



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 7th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. HAMER (Netherlands)

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ORGANIZATION OF WORK

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The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.

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- (a) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
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ORGANIZATION OF WORK

1. Mrs. BUTIKU (United Republic of Tanzania) said that racism and racial discrimination, which still persisted in various forms throughout the world, were a negation of the United Nations Charter which reaffirmed faith in fundamental human rights and the dignity of each person. Racism reached its most abhorrent form when it was institutionalized, as in the case of apartheid in South Africa. The United Republic of Tanzania had consistently opposed racism and racial discrimination and had made it unequivocally clear to the South African régime that that evil policy must be abolished. Apartheid was doomed, and the longer it took to come to an end, the greater would be the misery and the more devastating the chaos.

2. The struggle against apartheid must be a collective effort. It was essential that concerted international action should help the black majority in South Africa to bring down apartheid quickly. The United Republic of Tanzania called for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa, under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

(Mrs. Butiku, United
Republic of Tanzania)

3. The "constructive engagement" policy of the United States Government in support of South Africa was a matter of concern. That policy, together with the link established by the United States of America between Namibia's independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, served as moral boosters to the Pretoria régime in its murderous and destructive campaign in southern Africa. She hoped that the United States Government would urgently consider reviewing those policies, which simply served to worsen the intransigence of the apartheid régime.
4. During the two decades since the General Assembly had terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia, the racist régime of South Africa had persistently refused to implement the various resolutions on the granting of independence to the Namibian people. Moreover, Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remained unimplemented, owing to South Africa's intransigence and its refusal to heed the appeal of the international community.
5. With regard to the Middle East, her delegation had stressed on many occasions that a solution of the conflict could be achieved only through the recognition of and respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish an independent State. She again reiterated her country's support for the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.
6. As to the war between Iran and Iraq, the Tanzanian Government had encouraged and continued to encourage the mediation efforts of the United Nations, the movement of non-aligned countries, the Islamic Conference and individual countries which had offered their services, and renewed its appeal to Iran and Iraq to agree to a peaceful settlement of their conflict.
7. In Central America, threats of foreign intervention in Nicaragua and the arms buildup on its borders and shores continued to be a source of serious concern to her country. The threat to Nicaragua's sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence resulted from the deliberate refusal of some countries outside the region to accept the existence of ideological pluralism in Central America. The United Republic of Tanzania would continue to reject any attempts by any Member State to infringe on the sovereignty of Nicaragua or to undermine its independence, and would continue to support the initiatives of the Contadora Group to bring about peace and stability in Central America.
8. Mr. CICANOVIC (Yugoslavia) said that the struggle against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid, as well as for the right of peoples to self-determination and independence, was in fact the struggle for the implementation of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and other international instruments. A number of important international meetings held recently had reiterated once again the need to eradicate apartheid, the most flagrant form of violation of fundamental human rights, and the determination to achieve that goal in order to avoid bloodshed, which might have unforeseeable consequences for international peace and security. The Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries had appealed to all countries to

(Mr. Cicanović, Yugoslavia)

join in the general demand for sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa. He felt that the sanctions adopted recently by the United States against South Africa were a step in the right direction, and he hoped that other countries would follow suit.

9. As a State Member of the United Nations and a member of the movement of non-aligned countries, Yugoslavia had always actively supported the efforts of the United Nations and the non-aligned countries to eradicate apartheid and bring about the independence of Namibia. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was the only acceptable basis for a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia, and he rejected the so-called linkage between the independence of Namibia and extraneous and irrelevant issues, as well as the policy of constructive engagement, the aim of which was the continued occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of Pretoria.

10. The international community's endeavours to find a solution to the Middle East crisis had failed in the past because of Israel's colonization policy in respect of the occupied Arab territories, and its aggressive policy against neighbouring States. An international conference on the Middle East, with the participation, on an equal footing, of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, would enhance the prospects for a settlement of the Palestinian problem and the crisis in the Middle East. Yugoslavia had always supported the realization of the rights of the Palestinian people and would continue to do so in the future.

