



**SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 15th MEETING**

**Chairman: Mr. HAMER (Netherlands)**

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

AGENDA ITEM 83: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE SECOND DECADE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/41/3, A/41/550, A/41/551, A/41/552, A/41/571; A/41/181-E/1986/53 and Corr.1; A/41/607)

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

1. Mr. CABRAL (Guinea-Bissau) said that both the Charter of the United Nations and the important instruments adopted subsequently, for example, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the International Covenants on human rights, had reaffirmed the initial anti-colonialist position of the United Nations.

2. The different reports submitted under the cluster of items currently under consideration in the Third Committee underscored the danger represented by racism and racial discrimination, and especially by the apartheid régime in Pretoria and its illegal occupation of Namibia. To that concern of the international community were added acts of aggression and destabilization carried out by South Africa against independent neighbouring States. One of the causes of South Africa's attitude was the direct or indirect assistance given to it by some countries and many transnational corporations.

3. The situation required a concerted and effective response by the international community, through the application of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime, sanctions which the peoples themselves of South Africa and

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(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

Namibia requested, even though they knew that such measures had dire consequences for them. The international community had a double responsibility to give material, political and diplomatic support to the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia and to demonstrate active solidarity with the front-line States.

4. His delegation supported the decision of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of resolution 1514 (XV), which called for the immediate cessation of the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and respect by that Government for the provisions and relevant resolutions of the United Nations, in particular Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

5. In other regions of the world, too, millions of people were denied their rights and fundamental freedoms. Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories also represented a major obstacle to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and other international instruments in the field of human rights. In other countries, xenophobia and discrimination against migrant workers, ethnic and religious minorities and other indigenous groups, constituted unacceptable violations of human rights.

6. That situation required a broad educational and informational campaign at the national and international levels. The efforts of the United Nations to implement the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination were praiseworthy and should be redoubled in order to ensure that the measures provided for in that Programme were fully applied.

7. He wondered how the activities of the United Nations in favour of human rights would be affected by the current financial crisis and hoped that the reforms being undertaken would not impede the work of the United Nations in the protection of human rights.

8. Mr. DE FIGUEIREDO (Angola) said that all the items under consideration in the Third Committee were highly important to the Government and people of Angola, which would continue to raise its voice in all relevant forums until the United Nations had achieved the objective which it had set with respect to the colonized and oppressed peoples of the world. Even though those items had been on the agenda for years and the General Assembly had adopted innumerable resolutions on the subject, no concrete results had yet been achieved. At a time when some were questioning the very existence of the United Nations, it would be timely for the international community to move effectively at least on those issues on which there was unanimous agreement.

9. Except for the cowardly régime in Pretoria, none of the delegations present would disagree that the system of apartheid was the common denominator of the items under consideration: racism and exploitation of the black population of South Africa, the illegal occupation of Namibia and the threat to independent neighbouring States. South Africa scorned the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, and its brutal acts had adverse consequences,

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

such as the increase in violence and instability in all southern Africa, the obstacles to Namibia achieving independence and the other countries of the region undertaking national reconstruction, and the tarnishing of the image of the United Nations.

10. Recently there had been some progress on the matter of sanctions against Pretoria. The recent decision by the United States Congress had given hope to the people of South Africa, but that optimism would not last if the sanctions were not applied and if South Africa received assistance in evading them. The Governments and transnational corporations which gave assistance to South Africa must know that they too were responsible for the human and national misery in southern Africa. The death of the policy of "constructive engagement" gave no satisfaction because it had already achieved much of its objective: to protect South Africa from the wrath of the international community and to impede the application of sanctions. The Third Committee must urge all European Governments which maintained a weak position on sanctions to join the international community in dismantling the system of apartheid.

11. The items under consideration also applied to other regions of the world. The question of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people and of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic were equally important to Angola, which had always spoken out in defence of their inalienable rights. Angola also supported the rights of the people of New Caledonia who were the victims of a similar situation.

12. It was a crime to wait for the problem to solve itself out of sheer neglect, while allowing suffering to continue when it could be ended. That was something which could be avoided, and history would judge the United Nations by its record of the effective implementation of the policies and programmes that dealt with human beings as such.

