. The policy of apartheid was maintained with the aid provided by various Western countries. Some of those did not wish the matter to be taken up in the Third Committee, despite their verbal condemnation of the Pretoria régime. The truth was that they were unable to state any concrete measures which their respective Governments had adopted against apartheid. Such was the case, for example, of the United Kingdom, whose support for South Africa was well known. Of total investment in South Africa of some £12 billion sterling, a total of £3 billion came from the United Kingdom. Further, almost half the companies established in South Africa were British. The constructive dialogue which the United Kingdom, the United States, Israel and other countries had begun with Pretoria was a serious impediment to the liberation of the region, since it encouraged South Africa to maintain its attitudes.

49. Pretoria's leaders had sought to convince public opinion of their intent to reform apartheid. Their real aim was the weakening of the South African people. The declaration of the state of emergency and the bloody repression had once again demonstrated the inhuman nature of the apartheid régime.

50. The racists had perpetrated a cruel political farce by transferring power to the so-called provisional Government of Namibia. The measure was totally illegal and was intended to direct the attention of the United Nations from the question of Namibia, and thus to perpetuate the South African domination of the Territory.

51. Her country fully supported the proposal that all co-operation with South Africa should cease forthwith and that the Security Council should adopt mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against the South African régime under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

52. Southern Africa was not the only part of the world where the right to self-determination was being violated. An alarming situation had arisen in the Middle East. The Israeli leadership continued to carry out its aggressive expansionist policy, ignoring the right of peoples, and in particular the Palestinian people, to self-determination. The Palestinian people were denied the right to have an independent State. A comprehensive and lasting settlement of the problem in the Middle East could be achieved only through collective efforts, with

(Miss Astakhova, Ukrainian SSR)

the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. That settlement should provide for the enjoyment by the Palestinian people of their right to establish an independent State and for the withdrawal of Israel from all the Territories occupied since 1967.

53. Although the right to self-determination applied to all Territories, whatever their geographical location, size or population, there was a large number of small Territories in the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans which were still under the yoke of colonialism. In an attempt to perpetuate their hold over those Territories, the administering Powers, particularly the United States of America, were making every effort to slow down, or halt completely, the social and economic development of those Territories, which they were utilizing primarily for military purposes in order to crush national liberation movements, to carry out acts of aggression and to interfere in the internal affairs of various independent States.

54. An unacceptable situation had arisen in the Federated States of Micronesia. Measures adopted by the United States to complete the division of that Territory, annex it and transform it into a strategic military platform constituted a continuation of the colonial policy in Micronesia and contravened the Charter of the United Nations, which stipulated that all functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, should be exercised by the Security Council.

55. Genuine concern over the question of self-determination would prompt the demand for the immediate cessation of the virtual occupation of the island of Diego García, its complete demilitarization and the restoration to Mauritius of sovereignty over the entire Chagos Archipelago. Similar measures should be taken with regard to Guam, Puerto Rico and other Non-Self-Governing Territories where large foreign military bases were situated.

56. An offensive and provocative way of violating fundamental rights and freedoms was to use terrorism against certain countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and against peoples struggling for national liberation. An undeclared war was being waged, with the use of mercenaries, against Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and other young States. The practice of using mercenaries posed a threat to peace and freedom in many countries and was intended to destroy and destabilize their economies and to undermine their political independence. Her country supported General Assembly resolution 39/17 and considered that the use of mercenaries was incompatible with the norms of international law and with human morality. The use of mercenaries was an inevitable corollary of the implementation of the policy of imperialism, which was a policy of State terrorism, and under the current conditions of tension posed a threat to all mankind.

57. The General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session had indicated its serious concern about the increasing use of State terrorism against certain countries and about military and other actions directed against the sovereignty and political independence of States and the self-determination of their peoples. Her country condemned all manifestations of terrorism and rejected the policy of States that

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used terrorism as a form of negotiation with other peoples and countries. That policy represented an attempt to deprive States of their inalienable right to exercise self-determination, to choose their economic and political system independently and to choose their own road towards cultural, economic and social development.