11. With respect to the documentation for the cluster of items under consideration, he noted with satisfaction the reports on the implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Unfortunately, Yugoslavia had been unable to send its reply to the Secretary-General's note on time, so that his country was mentioned in the report only through other reports. The information provided by the International Labour Organisation (para. 51) reflected Yugoslavia's efforts to facilitate the position of migrant workers and their children during their stay abroad and make their integration upon return to Yugoslavia easier. As to the references in paragraph 4, he felt that they were discriminatory, since the sending of the children of Yugoslav migrant workers to special schools for retarded children, under the pretext of their inability to cope with the German language, was unfair, in view of the fact that those schools were most often designed for physically and mentally disabled children. The children of Yugoslav workers were neither of the two.

12. Yugoslavia shared the Secretary-General's view that efforts should be made to obtain additional information from States and organizations which had not yet replied, and that a fuller response would facilitate the finalization of the study based on a global perspective of the issues relevant to the item. The position of the children of ethnic minorities in a particular State was one of the basic indicators of the general position of all the minorities in that State.

13. Mr. DOWEK (Israel) said that although Israel identified fully with the objectives of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, it would not support its Programme of Action or take part in its implementation. Had the relevant resolution been put to a vote in 1985, his delegation would have voted against it. Both Decades had been misused to serve interests that had nothing to do with the struggle to end apartheid and racism, and as tools for legitimizing and fostering anti-semitism in its most pernicious form: Judeophobia, that was to say, the hatred of the Jews for the mere fact of being Jews. That hatred was not limited to normal hostility towards minorities but was gratuitous hatred that demanded justification and ideological rationalization, which were currently being manifested in the policy of anti-zionism. Thus, several bodies of the United Nations itself, such as the Department of Public Information, the Division for Palestinian Rights and some Commissions and Committees had officially and openly become anti-Jewish agencies.

14. The Arab countries and the Soviet Union, promoters of the rationalization of anti-zionism, exerted tremendous political pressure in international forums to support many anti-Zionist campaigns and resolutions which they concocted. Their press was full of anti-Zionist propaganda, a form of anti-Judaism. In 1980 the representative of Jordan had stated in the General Assembly that there was a Jewish cabal which controlled, manipulated and exploited the rest of humanity. In the Soviet Union anti-zionism was much more sophisticated and virulent than in the Arab countries. A special committee attached to the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences had been created to supervise and co-ordinate the so-called "struggle against zionism". The Soviet Union's campaign of anti-semitism was extended beyond its frontiers by means of the wide distribution of anti-Semitic literature and the many anti-Semitic outbursts by Soviet representatives in United Nations forums, even including the affirmation of an alleged collusion between the Zionists and the Nazis to exterminate all non-Zionist Jews. The multi-faceted Arab-Soviet propaganda was aimed at removing inhibitions restraining open anti-semitism.

15. The anti-Semitic Jihad of the USSR, Syria and other Arab countries was still reaping its poisonous harvest in the recrudescence of verbal and physical manifestations of anti-semitism in various countries around the world: attacks on synagogues, Jewish schools, cemeteries and monuments and the kidnapping, torture and assassination of Jews. In such circumstances, he wondered how it could be claimed that apartheid was being eradicated when the same tools forged to combat apartheid were brazenly used to legitimize and foster another form of racism, namely, anti-semitism. A distinction could not be made between discrimination against blacks and discrimination against Jews. The fight against the scourge of racism and racial discrimination in all its forms must be total, absolute and inflexible worldwide. Israel fully believed in that struggle and was willing to mobilize all its energies to pursue it.

16. Mr. EL-FAWWAZ (Jordan), speaking on a point of order, stated that the Arabs did distinguish between Judaism and zionism. The Arabs did not hate the Jewish people, but were in a confrontation with zionism because of its policy of occupation of Arab territories.

17. Mrs. BIN THANH (Viet Nam) said that many years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the community of nations still had to uproot abject forms of racism and racial discrimination, the most odious being the system of apartheid, a crime against humanity. At the present time there was no more eloquent illustration of the close interaction between the struggle against racial discrimination and the fight for self-determination than that in Namibia and South Africa, which were suffering the worst denial of the right to self-determination.

