

THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION FOR THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

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I. Alliance Against Racism :

The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination,¹ was unanimously adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 21, 1965. It is ratified, so far, by one-hundred states, as a significant tool to combat racism comprehensively, with an international machinery to control the implementation of obligations on the part of the signatories. However, for the Convention to become truly effective in the global struggle, a greater degree of compliance with its provisions is necessary. There is certainly need for all kinds of efforts that contribute to action for the destruction of every manifestation of racial discrimination. The Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination² was conceived by the U.N. General Assembly, in resolution 2734 (XXVI) of December 6, 1971, as a means for vigorous and continued mobilisation in the ever-growing struggle against racial discrimination in all its manifestations.

The International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (EAFORD) is one of the results of this mobilisation. By the time it was established in 1976, the international community had come to realize the inherent quest for alliance of all forms of racism, whether they be in

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1 U. N., World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, A / CONF. 92 / 6.

2 U.N., *Yearbook of the United Nations: 1971*, New York, Office of Public Information, 1974, pp. 398-405.

South Africa, the United States, the United Kingdom, Palestine, Southern Lebanon or Australia. The role of organisations such as the EAFORD is paramount, since they serve as two-way means of communication between the United Nations system and large sectors of the public. They are helpful in arousing public interest against the evil of racist practices, and they mobilize this interest for action.

On July 24-28, 1976, an International Symposium was convened in Tripoli, the capital of the Socialist Peoples' Libyan Arab Jemahiriya.³ It was attended by close to five-hundred participants from eighty countries representing all continents. There were also representatives of international and regional organisations. The International Symposium, cognizant of the fact that racism was a world problem and a danger to peace in general as well as an assault on human dignity, established "The International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination", in conformity with the United Nations General Assembly declaration in favour of a Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and the resolution of the same body on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.

II. The U. N. on Racial Discrimination:

One may remind briefly at this point that the United Nations has devoted major attention to the problems of racial discrimination since its very inception. Article 1 of the U.N. Charter declares respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction of race, sex, language or religion. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) states that human beings are born free and equal. The General Assembly, as early as 1952, emphasized that the full application and implementation of the principle of non-discrimination be constituted the primary objective in the work of all U.N. organs. In 1960, the General Assembly condemned all manifestations and practices of racial hatred in all spheres of life.⁴

3 EAFORD, *Annual Report: 1976-1977*, Tripoli, 1978.

4 U.N., *Yearbook of the United Nations: 1960*, New York, O.P.I., 1962, pp. 147-151.

In 1963, the General Assembly adopted a resolution affirming the necessity of adopting national and international measures aimed at speedily eliminating racial discrimination throughout the world, in all its forms and manifestations. By the same resolution, the General Assembly proclaimed the U.N. Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.⁵ Article 1 of the said Declaration reads: "Discrimination between human beings on the grounds of race, colour or ethnic origin is an offence to human dignity and shall be condemned as a denial of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, as a violation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as an obstacle to friendly and peaceful relations among nations and as a fact capable of disturbing peace and security among peoples."

In 1965, the General Assembly adopted, as indicated above, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Article 1 of the Convention defines racial discrimination as "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life." The Convention states that parties to it express their conviction that any doctrine of superiority based on racial differentiation is scientifically wrong, morally condemnable, socially unjust and that there is no justification for racial discrimination in theory or in practice anywhere.

The International Conference on Human Rights held in Teheran in 1968,⁶ in observance of the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed that the peoples of the world ought to be made aware of the evils of racial discrimination and ought to join in combatting them.

5 U.N., *Yearbook of the United Nations: 1963*, New York, O.P.I., 1965, pp. 357-358.

6 U. N., *International Conference on Human Rights*, Teheran, Iran, 22 April-13 May 1968; U. N., *Yearbook on Human Rights for 1968*, New York, 1970, pp. 457-458.

In 1973, the General Assembly adopted the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*.⁷ The parties to it have declared that *apartheid* is a crime against humanity and called for certain measures necessary to suppress as well as to prevent any encouragement of the crime of *apartheid* and similar segregationist policies.