13. Mr. MAHONEY (Gambia) said that, despite repeated condemnations by the international community, the monstrosity of apartheid persisted and, in recent years, the systematic oppression and brutality inherent in it had escalated to unprecedented levels of savagery. The violence inflicted by the racist régime of South Africa on the black population could not stifle the yearning of an entire people for freedom. Sooner or later the system would collapse in a cataclysm if decisive action was not taken for its peaceful dismantling. It was therefore necessary to apply comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa in order to compel the racist régime to enter into negotiations with the authentic representative of the black majority. Gambia hoped that those who had hitherto opposed the imposition of sanctions would reconsider and join the international consensus.

14. Gambia attached great importance to the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and had participated actively in the implementation of the Programme of Action. It took note with satisfaction of the revised report submitted by the Secretary-General (A/41/551) which showed that the United Nations was engaged in a system-wide effort to combat racism and racial discrimination in all its forms.

(Mr. Mahoney, Gambia)

15. It was encouraging to note the energetic participation of the specialized agencies in the fight against apartheid, racism and racial discrimination, especially in their assistance to the liberation movements combating apartheid and colonialism in South Africa. Nevertheless, sufficient reference had not been made to UNDP in paragraphs 180, 182 and 183 of the report. Future reports should include more detailed and concrete information on UNDP in a separate subsection, since that body was the main co-ordinator of the field operations of the specialized agencies.

16. Despite the almost total consensus of the international community in its condemnation of apartheid, the efforts of the United Nations were being undermined by the continued flow of concessional finance to Pretoria from one of the bodies within the system. It was appropriate to wonder whether the racist régime would not continue to obtain financial support from that source, given the rapid deterioration of its economy. Contributors to the United Nations budget might wish to consider the financial and budgetary implications of that anomalous situation.

17. With regard to evaluation of the impact of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the Secretary-General should indicate in his report on that subject to what extent the diverse activities undertaken came together to form a coherent whole, what overlaps existed, and what lacunae, if any, there were. It was important to carry out a thorough review and appraisal of the activities undertaken to date, in order to ensure that activities planned for the remainder of the Decade should have the greatest impact permitted by available resources.

18. Mrs. CLARK (United States of America) said that self-determination was the foundation upon which international order should rest. It involved the right of peoples to preserve and freely enjoy their cultural, ethnic and religious traditions and the capacity to elect their own leaders, concepts which were enshrined in the 200-year-old Declaration of Independence of the United States and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It was inextricably linked with the exercise of fundamental freedoms and human rights and was indispensable for the realization of world peace.

19. The United States supported those peoples which were attempting to achieve or maintain their human rights and independence of foreign domination, but independence was not the only possible outcome of the self-determination process. Many peoples had preferred a status of association with, or incorporation into, another political entity, and such a preference deserved full respect.

20. The United States supported the cause of Namibian independence and would continue its efforts, as it had in the past, to contribute to the attainment of that objective, which, unfortunately, was impeded not only by the intransigent position adopted by the South African Government but also by the presence of Cuban mercenary troops in a neighbouring country.

21. The United States recognized and supported the legitimate rights of the Palestinians but noted at the same time that the recognition of Israel's right to live in peace within secure borders and the cessation of terrorism against that country were indispensable prerequisites for peace in the Middle East.

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(Mrs. Clark, United States)

22. His delegation deplored the policies of imperialism and racism practised by Viet Nam in Kampuchea, the occupation and "Vietnamization" of which must end immediately, and called for the restoration to the Kampuchean people of its right to self-determination. The United States supported the efforts of the countries of the region to put an end to Vietnamese imperialist ambitions in Indo-China.

23. It also deplored the situation in Afghanistan, which had been invaded six years ago by Soviet troops and which was still fighting to throw off Moscow's yoke. More than 25 per cent of the population had been forced to seek refuge in other countries, demonstrating the revulsion felt by the Afghan people towards the puppet Government installed by the Soviet Union. The United States supported the efforts of the Secretary-General to bring about a solution which would restore the right to self-determination to the people of Afghanistan and was willing to play the role of guarantor in the context of a comprehensive and balanced settlement.

24. The plight of the peoples of Eastern Europe, whose nominally independent régimes were subservient to the policy goals of the USSR, should also be recalled. The suffering and systematic "Russification" of the formerly independent Baltic Republics were evidence of the total disregard of the Soviets for the right to self-determination. The Berlin Wall, constructed a full 25 years ago, was a monument to the failure of Soviet communism. Many other walls and observation towers, as well as barbed wire and minefields, were spread along the borders of Eastern Europe, not to protect against an attack by NATO, but to prevent the flight to the West of citizens of the countries controlled by Moscow.