18. Self-determination of peoples encompassed national independence and sovereignty, the right to live in peace, security from the nuclear threat and from starvation and freedom from the threat of genocide and from all forms of oppression and exploitation, in particular racial discrimination, and to choose their own path to development.

19. The difficult situation in South Africa and Namibia persisted not only because of Pretoria's obstinacy, but also because of the political and diplomatic support, military collaboration (including nuclear collaboration and economic co-operation that were being provided to it by certain Western Powers concerned with maintaining the status quo, since they had over 1,000 of their transnational corporations operating in South Africa. Viet Nam commended the report of the Special Rapporteur, Mr. Khalifa.

20. The right to self-determination could not be exercised meaningfully in Namibia while a handful of transnational corporations were literally in control of the country's economic life and resources. For instance, 90 per cent of all mineral assets, accounting for three quarters of Namibia's exports and half its gross domestic product, belonged to three transnational corporations. The practical significance of Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia regarding Namibia's sovereignty over its own natural resources could not be overemphasized. For those reasons, no opposition or reluctance to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions, especially economic sanctions, against South Africa could be justified. The argument that sanctions would harm the black population was unacceptable since it was known that foreign firms employed only 5 per cent of black manpower and the population only received the crumbs of their profits. Furthermore, the countries which used that argument were applying similar sanctions against countries such as Nicaragua, Libya and Viet Nam. Viet Nam, for its part, more than ever extended its solidarity in all fields to the South African and Namibian peoples and to the front-line States in their struggle to eradicate apartheid, and it reiterated its demand for the release of Nelson Mandela and his companions.

21. The exercise by peoples of their right to self-determination was also being impeded by the use of mercenaries and the practice of State terrorism, as was the case in Angola, Mozambique and especially Nicaragua. The granting of \$100 million to finance subversive activities of mercenaries against Nicaragua showed the determination of some circles to prevent the Nicaraguan people from following their chosen path to development. Far from exporting revolution, as certain parties claimed, it was the "contras" masters who were in fact exporting counter-revolution and the violation of human rights by proxy. An end must be put to that violation of international law as the International Court of Justice had declared.

(Mrs. Bin Thanh, Viet Nam)

22. Another blatant example of institutionalized racism aided by a major Power was zionism, which defied all norms of international law with its practice of State terrorism, aggression and expansionism. That policy and its supporters must be unequivocally condemned, since they were denying the Palestinian people its fundamental national rights.

23. The unfortunate People's Republic of Kampuchea also had been prey to a relentless conspiracy since its emergence from the night of genocide. In that connection, the delegation of Viet Nam affirmed its categorical rejection of Economic and Social Council decision 1986/146 and Commission on Human Rights resolution 1986/25 because they constituted an utter distortion of the reality in Kampuchea and a deliberate attempt to hoodwink public opinion. For the previous eight years, the people of Kampuchea had asserted their right to self-determination by overthrowing a genocidal régime and through sustained growth in all fields, in the face of an undeclared war waged against it with the connivance of more than one foreign Power. That right could be fully guaranteed only if a political solution was achieved whereby Vietnamese forces could be withdrawn and the genocidal clique concurrently removed to enable the people of Kampuchea at last to live free of the spectre of genocide and foreign interference. For its part, Viet Nam had done and would continue to do its utmost to help bring about such a solution for the sake of the Kampuchean people and thus contribute to peace and stability in South-East Asia.

24. Ms. CLARK (New Zealand) recalled that one of the purposes of the Organization was to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. Equality and non-discrimination were ideals that New Zealand had striven to develop and reflect in shaping its society although it did not claim as yet to be free of discrimination. What was important was that it acknowledged the problem and was trying actively to eliminate it.

25. One of the most significant developments which had occurred in the country had been discussion of the proposal to make Maori, the language of the indigenous people of New Zealand, an official language. A parliamentary committee had been studying various aspects of the question.

26. The situation in New Zealand presented a clear analogy with the international situation. Constant support for, and reinforcement of the principle of non-discrimination was needed both at the international and at the national levels. The General Assembly had recognized the importance of that task when it had decided, three years previously, to launch the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. New Zealand had fully supported that initiative and continued to do so.