58. Her country would support any struggle against colonialism, dependence and foreign domination, and the efforts of the international community to help peoples to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and national independence.

59. Mr. RAZZOOGI (Kuwait) said that the United Nations had accomplished a remarkable task since its inception. It had raised global consciousness concerning wide-ranging principles, among them the principle of self-determination. Forty years after the establishment of the United Nations, an almost universal world body existed, representing virtually the whole world. Those who had produced the Charter of the United Nations had highlighted the importance of nations and the principle of self-determination, as reflected in the Preamble to the Charter. In addition, subsequent international conventions and United Nations resolutions had stipulated that all peoples had the right to self-determination, and that by virtue of that right they should freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. His country therefore believed that self-determination was not an abstract principle, but rather an absolute right of all peoples of the world, and that the exercise of that right would bring an immediate end to the remnants of imperialism, colonialism, apartheid and racism, including zionism.

60. The Secretary-General, in his message on the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, had said that with the establishment of the United Nations, the international community had become a reality. A giant step had thus been taken in the political evolution of humanity. That statement was true, but a further giant step was required to ensure that the principles and the system set forth in the Charter were respected, fulfilled and implemented. Without respect for those principles, the maintenance of international peace and security, and the promotion of economic development and social progress would be a mere mirage and fantasy.

61. Forty years after the establishment of the United Nations, there were still peoples who continued to suffer from the denial of their basic rights, in particular their right to self-determination and national independence. The violation of the right to self-determination of the peoples of Namibia, South Africa and Palestine had led to considerable suffering and injustice and was at the heart of the continuing tension in southern Africa and the Middle East.

62. The policies and practices of the racist Pretoria régime were the root cause of violence and instability in South Africa. The sole aim of the apartheid system was to consolidate and perpetuate domination by the racist white minority of that country, to the detriment of the black majority. In July 1985, the Pretoria régime had declared a state of emergency to suppress the growing nation-wide resistance to apartheid. Kuwait condemned the state of emergency and supported the struggle of

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(Mr. Razzooqi, Kuwait)

the oppressed people of South Africa against apartheid. There would be no peace in South Africa until the system of apartheid was eradicated and the black majority exercised its right to self-determination and independence. The best way to bring about an immediate end to the apartheid system was for the Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. His country condemned the continuing illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist white minority régime, in flagrant violation of United Nations resolutions. Kuwait reiterated its full support for the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, as contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It also unequivocally supported the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in its just struggle to liberate the Namibian people and to secure their right to self-determination, free from any external interference by the racist white minority.

63. After 1948, Palestine had ceased temporarily to be recognized as an Arab political territory, and the Palestinians had ceased to be viewed as members of a nation. They had become refugees and were treated accordingly, and those Palestinian Arabs who had remained in Palestine were considered second-class citizens. The transformation of part of Palestine into a Zionist entity, called Israel, was the direct result of great-Power manipulations and the use of violent and coercive policies by the Western European Powers and the Zionist movement. The Palestinian Arabs had lost their right to self-determination.

64. The goal of the World Zionist Organization, founded in Basel in 1897, had been to obtain a guarantee from its allies that Palestine would be recognized as the "national Jewish homeland" and would be open to unrestricted immigration. Zionism called on all Jews to leave their country in order to colonize the country of another people, and to replace that people by means of force and terror. The Zionist political strategists, motivated by the teachings of their founding father, Theodor Herzl, had continuously exploited Jews from all over the world to advance their dangerous and racist plans to uproot the original inhabitants of Palestine from that territory and to deny them their basic right to self-determination. According to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, leader of the World Zionist Organization, who had later become the first President of Israel, the aim of Zionism had been that Palestine should become "as Jewish as England was English"; since nine tenths of the population of Palestine at that time had consisted of Arabs, it followed that they had had to be removed in one way or another in order to fulfil the Zionist aims.

