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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 14th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus)

later: Mr. VASILYEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 111: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHLEN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/42/628; A/C.4/42/L.2)

- 1. Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway), introducing draft resolution A/C.4/42/L.2 in his capacity as Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, said that it was encouraging to note that, judging by the number of sponsors, the draft resolution enjoyed the same broad support as it had the previous year. As could be seen from the report of the Secretary-General on the activities of the Programme (A/42/628), the last three students from Zimbabwe who had received scholarships during a transitional period had just completed their studies. Accordingly, the Programme would henceforth be devoting its full attention and resources to providing educational and training assistance exclusively to South African and Namibian students.
- 2. In 1987, the number of students under the Programme had increased from 1,109 to 1,398, an increase of 20.6 per cent over the previous year. The confidence in the Programme was reflected in the increased voluntary contributions it had received and in the greater number of governmental, intergovernmental and non-governmental agencies interested in entering into co-financing and other co-operative arrangements with the Programme. Of particular note were the co-operation and standing arrangements the Programme had with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Assistance, the Institute of International Education, the African-American Institute, the World University Service, the Phelps-Stokes Foundation and the World University Service of Canada. Some of those agencies had committed themselves to administering scholarships awarded jointly with the Programme at no extra cost to the latter. In some cases, co-sponsoring agencies were providing counselling services free of charge to students under the Programme.
- 3. Because of the wider support the international campaign was receiving throughout the world, more and more educational and technical institutions were granting admission and tuition waivers to South African and Namibian students; such forms of co-sponsorship were enabling the Programme to reduce average costs, especially in the high-cost countries, and thus to make maximum use of the resources available to it. At a time when the need for education and training of young South Africans and Namib ans was increasing dramatically, it was encouraging to note that members of the international community were rising to the occasion.
- 4. The United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa was a humanitarian effort in which the United Nations could take great pride. It would no doubt assume greater significance in the future. It was to be hoped that the General Assembly would again express its strong support for the Programme and that donor countries and other member States would support the draft resolution before the Committee, which sought not only the continuation but also the expansion of the Programme.

AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (Territories not covered under other agenda items) (continued) (A/42/23 (Part VI), 111, 178, 224, 357, 417, 601, 606; A/AC.109/8 J-891, 892 and Add.1-2, 893 and Add.1, 894 and Add.1, 895, 896 and Add.1-2, 897, 898 and Add.1, 899-903, 904 and Corr.1, 905-912 and Add.1, 914, 915, 918, 921)

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5. Mr. NOEL (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)) said that southern Africa was still one of the most troubling areas in the world. In addition to the victims in South Africa and Namibia — which concerned the Fourth Committee directly — there were currently millions of refugees and displaced persons from Mozambique and Angola as a result of the well-known conflicts there. UNHCR was working closely with the Office of the Secretary-General, as well as with the Office for Emergency Operations in Africa, the Office of the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, and the various agencies of the United

(Mr. Noel)

Nations system. Furthermore, it maintained an office in each country in southern Africa and had for a number of years been co-operating with the national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations. UNHCR assistance in southern Africa during 1987 amounted to \$5,600,000 and covered some 130,000 refugees from South Africa and Namibia. Its activities in the area were outlined country by country in document A/42/264.

- At the annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the Programme of UNHCR held in Geneva from 5 to 12 October 1987, great importance had been attached to the question of southern Africa. The full text of the document adopted by consensus at that meeting, which would be included in the High Commissioner's report to the current session of the General Assembly, focused on three basic ideas: the condemnation of all violations of the rights and safety of refugees and of persons seeking asylum and, in particular, the condemnation of military attacks against refugee camps and settlement areas; the exclusively civilian and humanitarian nature of such refugee camps and areas; and the need to establish conditions that would guarantee the safety of the refugees in the camps. One of the two important decisions adopted had to do with military attacks on settlement camps. The second decision referred to preparations for an international conference on the situation of refugees and war victims in southern Africa. The Executive Committee had welcomed the proposal to convene an international conference specifically on the matter, which had been made during the latest summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity. It had also expressed the hope that the international community, the United Nations and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations would give full support to such a conference so that it could meet its objectives, and it had welcomed the fact that the Office of the High Commissioner had undertaken to provide staff and funds to assist in organizing it.
- 7. Mr. LITTAUA (World Health Organization) said that for several years, WHO had provided health-care services to refugees and migrants in southern Africa, in close collaboration with the countries in the region, various bodies and organizations of the United Nations system, and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and other organizations. Those services were aimed especially at strengthening the health infrastructure of the countries concerned, organizing training activities for health personnel, and assessing and controlling epidemics. In addition, WHO was continuing to provide health-care assistance to refugee communities in co-operation with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and other non-governmental organizations.
- 8. During the financial period 1986-1987, WHO made regular programme budget allocations to Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Zambin, in accordance with the priorities established in those countries' health development plans. The fight against contagious diseases had absorbed a significant portion of WHO regular budget appropriations. Funds also had been earmarked for family health promotion, including nutrition, and for worker health, oral hygiene, and health and health-related research.