27. As far as the Programme of Action for 1987 was concerned, the Secretary-General in his report had made some suggestions. New Zealand was prepared to consider favourably any suggestion on future activities. In particular, it was a positive step forward that among the activities of the Second Decade, great priority had been given to education and training.

28. The central point of the United Nations efforts against discrimination remained the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, to which 124 States were parties.

(Ms. Clark, New Zealand)

29. The obligation to present to the Committee regular reports on the implementation of the Convention submitted the practice of States parties to regular international scrutiny and provided an opportunity for States parties to engage in a constructive dialogue with the experts of the Committee. Her delegation therefore viewed with regret the cancellation of the thirty-fourth session of the Committee. In view of the seriousness of the financial situation, her Government was also most disappointed that the Committee had not accepted the recommendation of States Parties that in order to save costs, both annual sessions of the Committee should be held in Geneva. A second concern was the large number of overdue reports. A monitoring system could not be effective if it was perpetually out of date. Some rationalization of the system was therefore necessary. One possible solution could be for the Committee to adopt informally a system whereby States parties were invited to submit full reports only every four years and supplementary reports every two years.

30. In its effort to eradicate racism and racial discrimination, it was appropriate for the international community to give particular attention to the most blatant system of racism today, the system of apartheid in South Africa. Apartheid violated all the principles which the Organization was dedicated to upholding. It must be dismantled. New Zealand urgently called on Pretoria to heed the repeated demands for justice and equality. The first steps would be immediately to terminate the state of emergency, to release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and to bring the representatives of the black majority into the political process on a democratic basis. New Zealand had made known its willingness to implement comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa if adopted by the Security Council. In the meantime it had already implemented Stage 1 of the sanctions agreed by the Commonwealth Heads of Government at Nassau.

31. The right of peoples to self-determination was proclaimed in the United Nations Charter. In 1960 the General Assembly had adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. New Zealand had voted in favour of that Declaration and had fully supported its implementation. It also had supported resolution 1541 (XV) which set out the factors which determined whether a Territory was non-self-governing in terms of the Charter and the Declaration. In three of the four Non-Self-Governing Territories for which New Zealand had originally been responsible, that responsibility had been transferred to the peoples of those Territories. Today New Zealand continued to exercise responsibility for Tokelau, and the Mission which New Zealand had invited to visit the Territory in 1986 had reported in most positive terms to the Committee of 24.

32. The continuing denial of self-determination to the Namibian people had been the subject of a Special Session of the Assembly just a few weeks ago. Her Government would not accept anything short of the full implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. There could be no alternative to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

33. Ms. PULIDO (Venezuela) said that the international community was crying out for an end to be put to the régime built on colonialism and contempt for human dignity imposed on the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. Venezuela had consistently supported and implemented the measures adopted by the United Nations to eliminate racial discrimination and was a party to the most important international instruments on human rights. It was a matter of concern that the proposals to impose sanctions on the Pretoria régime and to take effective measures against it had not prospered in the Security Council. As part of activities planned by Venezuela to commemorate the International Year of Peace, an information campaign on the fight against apartheid had been envisaged, and Mrs. Winnie Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu had been invited to visit Venezuela. Her Government regarded as extremely useful the preparation of the manual referred to in paragraph 30 of document A/41/551 and all the activities conducted by the mass media to combat racism and racial discrimination, including seminars and studies.

34. Venezuela contributed to various funds to promote the struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination and to assist the victims of those evils. It welcomed the fact that the total number of States parties to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination had grown to 124, but regrettably, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had been unable to hold the sessions planned for the summer. The work of that Committee should be given wider publicity.

35. Mr. HUANG Jiahua (China) said that the brutal policies of South Africa were the most blatant manifestation of violations of fundamental human rights and were the root cause of troubles in southern Africa. In spite of the relentless efforts of the international community and the United Nations, the South African authorities, wilfully acting in defiance of international opposition and condemnation, had continued to commit atrocities. According to incomplete statistics, in less than one year, more than 1,000 people had been killed and 20,000 had been arrested without trial and subjected to inhuman treatment.