65. It was only in the 1970s that United Nations resolutions had affirmed the existence of the Palestinian people and its inalienable right to self-determination and national independence. However, the dream of the Palestinian people's achievement of its inalienable rights had not yet been realized, because of the policies and practices of Israel and the intransigence of that country's collaborators and supporters. At present, Israel was pursuing its Zionist aggressive policies as it had in the past, with the aim of annexation, expulsion and the suppression of the basic human rights of Arabs and Palestinians. Those aggressive Israeli policies were clearly manifested in the Middle East by the

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continuing occupation of the southern part of Lebanon and, recently, a blatant act of armed aggression against Tunisian territory, in flagrant violation of the Charter and all norms of international law.

66. Kuwait desired peace in the Middle East, but peace would be lasting only if the Palestinians' right to self-determination, national independence and statehood was recognized.

67. Mr. AGUILAR HECHT (Guatemala) recalled that the United Nations had come into being 40 years earlier as an expression of the commitment of States to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, whose most recent manifestation had had its origin in nothing less than the establishment of a horrible system of racial discrimination; unfortunately, vestiges of racism remained, allied with new, perhaps more subtle, forms of discrimination. However, his delegation condemned as particularly abhorrent the racist policy that was institutionalized in the apartheid system practised by the Government of South Africa. In the wake of the first Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, it could be said that overt forms of racial discrimination were already illegal in almost all parts of the world. However, the persistence of a few major focal points, such as the aforementioned apartheid system, had made it necessary to proclaim a Second Decade and a series of measures for achieving its objectives. His delegation believed that, among those measures priority must be given to ending the disgraceful apartheid system under which the South African people suffered.

68. Guatemala was concerned that there were still obstacles to the exercise by peoples of their right to self-determination in many regions of the world, because of the persistence of colonial systems, occupation by foreign armed forces and interference in the internal affairs of States through support for certain groups and movements which sought to use terrorism and violence to thwart expressions of the will of the people in the form of free elections to choose their leaders and set up the economic and social system each people thought best. As it joined in the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the cornerstone of the decolonization process, Guatemala also supported Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which recognized the right to independence of Namibia, a country which Guatemala hoped soon to welcome to the United Nations as a full Member.

69. For its part, Guatemala acknowledged the important role which the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination played in the implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, whose importance was confirmed by the growing number of States that had become parties to it. Throughout its legislative history, Guatemala had recognized the full equality of all its citizens, without distinction; that equality had been permanently enshrined in article 4 of the new Constitution, which would enter into force on 14 January 1986. That instrument also protected the various ethnic groups and contained provisions that were in keeping with the most modern theories and trends in constitutional political law. Guatemala was following the path to democracy which had been cleared in Latin America through the exercise of the right to

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(Mr. Aguilar Hecht, Guatemala)

self-determination. His delegation hoped that those countries which had not yet been able to exercise that right would do so freely and without foreign interference before long, so that their citizens might be guaranteed a life with dignity, in peace and with justice and the effective enjoyment of their human rights and fundamental freedoms.

70. Mrs. BARGHOUTI (Observer, Palestine Liberation Organization) said that the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations coincided with the victory over the forces of nazism, fascism and militarism in Europe; unfortunately, however, that victory had not eliminated for ever the racially motivated practices of dominant groups. After the Second World War, there had been an alarming increase in racist, neo-Fascist and Nazi groups. Forms such as zionism, colonialism and apartheid were examples of attempts to revive the ideology of racial superiority and racial purity. Colour, ethnic origin, sex, age, religion and nationality had been used as forms of racial discrimination to strip people of their economic, political, social and national rights and other human rights, in spite of all the efforts of the international community to put an end to all forms of racism and racial discrimination.

71. In its resolutions 39/114 and 39/16, both adopted in 1984, the General Assembly had condemned all totalitarian ideologies and practices based on racial or ethnic exclusiveness or intolerance which deprived peoples of their basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, and had decided, inter alia, that the international community, in general, and the United Nations, in particular, should give the highest priority to programmes for combating racism, racial discrimination and apartheid, and intensify their efforts during the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

72. Israel was the concrete manifestation of Zionist ideology. Regardless of whether Jews constituted a distinct ethnic, racial or religious group, the concept of exclusivity was in itself racist, and that was the main reason why the General Assembly had determined in its resolution 3379 (XXX) that zionism was a form of racism. That definition of zionism not only emanated from the resolution, but was also the concrete expression of a real phenomenon that could be observed. Zionism was a political movement which operated in a specific place and against an identified people.