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights⁸ (which entered into force in 1976) put into binding legal form the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

And on November 10, 1975, the General Assembly determined that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination".⁹ In this deliberation, the G.A. recalled its resolutions of 1963 and 1973 and took note of the declaration of Mexico in 1975 (which promulgated the principle that "international cooperation and peace require the achievement of national liberation and independence, the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, zionism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in all its forms"), the resolution adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity held in Kampala in 1975 (which considered "that the racist régime in occupied Palestine and racist régimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa have a common imperialist origin, forming a whole and having the same racist structure and being organically linked in their policy aimed at repression of the dignity and integrity of the human being") and the Political Declaration and Strategy adopted at the Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held in Lima (Peru) in 1975 (which most severely condemned Zionism as a threat to world peace and security).

III. International Symposium on Zionism and Racism:

The Zionists and their supporters responded to this resolution by mounting a campaign to discredit the U.N. General

7 U. N., *Objective: Justice*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (January-March 1974), pp. 13-14.

8 U.N. *The International Covenants on Human Rights and Optional Protocol*, New York, 1976.

9 U. N., *Resolutions of the General Assembly at Its Thirtieth Regular Session: 16 September-17 December 1975*, pp. 177.

Assembly which had voted for it. In order to provide an opportunity to study racism and Zionism, within the context of the definition of racial discrimination accepted by the international community, the Libyan Bar Association held the International Symposium, mentioned above, to deflect the attacks levelled against the General Assembly as well as to encourage the struggle for the rights of man. At the symposium, papers by invitation, were presented by a number of participants, the majority of whom came from countries which had not voted in support of the U.N. resolution on Zionism. A selection of the papers were later published in English under the title of *Zionism and Racism*. This book is also to appear in Arabic, French, German, Greek, Portuguese, Spanish and Turkish.

The symposium, which established the EAFORD, approved its Statute and elected its first Executive Council, composed of intellectuals representing different nationalities, religions and continents. The symposium recognized the need to step up the struggle against different forms of racism and organize efforts to this end. It resolved that the International Organisation it has created adopt all means contributing to the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, in particular *Apartheid* and Zionism, and organize efforts to collect information and of racism and its danger to human community and world peace through publications, conferences, symposia and other means, to confirm the moral values of equality without discrimination, to support movements of liberation from colonialism, racism and imperialism and to expose the inter-relationship of the last three mentioned.

The International Symposium also issued a Declaration which noted that racism diminished man, denying some equal human status while attributing to others greater dignity and special privileges. The Declaration upheld that whatever diminished some, diminished all. Consequently, all mankind had a stake in racism and ethnocentrism, ruthlessly practised in some parts of the world. Further noting that racist ethnocentrism was inescapably self-centered whereas anti-racism was universal, it reiterated that the cause of anti-racism was therefore espoused by the international community as a whole. The Declaration has rightly stated that anti-racism is no longer viewed

as the cause of the immediate victims of a particular system alone, and that just as the triumph over a particular racist system was not a triumph for its victims alone but for all mankind, so too ought the struggle against the remaining outposts of racism be a world struggle.

The Declaration has welcomed the adoption by the U.N. General Assembly the resolution in 1975 which determined that Zionism was a form of racism and racial discrimination. That pronouncement had given formal expression to the growing recognition throughout the world of the racist character of Zionism, its dogma, its program and its practices. The slogan that anti-Zionism was actually anti-Semitism is predicated on the false equation of Judaism with Zionism, and the equally false equation of Jews with Zionists.

IV. *The Critics of Zionism:*

The allegation that anti-Zionism is anti-Semitism is denied by the fact that Judaism is incompatible with Zionism, that the most forceful opposition to it has come from the Jews themselves, and that the majority of Jews have not identified themselves with Zionism or performed its first obligation, namely migration to Israel. For instance, the collection of letters exchanged between Rabbi Elmer Berger and the White House staff gives an excellent perspective of the Jewish non-Zionist thought.¹⁰ The same Jewish thinker's other book is also very important for understanding Jewish opposition to Zionism. Other Jewish-American historians have provided us with fully researched and documented studies of Zionism. Lienthal, for instance, has discussed the role of Zionist organizations and their influence over the executive branch of the U.S. Government as well as the news media.¹¹ It will be remembered that he was one of the very few to warn against the forceful creation of the "Jewish State".¹² Moshe Me-

10 Elmer Berger, *Letters and Non-Letters*, Beirut, Institute for Palestine Studies (hereafter referred to as IPS), 1972; ———, *Who Knows Better Must Say So*, New York, Book Mailer, 1955.