(Mr. Littaua)

- 9. As in previous years, health personnel of the national liberation movements recognized by OAU were invited to take part in working groups on technical co-operation for developing countries, and in the World Health Assembly and the Regional Committee for Africa.
- 10. The World Health Assembly, at its thirty-ninth and fortieth sessions, decided to continue taking appropriate measures to help the front-line States, Lesotho and Swaziland to solve the acute health problems of the Namibian and South African refugees; to provide technical assistance in the health field to States which were or had been targets of destabilization by South Africa; and to intensify the assistance provided to the national liberation movements recognized by OAU.
- 11. Mr. Vasilyev (Byelorussian Soviet Sociatist Republic) took the Chair.
- 12. Mrs. TOLBERT (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) said that according to its constitutional mandate, UNESCO was to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science and culture. At its eleventh mession, the General Conference of UNESCO adopted a resolution which requested UNESCO to include within its mandate promotion of the freedom and independence of colonial territories through programmes in the fields of education, science and culture.
- 13. UNESCO's efforts were focussed on the struggle against <u>apartheid</u> and on monitoring the situation in South Africa and Namibia in the Organization's fields of competence. UNESCO was co-operating with the national liberation movements recognized by OAU, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).
- 14. As part of its programme of social sciences research, UNESCO had organized an international meeting of university researchers at Beijing from 1 to 4 September 1986 to elaborate a five-year research plan on apartheid, which included studies on apartheid and education, the political economy of South Africa, cultural resistance and manifestations, and apartheid, the family and the role of women. The importance had been noted of researching issues such as apartheid and human rights, apartheid as an obstacle to peace and development in the region, and the impact of apartheid on neighbouring countries and southern Africa as a whole. Another working group was analysing discrimination in South Africa with specific reference to women, race and political affiliation.
- 15. UNESCO was also concerned with research on the history of nationalist movements in southern Africa. A Namibian scholar conducted a study for UNESCO on the history of the Namibian people's struggle against occupation, published in 1987 under the title Namibia: Conquest and Resistance.
- 16. UNESCO had served as executing agency for a training and information project designed to upgrade women's role in development, including courses in English, mathematics and general knowledge and organized in co-operation with the Mindola

(Mrs. Tolbert)

Ecumenical Foundation in Zambia, for 40 Namibian women from SWAPO settlements in Angola and Zambia; a two-year journalism course at the Harare Polytechnic Institute in Zimbabwe; training for six students in co-operative management and basic agriculture at adult education institutions in Zambia; and a seminar on policy options for the advancement of women in Namibia, organized by the SWAPO Women's Council in co-operation with UNESCO and UNDP. UNESCO would continue co-operating with SWAPO through a new project on promotion of women's participation in development.

- 17. In natural science, UNESCO was continuing to provide assistance to the front-line States. It was assisting the Faculty of Science of the National University of Swaziland, by providing equipment and recruiting teaching personnel, and was taking part in projects for the development of solar energy and biogas in Legotho.
- 18. UNESCO was contributing to the education of refugees and had granted eight study fellowships to candidates sponsored by the national liberation movements of southern Africa, enabling them to take higher education courses in France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It also had purchased teaching material and education equipment worth \$32,000 for the education centres of SWAPO, ANC and PAC, and would pay the costs for three education officials of those liberation movements to attend the twenty-fourth session of the General Conference in 1987.
- 19. UNESCO woul continus its role as executing agency for UNDP-financed aducation projects for national liberation movements of southern Africa recognized by OAU. In the 1987-199 cycle, its collaboration would total \$7,034,000. Those projects would provide training at the primary, secondary and university levels for candidates sponsored by ANC, PAC and SWAPO and teacher training for their respective education centres through the organization and holding of seminars. As executing agency for UNDP-financed projects, UNESCO provided sports equipment, educational material and laboratory equipment to the various education centres of the national liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa, and paid the salaries of the support personnel for those centres. In accordance with the approved programme and budget for 1984-1985, the post of educational consultant was created at Dar es-balam in order to assist liberation movements in the sphere of education.
- 20. As part of its regular programme, UNESCO had granted three study fellowships to South African and Namibian refugee women: two in the field of educational planning in the United States and France, and one in vocational counselling in the United States. It was also the executing agency for eight projects financed by UNDP which provided university training to South African students, 13 of whom were women.
- 21. With regard to assistance to liberation movements recognized by the League of Arab States, the Director-General had decided to endorse the proposal to establish a special scholarship fund for students from the occupied Arab territories and had