73. Zionism as a political creed had originated in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century as a recognizable political ideology with three inherent fundamental qualities. Those three qualities had characterized the movement since that time, and had become inseparable from it. They were: colonialism, racism and expansionism.

74. From the outset, the Zionist movement, as a settler colonial movement, had had a natural alliance with European imperialism. Chauvinist nationalism in Europe had determined that the superior racial qualities of the white man provided the basis for the exploitation and civilizing mission which he was to undertake. Herzl had spoken of imperialism and colonialism as noble activities destined to bring

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(Mrs. Barqhouti, Observer, PLO)

civilization to the backward races. He had believed that the Jewish State was designed to defend Europe from Asia, as an outpost of civilization against barbarism.

75. The Zionist project which had established Israel had clearly been a colonial enterprise sponsored by the Western Powers to solve economic and demographic problems and to serve as a base for their military operations. Zionism differed from other forms of colonialism in that it was based on massive transfers of population. Jews from other parts of the world had been gathered in Israel, and that unlimited immigration had brought about endless expansion. Between 1948 and 1949, after the first stage of the occupation of Palestine, the Zionist movement had led to the expulsion of approximately 800,000 Palestinians; over 290 cities had been totally destroyed and some 3 million dunums had been illegally transferred to Jewish hands. In 1967, after the second stage of Zionist expansion in Palestine, 300,000 Palestinians had been displaced, the Zionist settlers had confiscated more than 50 per cent of the land of the occupied Palestinian territories in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and more than 200 Jewish settlements had been established on that land.

76. The other characteristic that distinguished Zionism from other forms of colonialism was racism. The essence of the political doctrine of Zionism was the concept that Jews were one people and must have a Jewish State. The fulfilment of that objective was the dual programme of the ingathering of all Jews and the expulsion of all Palestinians, since they were non-Jews. That exclusionary vision of a theocratic State made the practices and policy of discrimination inevitable in the history of Israel. Another concept that was inherent in Zionist ideology was that of Jewish superiority and the notion of Jews as the chosen race.

77. The racist character of Zionism was manifested in the Law of Return of 1950, which granted exclusive citizenship rights to members of the Jewish faith throughout the world while denying civil rights to Palestinians and their forefathers who had lived in those lands for thousands of years. The agricultural settlement laws of Israel prohibited the sale and lease of lands to Arabs who, in many cases, were the original owners of that land. Those were only a few examples of the racist nature of Zionism.

78. Israel, through its Government and private companies, was actively violating all United Nations resolutions prohibiting co-operation with South Africa, especially military co-operation. The PLO believed that the ideology and practice of Zionism must be eliminated. As long as Israel continued to pursue that ideology, policy and practice, the future of the Palestinian people, as well as the prospects for peace and development in the area would be adversely affected. The international community should condemn the ideological, economic, social and political practices of the State of Israel. If Israel continued to deny the Palestinian people of their basic human rights, the Palestinians should struggle against Israeli colonialism and achieve independence and a decent future for themselves and their children.

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79. Mr. YEDID (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, pointed out that the statement of the representative of Kuwait had contained a number of malicious accusations against Israel. Since the elimination of apartheid was an item on the Committee's agenda, he wished to refer to certain figures published in the New York Journal of Commerce: in 1984, the United Arab Emirates had supplied South Africa with between 250,000 and 400,000 barrels of crude oil. According to the Shipping Research Bureau, a Dutch organization opposed to apartheid, out of a total of 49 registered shipments of oil destined for South Africa, 75 per cent originated in four Arab countries: Saudi Arabia (39 per cent), United Arab Emirates (24 per cent), Oman (10 per cent) and Kuwait (2 per cent). In addition, 6 per cent had been supplied by Iran. According to the Shipping Research Bureau, the value of South Africa's oil imports amounted to almost \$3 billion, half of which represented oil imports from the Middle East.

