



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 10th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. HAMFR (Netherlands)

later: Miss BROŠŇÁKOVÁ (Czechoslovakia)

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

EARTHQUAKE IN EL SALVADOR

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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AGENDA ITEM 88: IMPORTANCE OF THE UNIVERSAL REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND OF THE SPEEDY GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES FOR THE EFFECTIVE GUARANTEE AND OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS: REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/41/433 and Add.1; A/41/133-S/17760, A/41/282, A/41/607)

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(a) **REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION**

(b) **STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL**

(c) **STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF APARTHEID: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL**

1. The CHAIRMAN, speaking on behalf of the members of the Committee, extended his sympathy to the Government of El Salvador in connection with the recent earthquake in that country.

2. Ms. KAMAL (Secretary of the Committee) announced that the Governments of Chile and Italy had paid their outstanding assessed contributions to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

3. Mr. KABORE (Burkina Faso), after expressing his condolences to the Government and people of El Salvador, commended Mr. Jonah, Mr. Nyamekye and Mr. Khalifa on their clear presentation of the problems under consideration. Moreover, there seemed to be a consensus concerning the need to eradicate racism and racial discrimination.

(Mr. Kabore, Burkina Faso)

4. The United Nations had been considering the question of apartheid since 1948, but it had never been able to solve the problem, because the Member States lacked the political will to put an end to the system. However, not everything was lost, since public opinion had been condemning the systematic violation of the most fundamental human rights for the previous 40 years.

5. His country welcomed the pressure that the people of the United States had exerted on its representatives, which had led to the adoption of limited sanctions against South Africa, and expressed the hope that the executive branch of that country would comply with the sacred wishes of its people. All peoples whose Governments were opposed to sanctions must continue to exert pressure on them so that comprehensive, mandatory sanctions could be imposed against South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

6. A comparative analysis of the documents under consideration showed that apartheid was, without a doubt, the most odious of all forms of racism and racial discrimination. The international community must therefore adopt the necessary measures to eradicate the apartheid system. Popular demonstrations against the régime of South Africa had been held in Burkina Faso between 1984 and 1986.

7. The President of his country had publicly condemned South Africa in a speech to the General Assembly in 1984. In 1985, the Minister for Foreign Affairs had held a press conference on apartheid and, in 1986, had organized an international seminar on sanctions against South Africa. In addition, meetings had been held to make people more aware of the struggle against apartheid.

8. Since the system of apartheid was the root cause of the difficult situation prevailing in southern Africa, its eradication would settle the question of Namibia and all the problems relating to the acts of aggression and occupation perpetrated by South Africa against its neighbours. His country urged the international community, and above all the Western Powers, to stop its support for South Africa and to apply the sanctions recommended by the United Nations, OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

9. His country had closely monitored the discussions of the Working Group on the Drafting of an International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and their Families. Although it had not had time to submit its comments thereon, it would take the necessary steps to do so in due time.

10. Mr. POERSCHKE (German Democratic Republic) expressed his sympathy with the people and Government of El Salvador and his appreciation for the report introduced by Mr. Khalifa, which contained a detailed list of all the States giving military, political, economic and other forms of assistance to Pretoria. The report of the Special Rapporteur pointed out that numerous imperialist monopolies were using the South African population, which had been stripped of its rights, to earn substantial profits. All attempts to cover up the machinations of those corporations by humanitarian talk had failed miserably. The so-called Sullivan Principles and all other codes of conduct were a farce intended to deceive world

(Mr. Poerschke, German Democratic Republic)

public opinion. With their investments, technologies and products, transnational corporations were the main pillar of the economy and of the cruel military and police apparatus of the apartheid régime.

11. Complicity with the racists was the main obstacle to dismantling apartheid. The steps taken so far by the international community were insufficient, since the apartheid régime was still alive and might even further expand its policy of State terrorism. Given the dramatic situation in southern Africa, the activities of the international community to isolate still further the Botha régime had increased.

12. The Security Council must impose comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Arguments that the black people were too strongly affected by sanctions were reduced to absurdity by the struggle waged by the representatives of those same population groups and by the front-line States for the imposition of sanctions.