36. The plight of the Namibian people under the South African racist régime's illegal occupation was also very serious and was a situation that had lasted for over 70 years. It was intolerable that the South African authorities had launched repeated air, naval and ground attacks against the front-line States to force them to abandon their support for the just struggle of the people of South Africa and Namibia. The facts had repeatedly demonstrated the futility of persuasion, mere condemnation and so-called "constructive engagement". The international community should exert greater pressure on South Africa while rendering more effective political, moral and material assistance to the people of South Africa and Namibia. The pressure for sanctions against South Africa was growing daily, and any country that assumed a position of indifference, acquiescence or even connivance in the face of the atrocities committed by the South African authorities would only suffer damage to its international image. It was encouraging that an increasing number of countries, including some Western countries, had adopted measures of various kinds. China, which had strictly abided by the relevant United Nations resolutions by not maintaining any political, economic or trade relations with South Africa, took the view that only by completely removing the barbaric system of apartheid in South Africa could the people there enjoy equality, human rights and freedom and genuine peace and stability.

37. Ms. CHOWDHURY (Bangladesh) said that her Government had always supported all efforts for the total elimination of racism and racial discrimination and had advocated the granting of full political, economic and social rights to the black majority in South Africa. The obstinacy and intransigence of the racist régime of South Africa in refusing to recognize the existing realities must be countered by an intensification of the combined endeavours of the international community for the transfer of power to the true representatives of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa.

38. Bangladesh totally rejected the fraudulent system of bantustanization and the legality of any attempts to perpetuate artificially the division of the people of South Africa and deny them rights of full citizenship in their own land. A concerted campaign must be directed towards the complete and total isolation of the apartheid régime on all fronts. Within its limited capacity, Bangladesh was eager to contribute its due share, and it maintained no diplomatic, economic or any other relations with the racist régime in South Africa.

39. The work of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on southern Africa of the Commission on Human Rights, which examined the situation of human rights in South Africa and Namibia, was of particular relevance, and its activities should continue, particularly those relating to the establishment of an international tribunal to try persons guilty of the crime of apartheid. Her delegation gave its full support to the establishment of such a tribunal.

40. One of the important steps taken in 1986 in the context of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade was the seminar held at Yaoundé from 28 April to 9 May 1986. The conclusions and recommendations adopted by the seminar were highly commendable, and Bangladesh attached particular importance to the recommendations relating to the intensification of educational, training and information activities as well as those calling for the immediate and unconditional release of all freedom fighters struggling for self-determination and against colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

41. Ms. ILIC (Yugoslavia), referring to information given by the Secretary-General on the situation of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) (A/41/561 and Add.1), expressed concern that that Committee had been unable to hold its thirty-fourth session. Of greater concern still was the fact that such a situation had arisen because Member States - 73 of them according to the most recent document - had not paid their contributions on time. That situation called for urgent measures so that CERD would be able to continue its work.

42. The work of CERD was exceptionally important for the international community's struggle to eliminate racial discrimination and apartheid. In view of the large number of unpaid contributions, it should perhaps be recalled that CERD was not financed from the regular United Nations budget. If it could not hold its meetings and carry out its important tasks for lack of its own financial resources, a way would have to be found to overcome the existing situation and create conditions in which CERD could carry on its normal work. Her delegation proposed addressing an urgent appeal to States parties to the Convention to fulfil their financial obligations and, towards the same end, exploring the possibility of

(Ms. Ilic, Yugoslavia)

holding an urgent meeting of States parties during the current session of the General Assembly. Such a meeting was all the more necessary since the next regular meeting of States parties was not scheduled until early 1988. Yugoslavia was open to any other suggestions that would lead to a solution to the existing situation.

43. Mrs. MAJID (Pakistan) said that her delegation shared the concerns of the international community and attached great importance to its efforts to eliminate racism and racial discrimination. The most serious threat to those efforts was the abominable system of apartheid.

