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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 14th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ABULHASAN (Kuwait)

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ORGANIZATION OF WORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 87: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE SECOND DECADE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued) (A/43/3, 370, 491, 631, 637 and 644; A/C.3/43/CRP.1)

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1. Mr. GARUBA (Nigeria) congratulated the Under-Secretary-General for Human Rights for his detailed introductory statement, and endorsed the view of the overwhelming majority of representatives that racism and racial discrimination, particularly in their institutionalized form, apartheid, which had a very negative impact on the enjoyment of human rights of the black majority of South Africa, were simply unacceptable. Apartheid was a crime against humanity and the failure to eradicate it was a sad commentary on the current generation.

2. The detailed report of the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1988/6 and Add.1) demonstrated that the struggle against racism and racial discrimination was still far away from attaining its objectives. To date, the details contained in the report revealed an unsatisfactory situation about the current state of investments, direct and indirect, and, in particular, fictitious disinvestment.

3. With regard to the implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, Nigeria accorded particular importance to the activities carried out by the Centre for Human Rights, which would be instrumental in determining the success or failure of the Decade.

4. Among the activities envisaged for the Decade, those involving education were of particular importance and would be very useful in mobilizing international public opinion in the struggle against apartheid. That struggle required co-ordination and co-operation at all levels: individuals, private groups, non-governmental organizations and all bodies and specialized agencies of the United Nations. It had therefore been very appropriate that the General Assembly, in resolution 41/187, had proclaimed the period 1988-1997 as the World Decade for Cultural Development, since if children and young people in general had the same

(Mr. Garuba, Nigeria)

cultural opportunities, they would grow up to know that everyone had the same rights, irrespective of race, colour or religion.

5. So far, education had been referred to in general terms, without being more specific. The black majority of the African continent did not need to be educated about the ills of apartheid and the need to abolish it, however, nor was it necessary to inform members of the Committee about the urgent need to eradicate apartheid. There was an urgent need, though, to educate nationals of certain countries, especially those whose Governments seemed to be out of step with the basic moral values that were being violated in South Africa. It was necessary to educate the leaders of the white minority racist régime and also all those who were in any way connected with the South African régime. If education was to promote the realization of the right of self-determination and effectively guarantee the right of all peoples to freedom of speech and assembly, it followed that the oppressors rather than the oppressed needed to be educated. Perhaps it was that because the victims of racial discrimination were black the Governments of powerful countries supported racist South Africa and the apostles of apartheid .

6. With the exception only of those who enforced the policy of apartheid and their powerful friends, the members of the international community had committed themselves to the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. Although education would undoubtedly contribute to the achievement of the desired objectives, Nigeria called on all Member States of the United Nations to recognize that the only effective means of liquidating and eradicating apartheid was to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the pariah régime of Pretoria, under Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to compel it to abandon its pernicious policy of institutionalized racism and racial discrimination. Contrary to the often expressed view, the limited sanctions imposed so far against South Africa were working, as was demonstrated by two studies commissioned by the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers, of which Nigeria was a member. The practitioners of apartheid were a stubborn people and were arrogant in defying world public opinion. The international community had a moral obligation to unite its efforts to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination from the face of the earth.

7. Mr. MACKI (Oman) said that the items concerned with racism and racial discrimination were very important because of their link with human rights in general and, in particular, human rights in South Africa, Namibia and Palestine. In that respect special reference should be made to the tireless struggle of the United Nations against racism and in defence of the right of the peoples to self-determination.

8. His Government, which had historic links with various countries of Africa, supported the aspirations of that continent to find solutions to the critical problems afflicting southern Africa, particularly the problem of Namibia. It also joined in the condemnation of the racist régime of South Africa which was denying the most elementary human rights. No effort must be spared to force that régime to respect all resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978) containing the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

(Mr. Marki, Oman)

9. As noted by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Oman in the general debate of the General Assembly (A/43/PV.11): "the building of a world in which security, goodwill and harmony prevail requires that we eliminate those inhuman manifestations which the international community continues to endure, such as racial discrimination. The vile policy of racial discrimination pursued by the Government of South Africa against the black majority brings with it only increased destruction and bloodshed". Oman condemned that policy and was confident that the efforts of the international community would help the oppressed peoples of Africa realize their aspirations to freedom.