80. Mr. RAZZOOGI (Kuwait), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that Israel's ties with the apartheid régime were well known. The representative of Israel should examine closely the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid on that question because it detailed the extent of collaboration between the two régimes in all fields, particularly the nuclear field.

81. Kuwait had chaired a meeting whose purpose was to declare an embargo against South Africa, and since that time had no relations whatsoever with that country. The representative of Israel was attempting to divert attention from the facts and was therefore resorting to lies.

82. Mr. KHONSARI (Iran), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, shared the views of the representative of Kuwait regarding the very open and close relations between the Zionist entity and the Pretoria régime.

83. The Islamic Republic of Iran had repeatedly denied the accusations of the Zionist entity regarding shipments of Iranian oil to South Africa. Since the fall of the Shah's régime, the Islamic Republic of Iran had avoided any relations whatsoever with South Africa in conformity with its international obligations. His delegation denied the unfounded charges made by the representative of the Zionist entity.

84. Mr. ANSELM (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he would not go into the repeated lies of the Communist bloc regarding the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands, Guam and Puerto Rico. He only wished to express his profound surprise at the reference made by the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in his statement concerning self-determination. The United States was prepared to compare the plebiscites and elections held in the Territories he had just mentioned with those held in the Ukraine.

85. Mr. POLICHTCHOUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), speaking in exercise of the right of reply with reference to the statement just made, said that the United States representative was sidestepping a serious analysis of the issue under consideration. The issue under consideration was not the sovereignty of the

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Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Besides, that sovereignty had become a fact a long time ago, in 1917, when the people of the Ukraine had declared it a Soviet Socialist Republic.

86. The main issue before the Third Committee was the struggle against apartheid, which was the principal evil. The delegations of the United States and the United Kingdom were digressing from that issue. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, as a member of the Special Committee against Apartheid, was aware that the régime of South Africa was violating many United Nations resolutions and that the United States was supporting that régime and allowing it to commit barbarous acts against the indigenous population of South Africa. A document on the Public Hearings on the Activities of Transnational Corporations in South Africa and Namibia, held in September 1985, contained references to American and British corporations which were collaborating with the South African régime. He requested the United States representative to explain what the Governments of those countries were doing to prevent those corporations from operating in South Africa.

87. At the North American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid, held in 1984, it had been said the United States policy of "constructive engagement" and the attitude of the United Kingdom were helping to sustain the apartheid régime. Many countries had supported the adoption of sanctions. The United Kingdom, however, had adopted a totally negative position by defending the South African régime. He had a great deal of evidence on that point which he would make available to the United States delegation.

88. Mr. ANSELM (United States of America), again speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that, as he understood it, apartheid existed only in South Africa and that that the Trust Territories of the Pacific islands, as well as Guam and Puerto Rico, did not come under the jurisdiction of South Africa.

89. Mrs. YOUNG (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, requested an explanation. She had understood that, the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic had taken the floor to reply to the representative of the United States. However, he had also referred to the United Kingdom, and she wished to know whether that reference had been appropriate.

90. Mr. POLICHTCHOUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), again speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the United States and the United Kingdom were co-operating in their support of the South African régime not only at the international level, but also in the United Nations, where they co-ordinated their activities. For that reason, he had considered it appropriate to refer to the United Kingdom in exercising his right of reply the first time.

91. Mrs. YOUNG (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland) raised a point of order. She was not asking any representative present whether it was appropriate, in exercising the right of reply, to make extensive references to a third delegation; she was putting that question to the Chairman of the Third Committee.

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92. The CHAIRMAN said that while it was not the rule, it was the practice of the Third Committee and other Main Committees of the General Assembly to interpret the right of delegations to speak liberally; to that extent, the present exchange was justified. Every delegation was free to mention any item which the Committee had before it or which was included in the agenda of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.