11 Alfred M. Lienthal, *The Other Side of the Coin*, New York, Devin-Adair, 1965.

12 ———, *What Price Israel*, Beirut, IPS, 1969. This is a reprint of the 1953 version of the book. The author argues against the Zionist ideas and policies, showing them to be contrary to Jewish spiritual values. He also examines the suffering inflicted on the Arabs of Palestine.

nuhim's book is a short study of Jewish leaders and writers who are against Zionism and the "Jewish State".¹³ The author takes a humanitarian, universalist view of Judaism. Mezvinsky, also an American Jewish historian, analyzes the laws and regulations of Israel that give it a racist character.¹⁴ Menuhim, in some other works, shows that modern Zionism has nothing to do with Judaism.¹⁵ He concludes with calling for the de-Zionization of Israel.¹⁶ Selzer, another Jewish-American, calls for the transformation of Israel into a Middle Eastern society that can co-exist with the Arabs.¹⁷ The same author, in another study, focuses on Zionist policies through the use of anti-semitism as a lable.¹⁸ He has also edited a collection of selected articles by Jewish theologians and intellectuals who questioned Zionism.¹⁹ Most of the articles, being written in the early 1900's, are of historical value. Achad Haam's article (1898) stands in opposition to Herzl. Isaac Deutscher questions the concept of Jewish nation-state. Hannah Arendt questions some of the basic concepts of Zionism in the light of recent developments. Gary V. Smith's collection of twenty-one essays by prominent Jewish writers is another important presentation of humanist, anti-Zionist positions.²⁰ The French Jewish Orientalist Maxime Rodinson²¹ is critical of Zionism and outlines the solution on the basis of co-existence.

There are also criticisms emanating from Israel. Arie Bober has collected excellent articles dealing with the historical context of the problem, the present class nature of Israel and a critique of the Zionist ideology.²² The Israeli writer Amos Kenan's critical

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- 13 Moshe Menuhim, *Jewish Critics of Zionism*, New York, Arab Information Center, 1973.
- 14 Norton Mezvinsky, *The Character of the State of Israel*, London, Free Palestine, 1972.
- 15 Moshe Menuhim, *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time*, Beirut, IPS, 1969.
- 16 ———, *Quo Vadis Zionist Israel*, Beirut, IPS, 1969.
- 17 Michael Selzer, *The Aryanization of the Jewish State*, New York, Black Star Book, 1967.
- 18 ———, *Israel as a Factor in Jewish-Gentile Relations in America*, New York, American Council for Judaism, 1968.
- 19 ———, ed., *Zionism Reconsidered: the Rejection of Jewish Normalcy*, London, Macmillan, 1970.
- 20 Gary V. Smith, ed., *Zionism: the Dream and the Reality*, New York, Harper and Row, 1974.
- 21 Maxime Rodinson, *Israel and the Arabs*, New York, Pantheon, 1968.
- 22 Arie Bober, ed., *The Other Israel: the Radical Case Against Zionism*, New York, Doubleday, 1972.

articles, published originally in the daily *Yedioth Ahronoth*, has been re-printed.²³ Hengbi, Machover and Orr, all Israeli intellectuals, have given us brilliant analysis of the class nature of Israel, the Zionist origins of the State, the colonial nature of its creation and its alliance with world capital.²⁴ Uri Avnery's book is an interesting analysis of the conflict from an Israeli non-Zionist view.²⁵ Mike Rubin criticizes Israeli policies of discrimination of the Palestinians.²⁶ An Israeli intellectual's letter to the Israeli Minister of Information is critical of Zionist occupation of Arab lands and the treatment of the Arabs.²⁷ Dr. Israel Shahaq, the Chairman of the Israeli League for Human Rights, has published convincing statements about the denial of civil and human rights in Israel.²⁸ Felicia Langer has documented Israeli persecution, oppression and torture of Palestinian Arabs with cases and names.²⁹ The author, born in Poland of Jewish parents with a husband who is a survivor of Buchenwald, is an Israeli lawyer courageously defending the rights of the Palestinians. Israel Shahaq, who has contributed a very valuable "Foreword" to Langer's book, rightly states that this publication could be a beginning of a great change not only in Israel, but also in the way the world looks at the conflict. First published in Israel, it is true that every attempt was made to silence it; only three bookshops had agreed to sell it. But the English and French versions may be read and discussed. World opinion has started to see the light. The "image" of Israel and the Zionist movement does not correspond to the reality in Israeli life. Israel is *not* a "democratic state". Throughout its history, the non-Jews, as the Palestinians are called in Israel, have been expelled, arrested, tortured, properties confiscated and have suffered various forms of oppres-