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already requested voluntary contributions. The possibility of providing technical assistance for the Palestinian Open University project, at present temporarily located in Amman, Jordan, was also being discussed. The Director-General already had authorization through various General Conference resolutions to assist the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza Strip within the fields of UNESCO's competence.

22. Of the 23 requests for scholarships submitted for the 1986-1987 biennium, seven had been approved. Despite the current financial constraints, UNESCO had consecrated a significant portion of its programmes to the decolonization process.

AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (Territories not covered under other agenda items) (continued)

Hearing of petitioners (A/C.4/42/4/Add.3 and 7)

- 23. At the invitation of the Chairman, Miss Gilliam (International Women's Anthropology Conference) took a place at the petitioners' table.
- 24. Miss GILLIAM (International Women's Anthropology Conference) said that the organization she represented was an international organization of women social scientists and anthropologists dedicated to the development of the interests of society; hence her interest in the question of New Caledonia and her commitment to do everything possible to support that Territory's struggle for dignity. She had travelled to New Caledonia a few years previously and had been struck by the apartheid-like circumstances under which the Kanaks lived. As in South Africa, the Kanaks in New Caledonia were often arrested and were considered guilty until proven innocent, according to French law; the white settlers possessed 80 per cent of the land, which was the only arable land and contained strategic minerals. As in South Africa, Kanaks worked in a large city, but their official place of residence was the reserve, 3,733 square kilometres of barren land with scarce water.
- 25. There were other similarities with the situation in South Africa; for instance, in New Caledonia, although 85,200 Kanaks were prosumably registered to vote, 4,000 had been disenfranchised by French authorities for various reasons. Moreover, the leaders of the Front de libération nationale Kanak socialiste (FLNKS) were restricted to their own villages or reserves and some of them had been attacked by the French military even on reserve lands. Like the flag of the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, in New Caledonia it was illegal to raise the FLNKS flag. The comparison also applied to the attitude of many people who opposed independence and considered the Kanaks as savages, just good enough to work for a white master. There seemed to be a direct relationship between the amount of resources which existed in many a third-world country and the degree of poverty and oppression of the inhabitants.
- 26. Through strategic immigration, the French Government was not only structuring the electoral conditions in such a way as to delay independence but also

(Miss Gilliam)

introducing the racint ideas which were becoming ever stronger in France itself; that situation had undoubtedly influenced a so-called referendum of 13 September 1987.

- 27. The peoples of the Pacific maintained that the struggle for dignity and self-determination in that region must be seen in the context of the struggle of a nuclear-free and independent Pacific. During the recent International Conference on the Relationship Between Disarmament and Development, she had asked Mr. Patrick Henault, Deputy Director for Disarmament Affairs of the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs, at a briefing if there was a conflict over the definitions of "development" and "security" applied by the French Government to the Pacific region. Mr. Henault had replied that while France was aware of Pacific nations' views and of those of France, such a question had no place at that briefing. Her organization had disagreed with that position.
- 28. Women had been in the forefront of the independence struggle in New Caledonia, because they suffered from sexual exploitation and their access to decent wages and potential skills development was even more restricted than that of men. Groups of Kana: women had protested against torture and imprisonment and had recognized the need for a sound environment. Kanak women had also expressed concern about nuclear testing and the subsequent ecological devastation of the Pacific.
- 29. Her organization called upon the United Nations to step up its efforts to decolonize Now Caledonia, to link decolonization with the movement for a nuclear-free and independent Pacific and to be mindful of the relationship between development and independence.
- 30. Miss Gilliam withdraw.
- 31. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Loueckhote (Association de solidarité, liberté, culture et sécurité) took a place at the petitimers' table.
- 32. Mr. LOUECKHOTE (Association de solidarité, liberté, culture et sécurité) said that his Association was composed solely of citizen's of Melanesian origin who wanted to remain French, and that each of the words which made up its name corresponded to one of its objectives. In the first place, they wanted to strengthen solidarity among all the ethnic components of New Caledoria: Kanaks, the largest group (43 per cent of the population), Caladonians of European origin (37 per cent) and Polynesians, Wallisians, Chinese, Vietnamese, Indonesians and Indians (20 per cent). All those groups lived in unity and the Association opposed anyone who wanted to create discord between them. It also wanted to defend freedom, which was threatened by the FLNKS extremists; to defend freedom of expression, creed, movement, thought and all the civic freedoms of democracy. As to culture, the vast majority of the Melanesian community of New Caledonia was deeply attached to its customs and traditions and wanted to preserve them despite the jibes of FLNKS. The final objective was to maintain the security, not only of the Melanesians but also of all citizens, which was being threatened by FLNKS, the extremist elements of which were trying by violent means to prevent the holding of elections.