13. It was imperative that every State, within the limits of its national jurisdiction, take steps to stop corporations from collaborating with the South African régime. Numerous United Nations resolutions had reaffirmed the commitment of States to put an end to that collaboration. Taking action against those companies would be an active way to support the South African people in their struggle for the enjoyment of human rights and freedom. For that reason, and to define the compensation claims in concrete terms, it was essential to have a list of the monopolies supporting apartheid. His country advocated the renewal of Mr. Khalifa's mandate to enable him to update the list of those backing the apartheid régime.

14. Miss AIOUAZE (Algeria) said that racism and racial discrimination continued to be the most serious and pervasive infringements of human rights in the world and that appropriate measures must be found to eradicate them completely. Racist ideologies, by their very nature, allowed for the use of force and aggression to ensure their evil rule over entire populations. The situation in South Africa was based on a discriminatory constitutional system founded on racial superiority, which the United Nations rightly condemned as a crime against mankind. The breadth of the irreversible movement of resistance against the system, under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC), demonstrated that the apartheid system was unable to control the course of events and stifle the legitimate aspirations of the black community. The only way for the international community to eliminate apartheid was to impose comprehensive, mandatory sanctions.

15. The situation was identical in Palestine, which was occupied by the Zionist régime. It was characterized in particular by the use of repressive practices aimed at denying the very existence of the Palestinian people. If a lasting peace was to be obtained in the Middle East, the national rights of the Palestinian people, including their inalienable right to form an independent State, must be respected.

(Miss Aiouaze, Algeria)

16. For decades colonialism had been the main reason for denying entire populations the right to self-determination and, even at present, the subjection of some peoples continued to be the major obstacle to the enjoyment of fundamental human rights. Despite United Nations resolutions, the racist régime of Pretoria continued its illegal occupation of Namibia. Coercive measures must be used, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to enable the Namibian people to attain their right to self-determination and independence.

17. A colonial situation still existed in western Sahara, and the African peace plan, adopted by the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, remained the only way of upholding the legitimate claims of the Saharan people.

18. The implementation of measures planned for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had clearly been progressively undermined by problems which could not be ascribed purely to financial difficulties. In the name of consensus, the activities undertaken by the United Nations system had moved in a direction which could not be considered the most effective way of eliminating racism and racial discrimination. Algeria considered it essential to conduct a campaign for the complete elimination of all forms of racism and the dismantling of the apartheid system. There must be an end to all forms of assistance given to the racist régime of Pretoria by certain Western States, in violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

19. Algeria welcomed the report contained in document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1987/8 and felt that serious consideration should be given to Mr. Khalifa's request for two economists to assist him. In that connection, Algeria would like to draw attention to Economic and Social Council decision 1986/145.

20. She acknowledged the vital role played by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) which, in its work, was bound to respect the provisions of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Algeria endorsed the position of several members of CERD, which had stressed the importance of CERD's practice in respect of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories and all other territories to which General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) applied. Consequently, in accordance with the provisions of article 15 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, only administering Powers could provide information about territories to which General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) applied.

21. Mrs. KALININA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that racism and violations of the right to self-determination were flagrant and massive abuses of human rights which threatened peace and security in various parts of the world. The apartheid system denied the peoples of South Africa and Namibia their right to self-determination. That criminal system must be brought to an end.

22. Israel had confirmed once again its unwillingness to recognize the right of peoples to self-determination and its contempt for human rights and United Nations decisions. Its ideas on the supremacy of the chosen people, the Zionists, and

(Mrs. Kalinina, USSR)

domination over other peoples were the ideological and political basis for its aggressive conduct, which was an insult to the dignity and honour of the Jewish people of Israel and formed the main obstacle to a peaceful and equitable settlement in the Middle East.

23. Although the overwhelming majority of former colonies had gained independence, there were still colonial territories whose peoples were denied the right to self-determination. The administering Power of Micronesia was pursuing a policy of absorption and, in an attempt to terminate the Trusteeship Agreement, it was rapidly transforming the Territory by force into a military and strategic stronghold in the Pacific. The USSR called for strict compliance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

24. Recently, the flagrant violation of the right to self-determination had emerged in a new and dangerous form, namely the attempts of the United States of America to force changes in the social and political system of various independent developing countries. The United States of America had declared a policy of neo-globalism, had trained and equipped mercenary terrorist forces and had conducted and financed undeclared wars against Nicaragua, Angola, Afghanistan, Mozambique, Kampuchea and Ethiopia, not forgetting the recent attack on Libyan cities. At the same time, the United States of America was conducting a disinformation campaign against those peoples and their legitimate governments. Those actions, which infringed fundamental human rights and freedoms, must be stopped.