23 Amos Kenan, *Israel: A Wasted Victory*, Tel Aviv, Amikan-Tel Aviv Publishers, 1970.

24 Haim Hanegbi, Moshe Machover and Akiva Orr, *The Class Nature of Israel*, Washington, D.C., Middle East Research Project, 1973.

25 Uri Avnery, *Israel Without Zionists*, New York, Macmillan, 1968.

26 Mike Rubin, *An Israeli Workers' Answer*, New York, Committee to Support Middle East Liberation, 1970.

27 Jacob Talmon, *An Open Letter to Y. Galili*, New York, Arab Information Center, 1969.

28 Israel Shahaq, *Civil Rights in Israel Today*, London, Committee for Justice in the Middle East, 1972.

29 Felicia Langer, *With My Own Eyes*, London, Ithaca Press, 1975.

sion. Even the Jewish *kibbutz* is a racist institution which forbids the Palestinian to enter. The only way to help not only the Arabs, but also the majority of Jews, who commit the sin of keeping silent, is to lend a concerned ear to the Israeli critics of Zionism and the Zionist state.

There have been, of course, socialist perspectives of the criticism of Zionism. Peter Buch, an ex-Israeli, deals with the myth of "progressive" Israel, shows the racist attitude towards the Arabs as well as the relationship between Israel and Imperialism.³⁰ Abraham Leon's book, valuable for an understanding of the development of Zionism, rejects territorial "solutions" and advocates socialist change.³¹ Hyman Lumer documents Israel's role as a base for protecting imperialist interests.³² An American researcher shows the ties of Israeli economy with American firms.³³ A British writer criticizes Israel's ties with imperialism.³⁴ Three Americans have dealt with the roots of the conflict from a socialist point of view.³⁵ Rita Freed is another American who shows how Israeli policies are part of Western attempts to dominate and exploit the Middle East.³⁶ An Egyptian and an Israeli have written an exceptionally good book critical of Zionism from the socialist view.³⁷ A San Francisco publication presents excellent articles by "radical" Western writers.³⁸ Weinstock and Rothchild try to show that Zionism and socialism are incompatible.³⁹

30 Peter Buch, *Burning Issues of the Middle East Crisis*, New York, Pathfinder, 1967; ———, *Zionism and the Arab Revolution*, New York, Pathfinder, 1967.

31 Abraham Leon, *The Jewish Question*, New York, Pathfinder, 1970.

32 Hyman Lumer, *Zionism: Its Role in World Politics*, New York, International Publishers, 1973.

33 Larry Lockwood, *Imperialism and the Israeli Economy*, Buffalo, N. Y., Middle East Research Center, 1973.

34 Bert Ramelson, *The Middle East: Crisis, Causes, Solution*, London, 1967.

35 Dave Frankel, Dick Roberts and Tony Thomas, *War in the Middle East: the Socialist View*, New York, Pathfinder, 1973.

36 Rita Freed, *In the Mideast*, New York, Committee to Support Middle East Liberation, 1969.

37 Ahmed El-Kodsy and Eli Lobel, *The Arab World and Israel*, New York, Monthly Review, 1970.

38 Russell Stetler, ed., *Palestine: the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, San Francisco, Ramparts Press, 1972.