44. Pakistan had traditionally lent its moral and material support to the cause of peoples struggling against any form of oppression, alien domination or discrimination. Its steadfast support to the courageous peoples of South Africa and Namibia in their struggle against apartheid emanated from the eternal precepts of Islamic faith which upheld the equality, freedom and dignity of all peoples, irrespective of race, colour or creed, and from Pakistan's own colonial experience and struggle for independence. Pakistan therefore condemned the Pretoria régime for its abominable policies of apartheid in South Africa and Namibia and demanded the unconditional release of all political prisoners. It also reaffirmed its continued support for the South West Africa People's Organization as the sole representative of the Namibian people.

45. Pakistan condemned Israel's inhuman and oppressive policies against the Arab and Palestinian populations in the occupied territories and reaffirmed its solidarity with the Palestinian people. It called on the world community to assume its international obligations and to compel Israel to restore the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

46. Apartheid could not be reformed, it could only be eliminated. To that end, the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter was imperative. Pakistan supported the Plan of Action of the Seminar on International Assistance and Support to Peoples and Movements Struggling against Colonialism, Racism, Racial Discrimination and Apartheid held in Cameroon, which endorsed the objectives of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

47. A special tribute should be paid to Mr. Khalifa, Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, whose latest report provided a substantive basis for the adoption of further action.

48. The functions of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination should be strengthened so that it could examine the problem of racism and racial discrimination in all signatory States and, in particular, South Africa. It was regrettable that, for the first time since its establishment, the Committee had been unable to hold its summer session and to present its annual report to the General Assembly. That situation had arisen because a number of States parties to the Convention had not paid their assessed contributions for a number of years.

(Mrs. Majid, Pakistan)

49. It was encouraging that the Working Group on the Drafting of an International Convention for the Protection of the Rights of Migrant Workers and Their Families was making progress towards elaborating the draft Convention, to which Pakistan attached great importance.

50. Pakistan reiterated its whole-hearted support for the objectives of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Pakistan hoped that Member States which had not yet acceded to the latter Convention would do so as soon as possible, in order to give it greater universality.

51. Mrs. MATVEYEVA (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that it was extremely important for peoples to be able to enjoy their right to self-determination and independence, for denial of those rights sparked regional conflicts which aggravated international tensions.

52. The dangerous situation in southern Africa was a matter of grave concern. Events of the past two years had shown the aggressive nature of the apartheid policy imposed by the Pretoria régime, which was using repression to ensure the continued subjugation of the black population, who were the constant victims of human rights violations. Apartheid was a crime against humanity and constituted a threat to international peace and security. There could be no peace and stability in South Africa until apartheid was eliminated.

53. Some Western countries and transnational corporations which co-operated closely with the South African régime and enabled it to build up its repressive machinery were perpetuating Pretoria's power and hindering the eradication of apartheid and the achievement of independence for Namibia. Not only was Pretoria exploiting the population's manpower but it was also plundering Namibia's natural resources. The régime offered very favourable conditions to international monopolies, as the excellent report of the Special Rapporteur, Mr. Khalifa, showed. The problem of Namibia could be solved only if the Namibian people were unconditionally guaranteed the enjoyment of their right to self-determination and independence, and if the South African army of occupation was withdrawn.

54. The right of peoples to self-determination and national independence was also being violated in Palestine, while acts of aggression were occurring constantly in Lebanon. Her country condemned Tel Aviv's annexationist policy, the bombing of Palestinian camps in order to demoralize the Palestinian liberation movement, and the acts of aggression in south Lebanon. Peace and stability in the region could be achieved only through a political agreement involving all the parties concerned and based on recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

55. The independence of the small Territories must also be achieved. The size of a Territory should not be used as a pretext for denying independence to its people. The right of self-determination meant the freedom to choose the economic and social system best suited to solving a country's problems. There were countries which openly claimed the right to pass judgement on the legitimacy of the

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(Mrs. Matveyeva, Ukrainian SSR)

Governments of other countries and which exerted undue political, economic and military influence. To do so, they used State terrorism and even resorted to armed aggression, as had happened against Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Libya. Her country condemned all attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of other sovereign States in order to halt and suppress the progressive social and economic reforms which were vital to the exercise of a people's right to self-determination. The use of mercenaries was particular cause for concern.