25. A further example of the denial of the right to self-determination was provided by the military occupation of almost one third of Chad by Libya, the Government of which sponsored terrorism on a world-wide scale.

26. In conclusion, the United States was and always would be ready to assist peoples struggling to achieve their independence and to exercise their right to self-determination.

27. Mr. YAKOVLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) noted that the debate had been constructive, serious and responsible. Like many other delegations, the Soviet Union had supported the proposed measures against racism and apartheid, as well as the measures designed to put an end to the racist Pretoria régime and to replace it by a democratic system guaranteeing the right of peoples to self-determination and respecting the human rights of the indigenous population. The Soviet Union also supported the measures designed to halt Israeli aggression and to guarantee the establishment of an independent Palestinian State.

28. The undeclared wars of the United States against peoples and sovereign States constituted the most flagrant violations of the right of peoples to self-determination. In Africa, Washington was supporting South Africa's acts of aggression against neighbouring States and had instituted a policy of constructive engagement with the Pretoria régime. The United States was proposing that a system of democratic freedoms should be established within the apartheid system. However, apartheid constituted a negation of the Western concept of freedom. It was necessary to put an end to policies of constructive engagement with the apartheid régime, to isolate it completely and to bring about its fall.

(Mr. Yakovlev, USSR)

29. Whatever the representative of the United States might say, the atmosphere of constructive dialogue had not been disrupted and the charges levelled by her with respect to the alleged Soviet empire and the supposed enslavement of the Soviet Republics were ridiculous, obsolete and unworthy of a reply. They took no account of reality and constituted an irresponsible attack.

30. The representative of the United States had alluded to the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. If she had wished to address the question in a constructive spirit, she should have noted the partial withdrawal of the Soviet military contingent from that country. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which enjoyed the support of the Soviet Union and of many other States, also enjoyed the support of its own people, and its situation had improved despite the undeclared war against that country. The partial withdrawal of troops indicated that the Soviet Union was considering the problem carefully and adhering to its promise.

31. A short time ago the United States had launched a deadly attack against Libya and it was now accusing that country of committing barbaric crimes. That irresponsible accusation was part of the United States Government's disinformation campaign against Libya.

32. Mr. DAVANE (Mozambique) said that the adoption of 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 had been a landmark in United Nations history, constituting the legal basis for the eradication of racism and racial discrimination. An important stage in the execution of that task had been the proclamation of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination in 1983.

33. However, it was regrettable that, despite the efforts of the international community and the provisions of international law, racism not only persisted, but had been elevated to the rank of official policy in some parts of the world. The institutionalized policy of apartheid in South Africa was the most scandalous example of racism and racial discrimination.

34. Despite the impressive achievements of the United Nations since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the process of decolonization was not yet completed. The racist régime of South Africa still denied the Namibian people its inalienable right to self-determination and independence. South Africa oppressed the Namibian people, committed grave human rights violations and exploited the people and natural resources of the Territory. There were discriminatory laws governing health services, education, housing and all aspects of daily life in Namibia.

35. Despite the world community's condemnation of apartheid and the illegal occupation of Namibia, the racist régime of Pretoria continued to enforce its brutal and inhuman policies in occupied Namibia. In order to maintain its illegal occupation, perpetuate its racist rule in South Africa and extend its influence beyond its frontiers, the racist régime of Pretoria had repeatedly committed acts of aggression, subversion, destabilization and terrorism against neighbouring States, thus heightening tension in the region.

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(Mr. Davane, Mozambique)

36. Apartheid was like nazism in its advocacy of theories of racial superiority and the divine mission of the Afrikaner tribe, and in its systematic massacre of large numbers of the black majority. The régime attempted to impose its will in the region by means of aggression and occupation. Pretoria used the same tactics as Hitler to destabilize and destroy other countries. In Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and other countries of southern Africa, armed mercenaries - trained, equipped, transported, organized, financed and commanded by South Africa - committed horrible crimes against the people. Hitler's ambition to create a German Europe had its counterpart in the South African theory of establishing a group of satellite States under the command of the Afrikaner régime.

37. The acts of destabilization committed by South Africa, its refusal to withdraw from Namibia and its ruthless exploitation of the people and resources of the Territory had been made possible by the collaboration with the South African régime of powerful transnational corporations and the ruling circles of certain Western countries. That support only went to increase the military capacity of the Pretoria régime and encourage and support South Africa in its brutal repression of the downtrodden people.