39 Nathan Weinstock and Jon Rothschild, *The Truth About Israel and Zionism*, New York, Pathfinder, 1970.

These references are by no means complete. Nor they are meant to be so. It is not even necessary here to give the Arab perspectives. The works of Fayez A. Sayegh,⁴⁰ Walid Khalidi,⁴¹ Abdel Wahab El-Messiri,⁴² Assad Razzouk,⁴³ Ibrahim Al-Adib,⁴⁴ George J. Tomeh⁴⁵ and many others are well known. They all examine Zionist diplomacy to colonize Arab lands. Zionism certainly derives from Nineteenth Century European imperialism. Israel itself could not have been created without the central role of the United States and some European powers. Zionism initially ignored the actual inhabitants of Palestine, later isolated, then slowly dispossessing and finally evicting, even going to the extend of exterminating them. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod gives a comprehensive scholarly picture of how Palestine got transformed.⁴⁶ Sami Hadawi is an eminent Palestinian Arab who experienced the British Mandate and the Zionist conquest of Palestine.⁴⁷ Amin Rihani's book reflects the views of the Arab intellectuals in the 1940's.⁴⁸ Fawaz Turki's book is an account of the Palestinian diaspora written from the personal experience of a

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- 40 Fayez A. Sayegh has published, among others, the following: *The Zionist Diplomacy*, Beirut, PRC, 1969; *The Non-Colonial Zionism of Abba Eban*, Washington, D.C., Arab Information Center, 1972; *Palestine Refugees*, Washington, D.C., Amara Press, 1952; *The Record of Israel at the United Nations*, New York, Arab States Delegations Office at the U.N., 1957; *Arab Unity: Hope and Fulfillment*, New York, Devin-Adair, 1958; *Zionism: A Form of Racism and Racial Discrimination*, Chicago, Medina Press, 1976; *Palestine, Israel and Peace*, New York, Friendship Press, 1970; *Zionist Colonialism in Palestine*, Beirut, PRC, 1965; *The Dynamics of Neutralism in the Arab World*, San Francisco, Chandler, 1963.
- 41 Walid Khalidi, ed., *From Heaven to Conquest*, Beirut, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1971. This is a comprehensive collection on the history of Zionism and Palestine by a leading Palestinian scholar. The articles represent diverse views by figures like Eban, Weizmann, Gurion, Glubb, Berger and Childers.
- 42 Abdel Wahab El-Messiri, *Israel: Base of Western Imperialism*, New York, Committee to Support Middle East Liberation, 1969.
- 43 As'sad Razzouk, *Greater Israel*, Beirut, PRC, 1970.
- 44 Ibrahim Al-Adib, ed., *Selected Essays on the Palestine Question*, Beirut, PRC, 1969.
- 45 George J. Tomeh, *Immigration or Mobilization*, Beirut, PRC, 1974.
- 46 Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, ed., *The Transformation of Palestine*, Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1971.
- 47 Sami Hadawi, *Bitter Harvest: Palestine, 1914-1967*, New York, the New World Press, 1967.
- 48 Amin Rihani, *The Fate of Palestine*, Beirut, Rihani Printing House, 1967.

Palestinian exile.⁴⁹ Khalid Kishtainy's work is another Arab perspective of the tragedy of the Palestinians.⁵⁰ Henry Cattan, another Palestinian, calls for a solution on the basis of an end to the Zionist character of the state of Israel and the creation of a secular state.⁵¹ Al-Hakam Darwaza outlines the same solution.⁵² One may read, with interest, the personal and moving study of the Palestinian tragedy through the life of Musa Alami, written by an ex-British official.⁵³ Dodd and Barakat's book is one of the few important works on the Palestinian refugees of 1967.⁵⁴ These studies are only a handful of the many more scholarly books by the Arabs themselves. The title of Abboushi's volume is most appropriate.⁵⁵

And not only the Arabs! The Western non-Zionist views conform to the objective studies describing the Zionist plans to colonize Palestine. W.H. Brownlee, an American scholar who lived in Jerusalem in 1947-1948, raises basic questions about the legality and morality of creating a Jewish state by force.⁵⁶ Pamela Ferguson has provided us with a factual study of the conflict.⁵⁷ Doreen Ingrams has analyzed the roots of the struggle.⁵⁸ G.W. Robert, an American, documents Zionist conquest of Palestine through illegal immigration and resort to force.⁵⁹ R.P.