25. During the Committee's debates, there had been attempts to misrepresent the current situation in Afghanistan. The country had undergone a national democratic revolution whose social base was growing stronger and more widespread. There was a clear-cut programme for a peaceful settlement to the conflict, and all that was necessary was to refrain from interfering in that process. It was not true that the number of Soviet troops had increased; on the contrary, six regiments would begin to withdraw on 15 October. They formed part of the limited contingent which had been sent at the request of the Afghan Government.

26. There had also been an attempt to present a false picture of the situation in Kampuchea. It was inadmissible that the destiny of an entire people should be sacrificed to further the geo-political interests of certain States. The USSR supported the constructive proposals submitted by Kampuchea, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Viet Nam.

27. Mrs. COLL (Ireland) recalled that, every year since the International Conference on Human Rights in Teheran in 1968, the General Assembly had reaffirmed the importance of agenda item 88. The close link between the right to self-determination and the enjoyment of fundamental human freedoms was expressed in resolution 1514 (XV), in the International Covenants on Human Rights and, more recently, in a study submitted to the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

(Mrs. Coll, Ireland)

28. Namibia had experienced the most brutal and destructive violation of human rights: the apartheid régime imposed by South Africa. Although the attention of the whole world was focused more closely than ever on the situation in southern Africa, there was still no solution in sight. Only collective action on the part of the international community could persuade South Africa to put an end to apartheid. Ireland supported the imposition of effective and mandatory sanctions by the Security Council, and all countries must implement them fully. The Member States of the United Nations had pledged themselves to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without any distinction, and they could not evade the responsibility incumbent upon them to put an end to apartheid and establish a universally acceptable framework for the enjoyment by the Namibian people of all its rights.

29. For 19 years, the Palestinian people had been deprived of its right to self-determination and subjected to violations of all its fundamental freedoms. Ireland favoured a comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict which would guarantee justice for the Palestinian people and security for Israel within recognized frontiers. Such a solution must be based on Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.

30. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, which had lasted for seven years, must not be allowed to continue. The people of Afghanistan was deprived of its inalienable right to choose its own form of government and its own political, economic and social system without foreign intervention or coercion.

31. Likewise, in the case of Kampuchea the presence of foreign forces was a violation of the right of peoples to determine their own way of life, and the abuses which took place there were similar to those in Afghanistan mentioned above.

32. Miss BROŠŇÁKOVÁ (Czechoslovakia) said that, in the forum of the United Nations, words and phrases were sometimes used in a way which deprived them of their original meaning. The right to self-determination of peoples did not deserve such a fate. Without that right, other fundamental freedoms could not be enjoyed; however, at present, the so-called policy of "neo-globalism", referring to State terrorism and open aggression, gave rise to doubts about the possibility of protecting human rights.

33. The international community had witnessed the flagrant violations of human rights in Namibia, which suffered under the yoke of racism and colonialism. South Africa's most powerful allies could not claim that Namibia enjoyed the right to self-determination. It was those allies which prevented the implementation of the concrete measures proposed by the United Nations. Those same allies were creating serious obstacles by vetoing sanctions and by establishing a spurious link between the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the granting of independence to Namibia. Similarly, they refused to recognize SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

(Miss Brošňáková, Czechoslovakia)