10. In that respect, Oman welcomed the progress made in the talks held under the auspices of the United States of America between Angola and Cuba, on the one hand, and South Africa, on the other, and hoped that they would make it possible to secure peace between Angola and South Africa and the independence of Namibia.

11. It should be noted, however, that the subjugation of the black majority of South Africa was possible only because of the vital political, military, economic and other assistance that the racist régime received from many sources, as noted, in particular, in the valuable report of the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1988/6 and Add.1). His Government, for its part, in harmony with the principles enshrined in its Constitution, had no ties of any kind with South Africa. The South African régime should co-operate with neighbouring States in finding a solution that was acceptable to the African peoples and included the elimination of racial discrimination.

12. His delegation affirmed its solidarity with the people of Namibia and their legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and called for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

13. The situation in the Middle East was a source of deep concern for the international community. Israel had usurped the territory of an entire people, and had subjugated them to inhuman repression. The policy of Israeli aggression in the occupied territories contradicted all the principles of international law and was thwarting the desire to secure a just and lasting peace. Israel must pay heed to the true nature of the peaceful intifadah of the Palestinian people in the occupied Arab territories and support the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East.

14. International solidarity would also help resolve the problem of the withdrawal of the foreign forces which remained in Kampuchea, despite the appeals of the international community, and were preventing the Kampuchean people from exercising their right to self-determination. The efforts of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), and particularly Indonesia, to resolve that situation should be noted. At an informal meeting held at Jakarta in July 1988, various initiatives had been adopted which could be a first step towards attaining the aspirations of peace and self-determination of the Kampuchean people.

15. Mrs. POC (Democratic Kampuchea) said that agenda item 96 was especially significant in 1988, which marks the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, because the self-determination of peoples was a prerequisite for the full enjoyment of all other human rights as well as a guarantee of international peace and security. Both International Covenants on Human Rights started by emphasizing the right of peoples to self-determination and Article 1 of the Charter stated that one of the Purposes of the Organization was "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples".

16. Unfortunately, since the end of the Second World War, the infringement of that right had generated hotbeds of tension in several parts of the world, including Namibia, South Africa, Palestine, Afghanistan and Kampuchea. In order to remove those hotbeds of tension, all Member States should respect the principles of the Charter and work together in good faith to strengthen the Organization's role and realize its noble purposes. The active political support of the United Nations had been a great source of encouragement to peoples struggling for their independence and self-determination; that support, combined with their own efforts had frustrated most of the aggressors' schemes.

17. Although there had been some positive movement towards easing tension in some regions, for almost 10 years the military occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese forces had prevented the Cambodian people from exercising their right of self-determination. The invading forces had brought destruction, ruin and boundless suffering to the Kampuchean people. Viet Nam's expansionist venture threatened peace, security and stability in South East Asia and the Asian and Pacific region and brought hardship and misery to its own people.

18. To regain their freedom and national dignity and to safeguard their national identity, the people of Kampuchea and the tripartite coalition forces had been engaged in a military and diplomatic struggle to bring Viet Nam to accept a political settlement of the problem of Kampuchea. Such a settlement implied an end to the military occupation, and the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces under international supervision and in accordance with a well-defined timetable as part of a comprehensive agreement. Thus the way would be paved for national reconciliation and the Cambodian people would be able to exercise their right of self-determination without outside interference.

19. The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea had put forward several fair and reasonable peace proposals which had been successively rejected by the aggressors. On 17 March 1986 it had put forward an eight-point peace proposal, including the formation of a quadripartite Government of national reconciliation that would include the current Vietnamese-installed régime in Phnom Penh, after the first phase of Vietnamese troop withdrawal (A/41/225). In their joint statement of 25 June 1988, the three partners of the Coalition Government had proposed that before the end of the last phase of the Vietnamese withdrawal, both the puppet Phnom Penh régime and the legal State of Democratic Kampuchea should be dismantled to pave the way for a provisional quadripartite Government under the leadership of His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk (A/43/429).