56. The Secretariat had not complied with the request addressed to it in Economic and Social Council resolution 1986/43. It was strange that the Special Rapporteur mentioned in that resolution had not been appointed.

57. The Committee should study the proposal submitted by the Ukrainian SSR to the General Assembly to the effect that in order to enhance the effectiveness of efforts to protect the peoples of the world from outside aggression, the General Assembly should begin working on the concept of the rights of peoples and the rights which constituted the basis for implementing human rights (A/41/PV.23, p. 32).

58. Mrs. KOZAKOV-MARCOULIIS (Cyprus) said that it was deplorable that, well into the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, millions of people were still suffering from appalling conditions of hunger, poverty, illiteracy, oppression, domination and despair because of the colour of their skin or because of their ethnic origin, language or religion. Human dignity and fundamental human rights could not be observed selectively. The international community had drawn up international norms which reflected the wishes of the peoples and Governments of the world in that respect. In South Africa, however, the abominable system of apartheid persisted and most South African blacks continued to be the innocent victims of a brutal repression and a shameful and inhuman racial discrimination which had intensified in the past year. The eradication of apartheid was the collective responsibility of all the peoples and Governments of the world. The fact was that all the resolutions, decisions and declarations adopted to eradicate those ills had not been effectively implemented. Cyprus had no relations whatsoever with the racist régime of South Africa. The time had come to step up concerted action and, in particular, to intensify the arms embargo and adopt comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, for sanctions were the last remaining peaceful means to eliminate apartheid. Those issues must be publicized and discussed more widely in order to help increase public awareness of the urgency of the question.

59. Cyprus welcomed the valuable work done by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. It hoped that the Committee's current financial situation would be resolved quickly and that all States parties would fulfil their obligations in that regard. Cyprus endorsed Yugoslavia's proposal that an urgent meeting of States parties to the Convention be held during the current session of the General Assembly.

60. Mr. MOHAMMED (Iraq), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the statements of the Zionist representative could not cover up the real situation. It was an historical fact, well known to the international community, that the Zionist movement was a racist and expansionist movement which, by reason of its aggressive character, associated itself with the South African régime with which it shared common interests and a similar ideology.

61. For Muslims, the Jewish faith was as respected as any other. Zionism, however, which was supposed to protect the Jews, actually harmed them. Many Jews rejected zionism, considering it a racist philosophy, as the yearly demonstrations opposite the United Nations by Jews condemning the Tel Aviv Government and rejecting its policies showed. The Jewish people and the Zionist movement were two separate and distinct things: Judaism was a religion, zionism was an ideology. The State of Israel had been created by the Zionist movement, a political organization less than a century old which was trying to change its character from a religious to a political entity. Zionists set themselves up as representatives of the entire Jewish people, but that was not true because they had not been elected legitimately, they had gained control through trickery. Those so-called representatives declared that Jews who practised racial discrimination were renouncing their Judaism, but that was precisely what the leaders of the State of Israel were doing. The founders of zionism had all been atheists who rejected the Torah. They represented neither Jews nor Semites. Iraq was also a Semitic country and, viewed from that standpoint, zionism was anti-Semitic.

62. Zionism would lead to destruction, for it had been imposed on the Jewish people by force, through fraud and terror. Condemnation of zionism was an international obligation, for that was a movement which differentiated between peoples. It was not a question of hating Jews but of denouncing zionism and its asseverations. Jews had lived among Arabs for centuries as citizens with equal status. The conflicts had begun through the fault of zionism.

63. Mrs. POO YANINE (Democratic Kampuchea), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said in connection with the item on self-determination of peoples that the arrogance of the delegation of Viet Nam in claiming to speak on behalf of the people of Kampuchea in order to reject the resolution adopted by the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations showed that that country was applying an aggressive and expansionist policy against Kampuchea and other neighbouring countries in the region. Viet Nam claimed to have sent volunteer forces to Kampuchea to save the Khmer people for humanitarian reasons. She wondered whether the United Nations Charter contained a principle justifying Viet Nam's interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

64. The representative of Viet Nam had spoken of the wonderful growth of Democratic Kampuchea, but the occupation had transformed a rice-exporting country into a ruined one. If Viet Nam was sincere, it would have to respect the right of the people of Kampuchea to self-determination, withdraw its troops and allow the Khmer people to elect its own government in free elections.