34. In order to restore the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination, it was essential to hand back the territories illegally occupied by Israel. Otherwise, there could be no settlement of the dispute and an explosive situation might arise in the Middle East.
35. Czechoslovakia vigorously condemned the policies of South Africa and Israel, as the international community had already done and denounced countries which participated directly or indirectly in the violation of the fundamental rights of peoples. Those countries were attempting to force their will upon sovereign States by economic and political pressure, including armed intervention. To justify that attitude, they claimed to be defending certain democratic values or even civilization itself. That was a tendency that could be observed daily in the international relations of certain States.
36. The United Nations, which had adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, had paved the way for independence and the exercise of self-determination for many countries and should continue to safeguard and respect those rights. In that context, the proposal made by the socialist countries during the forty-first session of the General Assembly for a comprehensive system to monitor international security should be given consideration. The United Nations should establish material, moral and legal guarantees to eliminate threats to the right of peoples to self-determination.
37. The relationship between the right to self-determination and other human rights was considered as part of the agenda of the Third Committee. That called to mind the people of Nicaragua and Cuba, who were living under a continuous threat, of Afghanistan, of Libya, which had recently been the victim of a brutal armed attack, and other countries where human rights were consistently being violated. Furthermore, it was necessary to condemn the arbitrary attitude and proposal for a free association of the administering Power of Micronesia; its real intention was to annex those territories in flagrant violation of the right of peoples to self-determination.
38. Czechoslovakia thought that the United Nations should intervene more energetically to promote the economic independence of all peoples. To that end, international economic relations must be restructured. The United Nations should oppose colonialism and reject colonialist designs more effectively by adopting a different approach to the principle of the sovereign equality of Member States.
39. Mrs. SARANGEREL (Mongolia) called for the complete and definitive elimination of the abominable system of apartheid, which persisted in South Africa thanks to the complicity of the imperialist forces supporting the Government of South Africa. Several Western Powers had been co-operating with that country and encouraging the exploitation by their companies of southern Africa's human and natural resources. The international community was concerned over the new acts of aggression committed by the authorities of South Africa against Angola, Mozambique and other front-line States, which were motivated by a policy of State terrorism which constituted a serious threat to international peace and security.

(Mrs. Sarangerel, Mongolia)

40. Disregarding the resolutions of the United Nations, the racist régime of South Africa persisted in its illegal occupation of Namibia. Her delegation believed that the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia was the sole recognized basis for a peaceful solution to the Namibian question and supported and respected all the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations condemning apartheid and isolating the racist régime. It also supported the implementation of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Article 7 of the Charter of the United Nations.

41. Her delegation supported the efforts of the United Nations to implement the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and the documents adopted at the International Conference on Sanctions Against South Africa and the International Conference on Namibia. In order to eliminate racism and apartheid, the number of parties to 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 should be increased. Mongolia therefore called upon those States that had not already done so to adhere to those Conventions. It commended the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the constructive dialogue between the Committee and the States Parties to the Convention.

42. Her delegation denounced the genocide and violation of the inalienable rights of the Palestine people practised by Israel in disregard of the will of the international community. The Palestinian problem was the crux of the problem of the Middle East, and it could not be settled without respect for the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination. Her delegation declared its solidarity with the struggle of that people for its right to self-determination, return to its homeland and the establishment of its own independent State. It also denounced the colonial occupation of many small territories by colonial Powers which, in their eagerness to retain them, were imposing demands on them and using them as strategic arms depots. Her delegation hoped that those peoples would be able to exercise their right to self-determination. It condemned the acts of aggression against States which, like Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Kampuchea, were endeavouring to preserve their freedom and self-determination.

43. The struggle for peace and against the danger of thermonuclear war was closely bound up with the struggle of peoples for national and social liberation and against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid. During the International Year of Peace, very important conferences had been held on the application of sanctions against South Africa and the granting of independence to the Namibian people as well as the special session of the General Assembly on Namibia, and the international community should work towards implementing the decisions they had adopted. For its part, the Mongolian People's Republic would continue to participate actively in all efforts to put an end to racism and apartheid.

44. Mr. LØKEN (Norway), speaking on behalf of the five Nordic countries, paid a tribute to the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (A/41/551) and the importance it had attached to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, a system that had been condemned repeatedly by the Nordic countries. The legal reforms adopted recently by the Government of South Africa were mainly cosmetic. Any delay in the evolution of the apartheid system would diminish the opportunities for a peaceful solution to the conflict there.

45. The Nordic countries supported the comprehensive and mandatory sanctions adopted by the Security Council, considering them to be the most effective instrument for achieving the goal of abolishing apartheid and, for its part, had adopted a wide range of unilateral measures against apartheid in accordance with the joint Nordic Programme of Action against South Africa. They would intensify their planning for the early implementation of possible decisions by the Security Council and would continue their efforts to encourage other countries to increase international pressure on South Africa. The Nordic countries would also increase humanitarian assistance to southern Africa and development assistance to the front-line States.