38. South Africa's refusal to respect the fundamental human rights and freedoms of the population should be denounced and condemned. South Africa openly defied United Nations resolutions on South Africa and Namibia and on the régime's acts of aggression, destabilization and subversion against neighbouring States. It was time for the international community to go beyond mere condemnation, declarations and resolutions and to adopt practical measures consistent with its condemnation.

39. Mr. RAZZOOGI (Kuwait) said that the United Nations was the appropriate forum for considering ways to ensure respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and the eradication of immoral régimes like apartheid. Pretoria and Israel had opposed the United Nations resolutions calling for an end to the apartheid régime or referring to the abhorrent policies practised in the occupied Arab territories.

40. The apartheid régime was responsible for the many crimes committed by South Africa against the oppressed majority of South Africa, Namibia and neighbouring States. The Pretoria régime's acts of aggression and terrorism were a threat to international security in southern Africa. Apartheid was not only a crime against humanity, but also an affront to the international community. Pretoria's ideology was the same racist ideology which had led to the Second World War.

41. Thousands of people had been detained or displaced, disappearances had increased and meetings of all kinds had been banned. The bantustanization policy and the forced removal of entire populations still continued. Nevertheless, some Western countries which called themselves civilised, still gave economic and military protection to the apartheid system. Those countries must exert pressure on Pretoria to refrain from acts of terrorism and destabilization against neighbouring States.

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(Mr. Razzooqi, Kuwait)

42. Kuwait condemned the co-operation between Israel and Pretoria, particularly in the field of nuclear weapons. The sanctions provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations must be applied immediately against South Africa which, in its boundless arrogance, used Namibia as a springboard for acts of destabilization and aggression against neighbouring countries. Kuwait reaffirmed its full support for the Namibian people and SWAPO, its sole and legitimate representative.

43. The racist policy and acts of aggression of Israel in the Middle East were reminiscent of the apartheid régime; zionism was a form of racism and racial discrimination. Zionist ideology was based on usurpation and expansion and was linked with colonialism in all its negative forms. The idea of "Jewish nationalism" was based on "colonialist zionism". Those ideas had been put into practice by means of three parallel processes: the transformation of a religion and culture into a racist and political doctrine, the concept of the Jewish State as an essential factor in establishing a culture and, in order to achieve the first two objectives, a growing influx of Jews from all parts of the world who were then settled in the occupied territories. That policy was based on the concept of Jewish "exclusiveness". There could be no peace in the region until the Palestinian people had recovered its legitimate and inalienable rights, including the right to establish an independent State under the leadership of the PLO.

44. Mr. TERZI (Observer, Palestine Liberation Organization) said that the PLO defended the principle of self-determination. The case of the Palestinian people was a clear example of the denial of that right, and he was grateful to the United States for raising the issue. However, the United States Government headed the list of those who denied the Palestinian people its right. He quoted a letter from the State Department to Congressman Lee Hamilton stating that the term self-determination in the context of the Middle East was tantamount to an independent Palestinian State. Since the United States did not support the establishment of an independent Palestinian State, that remark was not consistent with United States policy. It seemed that, for the United States, the right to self-determination was not an absolute right, but a selective one.

45. Mr. NABIEL (Afghanistan) said that some delegations had expressed unnecessary concern about the exercise of the right to self-determination in Afghanistan. Thanks to the revolution of April 1979, the Afghan people had actually been able to exercise that right for the first time. The real concern of the United States and its allies was the loss of their economic, political and strategic interests in Afghanistan. The United States was directly involved in the inhuman crimes committed by the so-called "freedom fighters".

46. Miss NGUYEN THI KIM XUAN (Viet Nam) rejected the United States' allegation that Viet Nam practised a policy of imperialism and racism. It was the United States, acting out of imperialist interests and ambitions, which had conducted a war against Viet Nam lasting through four presidencies, causing enormous suffering and with disastrous consequences for the Vietnamese people. The United States spared no effort to set itself up as a champion of human rights, but it frequently used its veto to prevent the imposition of binding sanctions on South Africa, it maintained military, political and strategic relations with Israel and had provided

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(Miss Nguyen Thi Kim Xuan, Viet Nam)

\$100 million in assistance to the "contras", in open violation of the human rights of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, Palestine and Nicaragua. The tragedy of the Kampuchean people had begun six years before the rise to power of the Pol Pot régime: beginning in March 1965, the United States had dropped more than half a million bombs and hundreds of thousands of tons of napalm, resulting in the loss of 600,000 lives.