(Mrs. Poo Yanine, Democratic
Kampuchea)

65. On 17 March 1986 the President of Democratic Kampuchea had presented a proposal for achieving a peaceful solution to that problem, giving the Government of Viet Nam an opportunity to respond to the appeal of the international community to end the conflict created by its own forces of occupation. Nowhere in the statement of the representative of Viet Nam was there any indication of a desire to heed the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, however, although that would help to relieve the tense situation in South-East Asia. Viet Nam could not maintain its expansionist policy, it must face the consequences of its aggression and renounce the law of the jungle. Viet Nam had tried to create an Indo-Chinese federation under Vietnamese control. The fact that there were over 700,000 Vietnamese nationals in Kampuchea bore witness to the "Vietnamization" plans of the forces of occupation.

66. Mr. ABOU-HADID (Syrian Arab Republic) said that he would not have exercised his right of reply had the representative of Israel not referred to his country and the friendly relations it maintained with the Soviet Union, which were based on equality, mutual respect and co-operation.

67. There were many Syrian citizens who professed the Jewish religion, as many American Senators had found when, on visits to Syria, they had met with members of those communities. The representative of Israel was trying to deceive public opinion, presenting Israel as the innocent victim of Arab hatred, fascism and nazism, and was attempting to equate zionism with Judaism, saying that to attack zionism was to be anti-Semitic, which was not the case. Various studies indicated that zionism was the result of a colonial expansionist movement in the nineteenth century, which had affected Jewish communities. That had given rise to the Zionist bourgeoisie, which used the methods invented by capitalism and imperialism to achieve domination over other peoples, subjecting them to its influence. Zionism was trying to reinterpret Jewish history from its standpoint in order to rule the people according to its interests and ambitions, and used its contacts with imperialism to get rid of all those who hindered the achievement of its aims.

68. Mr. TERZI (Observer, Palestine Liberation Organization) asked whether the representative of Israel really claimed to be the spokesman for all Jews, regardless of their citizenship and of the fact that they enjoyed rights in their own countries. That would be a perpetuation of aryanism. He also wondered how one defined a Jew, since even in Israel that issue was far from settled. He wondered whether the Zionists of Begin's party who had collaborated with the Nazi régime were Jews, and whether General Amos Yaaron, who had been sentenced by an Israeli court for his complicity in the genocide at Sabra and Shatila, was really a Jew or simply a wild animal. Moreover, General Yaaron had been reinstated in the Israeli army and received as military attaché in Washington. Thus, there was collusion between the United States and Israel with a view to eliminating the Palestine refugees.

69. The representative of Israel had condemned apartheid, but how then Israel could continue to support the diamond market which brought it over \$100 million a year? He would also like to know whether Israel had two sets of laws: one for Jews, regardless of their nationality, and the other for non-Jews, particularly Palestinians, whether Christian or Muslim, who wanted to exercise their inalienable right to return to their country.

(Mr. Terzi, Observer, PLO)

70. He wondered how a régime could be more racist and discrimination more deplorable, especially when it was institutionalized. Zionism denied the Palestinians' inalienable right to live in freedom and achieve self-determination simply because they were not Jews.

71. Mr. AMSELEM (United States of America) said that the Government of Viet Nam was one of the most racist in the world, as the situation of the people of Kampuchea and of minorities in Viet Nam, who were subjugated and tortured by the Hanoi régime, showed.

72. Since the representative of Viet Nam had referred to security against the nuclear threat, he should also talk about the right of the people of Kampuchea to live free from bayonets and tanks and the Vietnamese occupation, i.e., to live in freedom and exercise their right of self-determination.

73. Mrs. YOUNG (United Kingdom) said that the countries of the European Communities attached great importance to the topic under discussion but had complied with the Chairman's appeal that delegations restrict themselves to two statements. She hoped that other delegations would make a similar effort so as not to create an imbalance in the discussion.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.