46. The updated list of companies that had relations with South Africa, which appeared in Mr. Khalifa's report, was incomplete, inaccurate and, to a certain degree, selective. However, steps taken to improve its accuracy were welcomed.

47. It was important to retain the broad scope of the Decade Against Racism and Racial Discrimination, whose purpose was to function as an organizational framework for the United Nations system in its struggle to eliminate all instances of racist practice. UNESCO had done valuable work in the field of race relations, but the other organs of the United Nations system should also consider how they could contribute towards the implementation of the Programme of Action for the Decade. It would be worth considering whether to convene another round table on explaining the problems of racial discrimination. The Round Table on international legal issues relating to apartheid, racism and racial discrimination held at The Hague in September 1985 had concentrated on the role that the media could play in explaining the issues at stake. The Nordic delegations underscored the importance of involving those media in the struggle against racial discrimination.

48. The Nordic delegations noted with satisfaction the positive work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the dialogue maintained with it by the States Parties to the International Convention on All Forms of Racial Discrimination on the implementation of that Convention. But several States had not paid their assessed contributions to the Committee, and the latter had had to cancel its session last summer.

49. Ms. BARGHOUTI (Palestine Liberation Organization) said that, despite all the efforts of the international community to put an end to all forms of racism and racial discrimination, forms such as neo-colonialism, fascism and zionism remained as examples of the attempts to revive the sick ideology of racial superiority and

(Ms. Barghouti, PLO)

racial purity. Colour, ethnic origin, sex, age, religion and nationality were used by those new forms of racial discrimination to strip people of their economic, political, social and national rights.

50. Such practices were a flagrant violation of the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. Israel was a concrete manifestation of the Zionist racist ideology; its policy was based on colonialism, racism and expansionism. That policy was aimed at speeding up the creation of the so-called "national homeland" for the Jewish people.

51. The effect of the Jewish colonization in Palestine on the existing population was intimately affected by the conditions on which various Jewish bodies held, sold and left their land. Land was held as the inalienable property of the Jewish people. Jewish agencies promoted agricultural colonization based on Jewish labour. Racism was therefore inherent in Zionist policy and practice.

52. Central to Zionist racism was the law promulgated in 1950 which granted exclusive and immediate citizenship rights to members of the Jewish faith throughout the world while it denied similar rights to Palestinians who had lived in those lands for thousands of years.

53. The Israeli Nationality Law avoided the use of the word "Arab" in any of its provisions in order to give the appearance of general application and thus avoid the charge of racial discrimination. However, racial discrimination was not a question of form only, it was a question of substance and effect.

54. Several weeks ago, the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, gathered in Harare, had condemned the increasing co-operation between the racist régimes of South Africa and Israel. That was yet another testimony of the racist nature of the Zionist régime in Tel Aviv. Zionism not only victimized the Arab people of Palestine but was also directed against other peoples, particularly those of South Africa.

55. The racist nature of Israeli policies was manifested in every aspect of the lives of Arabs in Palestine. The economic, educational, social and political discrimination against the Palestinian population was well documented. Israel practised a brutal policy against Arabs in the occupied territories. Recently, a prominent Israeli human rights activist defined Israeli rule in the occupied Palestinian territories as "an apartheid system of law".

56. The situation in South Africa remained a cause of deep concern throughout the world. The racist régime was escalating its oppressive measures against the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and was increasing its attacks on the African neighbouring countries. Economic co-operation, military ties and political relations between Israel and South Africa had increased in the past decade. That collaboration had been termed a "joint arms industry". The two régimes collaborated in the field of nuclear weapons, in flagrant violation of resolution 418 (1977) of the Security Council. Both States had escalated their terrorism, militarism, and intimidation. In both cases self-determination was denied to an oppressed people, the blacks of South Africa and the Palestinians in Palestine.

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(Ms. Ba, ghouti, PLO)

57. While the Government of Israel could continue its racist policy of detention, imprisonment, expulsion, deportation and destruction of houses, towns and villages, and while it could continue to destroy the economy and to expropriate millions more dunums of Palestinian land, it could not break the Palestinian will to resist. The international community should condemn the policy of Israel. The Palestine Liberation Organization trusted that, in implementing the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the international community would adopt measures against zionism and apartheid.