(Mrs. POC, Democratic Kampuchea)

20. Viet Nam had rejected all the Coalition Government's proposals and all the relevant United Nations resolutions, thus clearly indicating that its so-called desire for a political solution lacked sincerity. If it really wanted a political solution, it must begin by withdrawing its troops from Kampuchea.

21. Recently, Viet Nam had resorted to diplomatic manoeuvres in order to make the problem of Kampuchea look like an "internal problem" and to present itself as an "outsider" to that problem. Yet, it was well known that the problem of Kampuchea was by no means an internal problem or a civil war but a war of aggression imposed by Viet Nam, which had stationed troops and committed crimes in Kampuchea. Similarly, Viet Nam had repeatedly announced "partial withdrawals" or "total withdrawal by 1990" to give the world community a false impression while in fact it had merely rotated troops, and increasingly large numbers of the occupying forces had donned the uniforms of the puppet army, which was tantamount to a policy of "Khmerization" of the war. Viet Nam's rejection of international supervision was proof of its misleading manoeuvres and lies.

22. In the meantime, Viet Nam tried to link the total withdrawal of its troops to the cessation of all aid and assistance to the Cambodian national resistance and the non-return to power of the Khmer Rouge, in other words, of one of the main fighting forces of Democratic Kampuchea on the ground. In so doing, Viet Nam sought to blame the victim for the root cause of the problem of Kampuchea and to have the international community condone its violation of international law and the United Nations Charter. If that ploy were to succeed, the international pressure so far focused on Viet Nam would be diverted to the victim and the Cambodian resistance forces fighting inside Kampuchea would be weakened. Viet Nam would be able to sit back smugly while perpetuating its occupation and legalizing the puppet régime in Phnom Penh, and splitting and eventually breaking up the Cambodian national resistance forces, without resorting to military force. Viet Nam would thus be able to get the upper hand in Kampuchea and have the international community accept its expansionist strategy of an "Indo-China Federation", which would be a serious threat to peace and security in South East Asia.

23. Countries that loved peace and justice should bear in mind that Viet Nam could not evade responsibility for the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea. Only thus could a just and comprehensive solution, in keeping with the principles of the Charter be found to the problem. The key to any political solution was the total and unconditional withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, within the framework of a comprehensive agreement, according to a definite timetable and under international supervision. Only then could a genuine national reconciliation of all Cambodians be achieved without the presence of foreign troops.

24. Prince AL-SAUD (Saudi Arabia) said that the principle of the self-determination of all peoples and nations was as absolute a right of peoples as water and air. Without it, the basic norms of co-operation among peoples were lost and countries became a jungle in which the strong oppressed the weak. The fact that the peoples of Palestine, South Africa and Namibia were deprived of their right to self-determination was a cause of continued tension in the world. The

(Prince Al-Saud, Saudi Arabia)

situation would not improve until Israel and its partner in deception, South Africa, abided by the Declarations proclaiming the rights of peoples.

25. Saudi Arabia had always supported the struggle against imperialism as well as all freedom fighters. It supported Arab rights in Palestine and the Middle East, the right of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia to immediate independence, and the elimination of crimes and oppression against humanity.

26. The Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had earned praise for its important role in implementing the United Nations instruments on human rights and for strengthening international efforts in support of the effective enjoyment of those rights by all peoples.

27. In its resolution 42/94, the General Assembly had reaffirmed the importance, for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights, of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and in resolution 42/95 it reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for their independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial domination, apartheid and foreign occupation by all available means, including armed struggle. Those were the indispensable foundations for the social, intellectual and legal progress of mankind.

28. It emerged from the report of the Secretary-General on agenda item 96 (A/43/633) that the international relief efforts undertaken by the United Nations to assist peoples under imperialism were in general of an ameliorative character or provided assistance in education and training. It was necessary to develop the economic institutions of those peoples to enable them to stand up to foreign imperialism with all its military, political, social and economic power as well as to reach a stage of development that would assure them an acceptable degree of self-sufficiency. The success of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in establishing a Special Economic Unit (Palestinian people) to monitor and investigate the policies of the Israeli occupation authorities hampering the economic development of the occupied Palestinian territories set an example for the whole United Nations system. It showed the extent to which those who had established it understood the nature of their mission and the way in which to accomplish it.