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- 49 Fawaz Turki, *The Disinherited: Journal of a Palestinian Exile*, New York, Monthly Review, 1972.
 - 50 Khalid Kishtainy, *Whither Israel? A Study of Zionist Expansionism*, Beirut, PRC, 1970.
 - 51 Henry Cattan, *The Dimensions of the Palestine Problem*, Beirut, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1967.
 - 52 Al-Hakam Darwaza, *The Palestine Question: A Brief Analysis*, Beirut, PRC, 1973.
 - 53 Sir Geoffrey Furlonge, *Palestine is My Country: the Story of Musa Alami*, New York, Praeger, 1969.
 - 54 Peter Dodd and Halim Barakat, *River Without Bridges*, Beirut, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1969.
 - 55 W.F. Abboushi, *The Angry Arabs*, Philadelphia, the Westminster Press, 1974.
 - 56 William Hugh Brownlee, *Rights and Wrongs in Palestine*, Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, California, 1972.
 - 57 Pamela Ferguson, *The Palestine Problem*, London, Martin Brian and O'Keaffe, 1973.
 - 58 Doreen Ingrams, *Palestine Papers: 1917-1922, Seeds of Conflict*, New York, George Braziller, 1972.
 - 59 George W. Robert, *Conquest Through Immigration*, California, Institute for Special Research, 1968.

Stevens' book evaluates Zionism as a movement of Western colonialism.⁶⁰ Another American, A.R. Taylor gives excellent information on Zionist power in the United States in the 1930's and the 1940's.⁶¹ S.J. Roberts examines Israel's policies in the light of its dependence on an external super-power.⁶² Adams⁶³, Bentwich⁶⁴, Ellis⁶⁵, Epp⁶⁶, Forest⁶⁷, Pryce-Jones⁶⁸, Waines⁶⁹ and many other Western analysts follow more or less the same line of thought.

Not only in the opinion of Arabs,⁷⁰ but of many Westerners as well⁷¹, Zionism displayed in Palestine a dogma, a program and an action of racial discrimination against the "non-Jews". There are excellent monographs on the United Nations treatment of the Palestine question. Sayegh and Soukkary have compiled 74 U.N. resolutions from 1967 to 1971.⁷² This book is important in examining the reactions of the international community to Israeli

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- 60 Richard P. Stevens, *Zionism and Palestine Before the Mandate: A Phase of Western Imperialism*, Beirut, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1972.
- 61 Alan R. Taylor, *Prelude to Israel: 1897-1947*, Beirut, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1970.
- 62 Samuel J. Roberts, *Survival or Hegemony? The Foundations of Israeli Foreign Policy*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- 63 Michael Adams, *Chaos or Rebirth: the Arab Outlook*. London, BBC, 1968.
- 64 Norman Bentwich, *Israel: Two Fateful Years, 1967-1969*, London, Elek, 1970.
- 65 Harry B. Ellis, *The Dilemma of Israel*, Washington, D. C., American Enterprise Institute, 1970.
- 66 Frank H. Epp, *Whose Land is Palestine?* Grand Rapids, Michigan, Ferdmans, 1970.
- 67 A.C. Forest, *The Unholy Land*, Toronto, McClelland and Steward, 1971. This is an eye-witness account of the plight of the Palestinian people by a Canadian priest.
- 68 David Pryce-Jones, *The Face of Defeat*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973.
- 69 David Waines, *The Unholy War: Israel and Palestine, 1897-1971*, Montreal, Chateau Books, 1971.
- 70 For instance: Ibrahim Al-Abid, *Israel and Human Rights*, Beirut, PRC, 1969; Bassam Bishuit, *The Role of the Zionist Terror in the Creation of Israel*, Beirut, PRC, 1969; Sami Hadawi, *Crime and No Punishment*, Beirut, PRC, 1972.
- 71 For instance: Louis Eaks, *Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Israel*, London, Union of Liberal Student Report, 1972.
- 72 Fayez A. Sayegh and Sohair Soukkary, *Palestine: Concordance of U. N. Resolutions, 1967-1971*, New York, New World Press, 1971.