(Mr. Loueckhote)

- 33. To the Melanesians who wanted to remain French, FLNKS was a minority political movement that was violent, racist and anti-democratic. According to the results of the 1985 elections, FLNKS had obtained 28 per cent of the votes, and its supporters were decreasing in number; that was why its leaders had decided to bovcott the referendum of 13 September. Despite that movement's threats, only 40 per cent of the inhabitants had abstained. That was a flasco for the independence movement: if the people who never voted were excluded, they would have a maximum of only 20 per cent of the votes in New Caledonia; in other words, out of five Caledonian voters, perhaps one was in favour of independence. Even when public order had been re-established in the Territory, the violent acts committed by FLNKS in the past would not be forgotten; they included the "revolutionary tribunais" which had maltreated so many Melanesians. FLNKS was anti-democratic and racist, because it wanted to assume power by relying on a single ethnic group which it claimed to represent, stating that only Caledonians of Melanesian origin coulú vote; in other words, it desired independence for itself alone, restricting the rights of other groups and establishing a minority government on a racial basis. Those objectives contravened the relevant United Nations resolutions.
- 34. The Association had decided to appear before the Fourth Committee not because it thought that the United Nations could settle the affairs of New Caledonia that was a matter for its inhabitants but because it respected the Organization, its principl s and its Member States. It would not allow the latter to be informed about the situation in the Territory by representatives of associations which were totally ignorant of the true situation in New Caledonia or only by representatives of FLNKS. The United Nations had the right and the duty to know the truth.
- 35. The Kanak people of New Caledonia was neither oppressed nor a victim of racism. For example, the Caledonians of Melanesian origin constituted the majority in the Territorial Congress and the Governmental Council and administered three of the four regions and 19 of the 32 municipalities of New Caledonia. The traditional Territorial Council was composed exclusively of Melanesian authorities and must be consulted on all texts related to the Melanesian community, its customs and traditions. The Melanesians were full-fledged French citizens but if they so desired, they could maintain a special status by virtue of which customary law based on oral tradition was respected with regard to the rights of the individual: civil and marital status; transfer of goods, property rights. For example, it was customary to observe the principle of collective tribal ownership of land, and French law must adapt by respecting, under the supervision of the Council, Melanesian traditions.
- 36. New Caledonia had a very advanced social structure. Education was free and mandatory until the age of 14, and a University of the Southern Pacific would be inaugurated in two months. With regard to he 1th, the entire population benefited from a social security system, and the elderly received free medical assistance. Those examples sufficed to show that, in New Caledonia, there was no oppressed Kanak people, but rather a Melanesian community that enjoyed its rights and did not desire independence, as had been demonstrated in the referendum of 13 September. It would request independence if it wanted it, and the approval by the Melanesian

(Mr. Loueckhote)

majority in the Territorial Congress of a resolution requesting the Government of France to grant independence to the Territory would be sufficient. To that end, the "prior political education" referred to in document A/42/606 was not necessary. The referendum had offered a choice between attaining independence or remaining in the French Republic. There was not a single Caledonian who did not know exactly what that meant. The Caledonians were not children who did not know how to read or write; they had political parties and information media. They had not thought on 13 September that the representatives of foreign countries would declare at the United Nations that their votes had been of no value and that they had not participated in a "free and genuine act of self-determination". The population of New Caledonia acknowledged the interest shown by those countries but considered that each people should decide for itself without foreign interference.