58. Ms. Brošňáková (Czechoslovakia) took the Chair.

59. Mr. BASALEH (Democratic Yemen) said that racism was premised on the mistaken idea that some races were superior to others. Thanks to the concerted efforts of the peoples of different States, mankind had been able to defeat the nazism of Hitler, one of the worst forms of racism. The United Nations had been founded after that victo and among its objectives was the promotion of respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. Yet, 40 years later, the scourge of discrimination and racism had still not been overcome.

60. The United Nations had consistently condemned the policy and practice of apartheid in South Africa, which had been pursued since the white National Party achieved power in 1948. Apartheid had been declared a crime against humanity and a violation of the fundamental principles of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations. The occupation of Namibia and South Africa's aggression against neighbouring States had also been condemned. The Pretoria régime could not persist in its racist practices and policies without the support of certain Governments, particularly those of Western countries and of Israel. Democratic Yemen welcomed document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1987/8 and was in favour of imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. It was not true that sanctions would harm the black population of South Africa most; the effect of those sanctions would be insignificant in comparison with what they would suffer under the state of perpetual servitude planned by the neo-nazi régime of Pretoria.

61. In Palestine and the territories occupied by Israel, the Palestinian and Arab people continued to suffer under the Zionist régime, which dispersed and expelled the population, established new settlements, acquired land by force, destroyed houses, closed schools and universities, and sought to destroy the Palestinian identity. A just and comprehensive solution could not be found until Israel withdrew from the occupied territories, including Jerusalem. Such a solution must include the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and their right to establish an independent State in their land. The international community must support efforts to convene an International Peace Conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

62. He regretted the fact that the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had not been able to hold its second regular session in 1986 and hoped that the States parties to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination would be able to fulfil its financial obligations and its obligations with regard to the submission of reports.

63. Miss BYRNE (United States of America), after expressing sympathy to the Government and people of El Salvador in connection with the recent earthquake, reminded members of the Committee that the history of the United States was one of struggle for the expansion of individual liberty and against doctrines and dictators. The United States had welcomed millions of immigrants, of the most diverse racial, cultural and religious origins, who had come in search of political and economic freedom and who had participated fully in all aspects of national life.

64. The United States condemned South Africa's racist system of apartheid and supported all who had to cope with the daily indignities of that system. It was essential to discover means to put a rapid end to apartheid while at the same time avoiding violence as much as possible. It should not be forgotten that hasty and ill-conceived acts could lead to serious consequences for millions of people throughout southern Africa.

65. The United States had long applied a variety of sanctions against South Africa and its arms embargo had pre-dated that of the United Nations by several years; it had, however, strongly opposed sweeping punitive economic sanctions, the victims of which would be precisely those persons who, it was claimed, were to be defended. Nevertheless the United States Congress had recently approved a series of severe sanctions which would be applied strictly.

66. The report submitted under agenda item 84 was an example of an attack against apartheid without due regard for the consequences. The presence of transnational corporations in South Africa not only had not contributed to the perpetuation of the apartheid system but had substantially enhanced the living conditions of thousands of people.

67. In his report, the Special Rapporteur had gone far beyond his mandate and had engaged in personal speculation and comments on the internal policies of the United States. The report itself was no more than a list, often inaccurate, of Western corporations that had business dealings with South Africa. It added nothing to knowledge and understanding of the situation in South Africa nor did it mention that that country maintained economic relations with nearly every country represented on the Third Committee, including those belonging to the Soviet bloc. Nor had it succeeded in demonstrating that the economic links of the West with South Africa had worked to the detriment of black South Africans.

68. Leaving South Africa aside, racism continued to exist in other parts of the world. Anti-semitism was to be found in many countries, and in the United Nations, which should withdraw not only the outrageous claim that zionism was a form of racism, but also the repeated appeals of certain groups calling for the liquidation of the State of Israel.

69. Mr. Hamer (Netherlands) resumed the Chair.

70. Mr. LIM (Malaysia) denounced the racist régime of Pretoria and called for its dismantling, to which end the international community should make an effective and concerted contribution.