policies. Mazerik's book deals with the U.N. handling of the Arab Israeli war.⁷³ Buchrig deals with the UNRWA assistance to the Palestinian refugees.⁷⁴ J. H. Davis was the ex-head of UNRWA and has examined the colonization of Palestine.⁷⁵

It is an established fact that Zionism is the political philosophy on which the state of Israel is founded. It is an ideology of settler-colonialism, calling on the Jews, regardless of country of birth or nationality, to observe the "Law of Return" and settle in Palestine, and one of segregation, evicting the indigenous inhabitants of the same land. While every Jew everywhere theoretically has the right to "return" to Palestine, the majority of the indigenous Palestinians are prevented from exercising the same right and the minority of Palestinians, living within the borders of Israel, are denied equal rights. The ugly fact is that racial discrimination is perpetrated by the Zionist state. It is practised against the Palestinians, Oriental and Black Jews and progressive Israelis. It is, of course, no wonder, then, that Israel has expanded links with the other bastion of racism—South Africa. Some authors have dwelled on this subject. But it was Richard P. Stevens who brought to daylight a number of neglected dimensions of Israel's relations with South Africa. He has proved that Zionist links with South African white power go back to the origins of both.⁷⁶ Israel, being a colonial settlement itself, is inherently hostile to national liberation and anti-racist movements.

V. *The Racist Alliance :*

As all bastions of racism and racial discrimination collaborate, complement and assist each other, there is a growing awareness of the need to bring together states, international and national organizations and liberation movements committed to

73 A.G. Mazerik, ed., *The Arab-Israeli Conflict and the U. N.*, New York, International Review Service, 1967.

74 Edward H. Buchrig, *The U. N. and the Palestinian Refugees*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1971.

75 John H. Davis, *The Evasive Peace*, New York, New World Press, 1968.

76 Richard P. Stevens and Abdelwahab M. Elmessiri, *Israel and South Africa*, New Jersey, North American, 1977. Prof. Stevens also wrote *Weizmann and Smuts, American Zionism and U.S. Foreign Policy: 1942-47*, as well as numerous articles in *Africa Report*, *Journal of Modern African Studies* and *Africa Today*. Also see *supra*, fn. 60.

the struggle against racism on all continents. The victories against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialist aggression and domination, the advances of the national liberation movements, the growth of the forces fighting racial discrimination and the expansion of the forces of peace are opening the door for a final assault to liquidate racism totally. The World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held on August 14–25, 1978, in Geneva, was world-wide. All states, as well as the U. N. Council for Namibia, were invited as participants, and the representatives of national liberation movements, of organizations that have a standing invitation from the General Assembly, the specialized agencies concerned, interested inter-governmental organizations, the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the Commission on Human Rights, other interested organs of the United Nations and many non-governmental organizations attended as observers. Opening the World Conference, the U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim called upon all governments, non-governmental organizations and peoples in every nation to commit themselves to fulfilling the fundamental freedoms.⁷⁷ Leslie O. Harriman, the Chairman of the Special Committee Against *Apartheid*, noted that the situation in South Africa has become even more serious during the first half of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.⁷⁸ The U.N. Security Council finally adopted a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa in November, 1977. Mr. Harriman, in another talk, found this action as too late and not comprehensive enough to prevent further expansion of the military machine of the *apartheid* régime. Furthermore, it is true that there has been no progress at all on economic and other measures, except for limited steps by the Nordic countries and some Western states. But the three permanent members of the Security Council, namely the United States, Great Britain and France, joined by the Federal Republic of Germany, are increasing their investments in South Africa. In 1978, South Africa has obtained 300 million dollars in loan, mainly from the F.R.G. and Switzerland. The Western powers are also aiding South Africa to acquire nuclear

77 U. N., Geneva, Press Release RD / 23, SG /SM /359, 14 August 1978.

78 U. N., Geneva, Press Release GA /AP /50, RD /37, 21 August 1978.

weapons. Consequently, the *apartheid* régime is launching even more violent repression against the black population. In spite of the universal condemnation of the Bantustan practice, the South African racists are preparing the "independence of "Vendaland", another Bantustan scheme. They have committed an aggression against Angola in 1978 and have murdered Namibian refugees. Facing such increasing barbarism of the South African racists, especially after the notorious Soweto massacre of school children, the oppressed blacks have stepped up their armed resistance.