47. The Vietnamese people valued its traditional friendship with the Chinese people, but the allegations which the Chinese representative had made at that morning's meeting were unacceptable. It was cynical to accuse Viet Nam of being an invader, when it was China which had invaded Viet Nam in February 1979, with more than 600,000 soldiers and had supported the Pol Pot régime, which had murdered more than 3 million people in Kampuchea. China had supported the eight-point proposal issued by the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (A/41/325 and Corr.1, annex), but it was disgraceful to ask Viet Nam to enter into a dialogue with those responsible for the genocide in Kampuchea. A satisfactory solution would require mutual co-operation between the peoples of China and Viet Nam and the other peace-loving peoples of the region.

48. Mr. SEIFU (Ethiopia), exercising his right of reply, said that the representative of the United States had pointed out in his statement that, since individual life was worth so little under Marxist-Leninist systems they had used hunger for political ends since the Stalin era in the 1930s and were continuing to do so in Ethiopia and in Cambodia. However, Ethiopia had not used, and would not use hunger for political purposes; all the relief organizations, including the American ones, which had come to the assistance of Ethiopia, could testify to that. If there was any country which had attempted to use hunger for political ends, it was the United States, which in 1984 had denied food aid to Ethiopia because it said that Government was Marxist-Leninist. Only pressure from the public and the mass media had forced the United States to give assistance to Ethiopia. His delegation could not take seriously the statements of the United States; consequently, his right of reply should not be construed as a serious response to the statement of the representative of that country.

49. Mr. DOWEK (Israel), exercising his right of reply, congratulated the representative of Kuwait for his remarks and noted that they represented a step forward, not so much because of the substance, but because the representative of Kuwait had addressed the delegation of Israel directly. As long as there was dialogue, even with disagreement, there was no fighting, and it was possible to think of achieving peace. With regard to the content of those remarks, although the representative of Kuwait had tried to take a scientific approach to the question of zionism, he obviously did not understand the issue very well. The Israeli representative felt in duty bound to clarify the Kuwaiti statement.

50. Since the time of captivity of the Jews in Babylon, the dream and hope of that people had been to return to its native land and to Mount Zion in Jerusalem. The term "Zionist" had been recognized as early as 1897, but from time immemorial, zionism had represented the faith and creed of the Jewish people, and had given it the strength to survive the Diaspora, to endure pogroms, persecution and the

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(Mr. Dowek, Israel)

Holocaust, and to come out of all those ordeals as a free people. Politic zionism was the first national liberation movement, which had emerged from the French Revolution and had been strengthened by the principles of President Wilson. At the 1920 San Remo Conference, the international community had officially recognized the goals of zionism and the mandate of Great Britain, which had been unanimously endorsed in 1922 by the Council of the League of Nations, as well as the specific goal of implementing the 1917 Balfour Declaration which recognized the historical bond between the Jews and Palestine and gave reasons for rebuilding the Jewish nation in that territory. The return of the Jewish people to its homeland was welcomed even by some Arab leaders. Nevertheless, it had taken another world war and the systematic annihilation of 6 million Jews for the State of Israel to be born, in pursuance of a United Nations resolution supported by the United States and the Soviet Union. Since its inception the State of Israel had had to endure the attacks of six powerful Arab States, to fight five more wars and to cope with economic boycott and terrorism as well as a diplomatic and propaganda war.

51. There was a United Nations resolution equating zionism with racism. Yet, there were many Christian, Muslim or Buddhist States in which there was virtually no separation between religion and secular legislation, for example, in most of the Arab States.

52. He publicly stated that he was proud to be a Jew and a Zionist, and that if any one wished to equate zionism with racism, he only had to look in the mirror to see what a racist was.

53. Ms. RODRIGUEZ (Cuba), exercising her right of reply, said that Cuba appeared at the head of the list of countries, read out by the representative of the United States targeted for criticism by the United States. That was a clear indication that Cuba was pursuing its own course, upholding its principles and maintaining its dignity. The representative of the United States referred to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Those troops were not mercenaries, as were the troops the United States had sent to Cuba in 1961, and which had been defeated at the Bay of Pigs, and the forces which that country maintained in Central America, and for which it had approved a budget of \$100 million. She also referred to a seven-day meeting held in Texas and New Mexico, which she called a "meeting of mercenaries". They had received a telegram of support from President Reagan, which would indicate that the mercenaries and the Reagan Administration had common objectives.