71. He appealed to all States to contribute generously to the solidarity fund for southern Africa set up at the recent Non-Aligned Summit in Harare and to reject firmly any rebuttals by the apartheid régime. Southern Africa must be freed from chaos and Namibia returned to its people, consistent with the thrust of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

72. He accused the great Powers of protecting and supporting Israel in its oppression of the Palestinian people, a course of action which could frustrate the efforts of the international community to find a just solution to the problem.

73. Nor must the plight of the Kampuchean people be ignored; they were the victims of blatant aggression by the military forces of Viet Nam, which had been unyielding in opposing the appeals of the international community to withdraw from the occupied territories and to participate in the search for a political solution to the problem of Kampuchea. The international community should seek more viable means to counter that aggression against a sovereign State and help the Kampuchean people, in the tragic situation in which they found themselves, to be reinstated in their rightful place in their own homeland.

74. His delegation had read with great interest the Secretary-General's report on the implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (A/41/551) and welcomed the measures adopted in that connection. Its goals could be more quickly achieved through the concerted efforts of the Member States involved. He reiterated his support for the activities and goals of the Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

75. Mr. BUZO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that all peoples had the right to self-determination and, in virtue of that right, could select the political system and the type of economic, social and cultural development of their choice. The denial of the right to self-determination was equivalent to a denial of fundamental freedoms.

76. Notwithstanding the struggle of peoples for freedom and independence, vestiges of colonialism persisted in almost 20 colonial territories. The most important centre of the phenomenon was the apartheid régime in South Africa. The racist and colonialist régime of South Africa, which relied on the support of its protectors, continued to deny the indigenous peoples of South Africa and Namibia their rights.

77. The legitimate aspirations of those peoples to self-determination and the full enjoyment of their inalienable rights could not be drowned in a bloody repression. The apartheid system was doomed to disappear. The superficial reforms and the hypocritical statements of Pretoria deceived nobody. The international community had set the eradication of the racist apartheid régime as a priority goal.

(Mr. Buzo, Byelorussian SSR)

78. The imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, would be the most appropriate means of ending the lamentable system of apartheid peacefully. The Pretoria régime was seeking a solution to the Namibia problem which would enable it to continue exploiting the natural resources of that Territory and to continue its acts of aggression against the neighbouring States. The granting of independence to Namibia would contribute to a solution of the problems of the whole of southern Africa.

79. Full implementation of the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations should not be linked with unrelated and irrelevant issues. Namibia should enjoy genuine independence and its territorial integrity and unity must be respected.

80. Certain delegations had questioned the integrity of the report prepared by Mr. Khalifa. The report brought out clearly who were the accomplices of the racist régime, and accordingly similar reports should continue to be presented in the future until an end had been put to the apartheid régime. It had also been alleged that certain socialist countries were co-operating with Pretoria; that, however, was an unfounded accusation designed to divert attention from the issue. The socialist countries maintained no links with the Pretoria régime and did not co-operate with it.

81. Israel's policy of aggression in the Middle East and particularly in the occupied Arab territories was also a cause of concern to the international community. That policy was designed to deny the Palestinian people their inalienable right to freedom and independence. A comprehensive just and lasting solution to the problem of the Middle East required the collective efforts of all interested parties and the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

82. The granting of independence to the small Territories was very urgent. The most important obstacle to achieving it was represented by military activities and the installation of military bases in those Territories. That was what was occurring in Diego Garcia, Puerto Rico, Bermuda, the Turks and Caicos Islands and other islands and Territories. The sole object of the continued existence of such situations was to preserve strategic military enclaves and to suppress the liberation movements of those countries.

83. In accordance with the so-called policy of neo-globalism, certain countries were attempting to impose their own political and economic concepts on other sovereign countries. That was demonstrated in the undeclared wars in which bands of mercenaries and terrorists were participating in places like Nicaragua and Afghanistan. It was essential to end such activities, the purpose of which was to prevent the enjoyment of self-determination and the development of peoples. His Government considered that the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence and to the free choice of their means of development must be respected.

(Mr. Buzo, Byelorussian SSR)

84. In conclusion, his delegation stressed the initiatives of the socialist countries for the creation of a comprehensive system of international security, based on unconditional respect for the right of all countries to choose, in a sovereign manner, their road to development.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.