It is with a great sense of urgency that one looks forward to decisive action for the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. There is no point in merely reiterating condemnation of racism, but failing to take proper action. Governments should stop collaboration with the racist régimes and provide all assistance to the oppressed peoples. Public organizations such as the trade unions, religious centers and youth should effectively join campaigns to support the fighters against racial discrimination. The peoples of the world should promote all necessary moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements.

The U.N. Security Council is expected to take urgent and effective measures to prevent the *apartheid* régime from acquiring nuclear weapons and to impose sanctions on South Africa while all governments have to implement fully the arms embargo against the fascist ruling circle in Pretoria. There is a movement to observe effectively Soweto Day (June 16), South Africa Freedom Day (June 26) and Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners (October 11). The international community awaits the full implementation of the U.N. General Assembly Resolution adopted at the Special Session on Namibia held in May 1978, the total support of SWAPO as the sole authentic representative of the peoples of Namibia, the observance of August 26 as "Namibia Day", the immediate release of all Namibian political prisoners and the unconditional withdrawal of all South African forces from Namibia. The right to self-determination of the people of the Western Sahara as well as the people of Chad and Zaire to set up political régimes of their democratic choice are also among the demands of the international community. The same democratic circles reject the sinister intrigues of imperialism aiming to keep in power the hated minority in Zimbabwe. The sham

"internal agreement" reached in Salisbury is another scheme to further delay Zimbabwe's independence. All support ought to be rendered to the Patriotic Front, the sole true representative of the Zimbabwe people. Similarly, the international community condemns the NATO military intervention in the Shaha Province of Zaire, carried out by French and Belgian paratroops transported by American aircraft. It also denounces French military interventions which aim at the destabilisation of the progressive régimes of Algeria and Angola. French military interventions have also violated the rights of the peoples of Western Sahara, Chad and Zaire.

The world is already aware of the policy of the American Government in support of racist and oppressive régimes everywhere. It is common knowledge that the same circles pursue a policy of racism, genocide and racial discrimination against the very peoples of the United States, including the Native Americans, the Black Americans, the Mexicans, the Chicanos, the Asians, the Puerto Ricans and other Latin Americans. There is an obvious contradiction between these facts and the official U.S. Government line concerning human rights in the world. It ought to be remembered in this connection that it is the U.S. Government (with Israel) which has "boycotted" the World Conference in Geneva in late 1978, that the same has been consistently voting against all resolutions favouring national liberation movements. It is to be recognized that the U.S. ruling circles are the most important bastion of racism exporting this vicious ideology to other parts of the globe or supporting them wherever they may be found. It is no wonder, then that the U.S. is a friend of racist power in South Africa or in Israel. Therefore, it is of great significance to join forces with the democratic organizations and movements in the U.S. There is even a revival of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazism in that country. That part of the world, conscious that racism is a crime against humanity, considers the efforts of the American people defending human rights against such acts of the Congress and the Judiciary as HR 9054 or the bill to dispossess the Native Americans of their lands, resources and wealth, as being true to the ideals of the Founding Fathers of that country.

More and more people also realize that racism is being

institutionalized by the British immigration laws and that the British society is becoming increasingly intolerant towards the African, Asian and other coloured people living in the United Kingdom. Fascist and semi-fascist organizations such as the National Front, already notorious for their violence against the coloured, are emerging on the British Isles. One expects that the Immigration Act of 1971 be repealed and the Race Relations Act be made operative against all racists. The Aboriginal People of Australia are also fighting for their inalienable rights in their traditional homeland, expropriated without the consent of these people.

VI. Conclusion :

It is of utmost importance that the work against the inhuman evil of racism, whether it be in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, the United States, Britain, Australia or in Palestine, be continued and expanded. The will to combat the abomination of all forms of racial discrimination is universal. International organizations such as the EAFORD, several United Nations organs and other interested bodies as well as the national liberation movements, be it the SWAPO, ANC, the Patriotic Front or the PLO, attest to the universal belief in the equal dignity of human beings. The International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination is an important body trying to help transform into effective action through national as well as world-wide programs this firm determination to combat racial discrimination. It searches for ways and means through which this struggle can be rendered more effective.