54. The eighth Summit of Non-Aligned Countries recently held in Harare had supported Cuban assistance to and solidarity with their Angolan brothers against South African aggression. Furthermore, it had condemned the United States for its complicity with South Africa in fraudulently trying to link the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola with the independence of Namibia as a pretext for the non-compliance by the United States of resolution 435 (1978) of the United Nations Security Council. The Cuban presence in Angola was in keeping with an agreement between sovereign nations, as opposed to the shameful and depressing aggressions of the United States Marines in Grenada, Central America and other parts of the world.

55. Mr. KWAK (Observer for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea) said that the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, who were still suffering the consequences of the division of their nation resulting from the intervention of foreign forces and the occupation of their territory by foreign troops, steadfastly and actively supported the struggle of the peoples of the entire world for self-determination. He joined the other representatives in his condemnation of the racist régime of South Africa and its exploitation of the human and natural resources of Namibia, as well as its brutal attacks against the front-line States. He categorically rejected the policy of "constructive engagement" and the linkage of the presence of Cuban troops in Angola with the independence of Namibia. Furthermore, he condemned the transnational corporations which collaborated with the racist régime of South Africa. His Government morally and materially supported the just struggle of the Namibian people for its independence and self-determination under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), its sole legitimate representative.

56. It condemned the expansionist and Zionist policy of Israel in the Middle East, and actively supported the just struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination, independence and the establishment of its own sovereign State under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole legitimate representative. It also denounced the imperialist and interventionist policy of the United States against Nicaragua and supported the just struggle of the Nicaraguan people for its sovereignty.

57. Miss CHEN (Democratic Kampuchea), exercising her right of reply concerning self-determination, condemned the persistence of Viet Nam in shamelessly denying the reality prevailing in Kampuchea, reflected in the relevant United Nations resolutions adopted every year since 1979 by an increasingly overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations. On 21 October 1986, the General Assembly would once again request that Viet Nam should totally withdraw its occupation forces from Kampuchea. It was time that the Vietnamese aggressor ceased to present itself as a victim, slandering alleged Vietnamese aggressors, which did not convince anyone. She suggested that the representatives of Viet Nam should look at themselves in the mirror before coming to the Committee to spread lies and disinformation.

58. Mr. ZHANG (China), exercising his right of reply, said that it made no difference what arguments the delegation of Viet Nam used, it could never obscure the irrefutable fact that there were 100,000 Vietnamese soldiers who were killing innocent people in Kampuchea. If Viet Nam were truly concerned about achieving peace in Kampuchea, it should withdraw all of its troops from that country. As the people of Viet Nam knew, any attempt at military conquest was doomed.

59. Mr. RAZZOQI (Kuwait), exercising his right of reply, said that what the Israeli representative had stated was meaningless, because his definition of zionism was unrealistic. It was easy to understand what zionism was when one saw the legitimate sons of Palestine, the true inhabitants of the region, uprooted and deprived of their rights. That was zionism.

60. Mr. TERZI (Observer, Palestine Liberation Organization), exercising his right of reply, said that the Balfour Declaration had sown the seed of racism in Palestine because it established a difference between the Jewish inhabitants and the non-Jewish inhabitants of the country, without taking into account the fact that non-Jews represented 92 per cent of the population. That Declaration had proclaimed the political rights of the Jews, and had merely granted the enjoyment of their religious and civil rights to the rest of the population.

61. Subsequently, the Zionist State of Israel had been proclaimed, with its discriminatory laws. Arabs had been denied work in the countryside and the opportunity to belong to labour unions. There were two kinds of laws in Israel. The first, the law of return, allowed Jews from any part of the world to be citizens of Israel; the second denied Palestinians, who had been born and raised in that land, the right of citizenship.

62. Miss NGUYEN THI KIM XUAN (Viet Nam), exercising her right of reply, said that if China were truly concerned about respect for the rights of the people of Kampuchea, it should translate that concern into deeds and put an immediate end to the assistance which it gave to the genocidal Pol Pot gang. Furthermore, China should put an end to its war of sabotage against Viet Nam, the sole purpose of which was to drain the Vietnamese people.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.