37. Mr. Loueckhote withdrew.

AGENDA ITEM 36: QUESTION OF NAMIBIA (continued)

Hearing of organizations concerned (A/C.4/42/6/Add.13)

- 38. At the invitation of the Chairman, Miss Hill (Southern Africa Support Project) took a place at the petitioners' table.
- 39. Miss HILL (Southern Africa Support Project) said that the Southern Africa Support Project (SASP) was an African-American solidarity organization that had been working on anti-apartheid issues for almost 10 years in the Washington D.C. metropolitan area. During that period, it had raised over \$150,000 in material aid for Namibians in refugee centres in Angola, for liberation groups and for solial reconstruction projects in neighbouring States. In its aid campaigns, it emphasized community solidarity when mobilizing direct action against apartheid, and it had been able to enlist the co-operation of churches, schools, universities, merchants and radio-stations. Such public-education campaigns, as well as militant public protests, were important tools for support groups to influence United States foreign policy and corporate investments. At the same time, those acts of solidarity had raised the political consciousness of the United States public.
- 40. Efforts by United States organizations to aid the cause of liberation in southern Africa had been going on for over half a century, and since the birth of the Free South Africa Movement (FSAM) in 1984, much attention had been given to the issue of human rights and self-determination in South Africa. The majority of those organizations had operated independently of the United States Government or private foundations and without official United Nations non-governmental status.
- 41. For the past three years, SASP and other organizations had joined forc s with the FSAM to create a national political climate of protest and civil disobedience. Those protests had compelled corporations, universities and local and federal government to make substantial shifts in their relations to apartheid. Although those organizations had not neglected the Namibian issue in their activities, the mass media had given greater attention to South Africa's apartheid system and its

(Miss Hill)

atrocities against black South Africans without exposing South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and the brutal system imposed upon the Namibian people. For example, the civil disobedience of FSAM and the protest at the South African Embassy in 1984 had gained visibility in the press because of the uprising of the people in South Africa. Bishop Tutu's public outcry against the inhumanity of the South African régime coupled with Reverend Jesse Jackson's making United States foreign policy in southern Africa an election issue had also been significant factors. However, it had been the daily coverage of South African security forces brutalizing the South African population that had jarred public opinion, and although there was daily repression within Namibia, there were few immediate pictures of those atrocities or eyewitness reports.

- 42. SASP had raised funds but had not been able to encourage the press to provide daily coverage on the regional aspects of apartheid. The difficulty in waging that campaign was that the more complex the issues the press had to explain, the greater the need to highlight the issue with visual images. Conducting a successful campaign against foreign policy, however, did not depend solely on the press, but also on a grass-roots organizational base which, in addition to protesting, reached out to public constituencies and implemented an organized lobbying strategy to influence legislation. However, the access of the media and the support groups themselves to timely eyewitness accounts of what was happening inside Namibia was a critical missing element in exposing United States collaboration with South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia.
- 43. Over the past five years, SASP had worked in Washington D.C. to make Namibia an issue for the average citizen. Every year, it conducted a special material aid campaign, which in 1981, 1983 and 1984 had been entitled Namibia Week. For seven days, information was disseminated and ties promoted with the peoples of Namibia and the southern African region. The public could contribute to the refugee aid fund not as an act of charity but as a commitment to the liberation of southern Africa. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was to be commended for its assistance in facilitating the air shipment of medical supplies and educational materials to refugee centres in Angola.
- 44. In the future, the political content of SASP's work would consist of opposing the continued illegal occupation of Namibia, the United States role in perpetuating that occupation, the economic dependency of the neighbouring countries, the United States cut-back on aid to the front-line States, the United States support for UNITA and the right-wing support for the bandit group called RENAMO. Her organization would also press for stronger economic sanctions against South Africa. Along with other United States anti-apartheid movements, SASP would continue to intensify its portrayal of southern Africa as a region under siege. Her organization expressed solidarity with those peoples that were being denied the right to self-determination in other parts of the world, in particular the Kanak people of New Caledonia and the Palestinian people.
- 45. Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus) resumed the Chair.

- 46. The CHAIRMAN said that Ethiopia and Liberia had toined the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/42/L.2 on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa.
- 47. Mr. UKEIWE (France), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the statement made by Miss Gilliam showed her irresponsibility, because she did not understand the issue she had addressed. It was to be hoped that everyone had appreciated how ridiculous her comparison was between the situation of New Caledonia and apartheid in South Africa. The French of Melanesian origin were free French citizens who participated democratically in the institutions of the territory and did not need to be given lessons by so-called anthropologists.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.