29. At its forty-fourth session, the Commission on Human Rights had adopted several resolutions relating to the violation of human rights in the occupied Arab territories in the Middle East, including resolution 1988/1, in which it strongly condemned Israel's policy of physical violence in occupied Palestine, including breaking the bones of children, women and men, arresting and torturing thousands of Palestinians, and attempts to kidnap Palestinian children by force and transfer them to unknown places, as had happened in Dheisheh Camp and Khawlah School in Al Bireh on 1 and 3 February 1988. The Commission had also requested the General Assembly, through the Economic and Social Council, to recommend to the Security Council the adoption against Israel of the measures referred to in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations for its persistent violation of the human rights

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of the population of the Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories. Since then, Israel had continued to commit the most horrible crimes against humanity, which made it imperative to punish it.

30. The Arab human rights organisation, at a meeting held on 30 and 31 January 1988, had requested the United Nations General Assembly to take all necessary measures to ensure Israel's compliance with international norms and United Nations resolutions, principally those pertaining to the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to return to their country.

31. His delegation called for the protection of the human rights now being violated by the twin régimes of sionism and Pretoria. Everyone knew what was happening in the land of Palestine at the hands of the racist Zionist authorities and in South Africa and Namibia at the hands of the white minority authorities who were oppressing the non-white majority. The Third Committee should take a firm stand against those violations and should reaffirm its support for the human rights instruments and the values on which they were based, leaving no doubt which might give those committing crimes against humanity a reason to continue to commit those crimes.

32. The struggle to eliminate racial discrimination and apartheid, and for self-determination and the protection of the human person, was a progressive stage in the history of the world, which had been expressed in holy messages and elaborated by eminent reformers through the ages. Those efforts had now been crystallized in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as in other international agreements to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination. No one would be able to rest easy until those instruments had been fully implemented in practice, and mankind's vision had risen above the narrow horizons of the greedy, which were in contradiction to human nature.

33. Mr. WAN MUSTAPHA (Malaysia) thanked the Under-Secretary-General for Human Rights for his comprehensive presentation and the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities for his dedication to the task of developing solutions to the issues before the Committee.

34. As the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was being celebrated, many people in many parts of the world were still being deprived of their basic rights, either because of poverty or hunger arising from the cruelty of nature and human folly, or because of policies and practices which condemned certain groups to remain among the lower strata of society so that others, deemed to be superior, could profit from their pain and suffering. Such was the nature of apartheid, the most despicable form of racism and racial discrimination.

(Mr. Wan Mustapha, Malaysia)

35. His delegation had time and again expressed its categorical rejection and abhorrence of apartheid. Twenty-eight years earlier, through the efforts of the first Prime Minister of Malaysia, the issue of apartheid had been openly discussed by the Commonwealth Heads of Government, and South Africa had lost its place in the Commonwealth as a result. Since its accession to independence, his country had fully supported the efforts to dismantle apartheid, and had maintained its unwavering solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa. It called for the elimination of apartheid and for conferring upon the black people of South Africa their basic rights as citizens of their homeland.

36. The premise of the superiority of one race over others on the basis of colour was wrong. If given the opportunity, any human being, regardless of his race, colour or creed, could contribute to the betterment of mankind. If barriers were removed, people from various ethnic and racial groups could live together and guide the destinies of their nations.

37. Sadly, apartheid had the support of international collaborators. It could not exist without the continued political, economic and military backing of those in the international community who were convinced that, given time, the system could be reformed. In reality, it could not be reformed, for that would only tear down the walls of the structure, leaving the pillars intact; if those pillars were not completely destroyed, similar structures could be re-built around them.

38. To the embarrassment of all civilized nations, the human tragedy in South Africa continued. The Pretoria régime was continuing its reign of terror without regard to international opinion, and jailing, torturing and killing black people, including children as young as seven years of age. Nearly 40 per cent of the 30,000 persons detained since June 1986 were under 18. Since September 1984, more than 2,300 persons had been killed, most of them black. The assassination of black political activists was becoming more and more frequent. In spite of its promises of reform and change, South Africa had intensified its system of racial discrimination. Desperate because of its increasing isolation and the contempt in which it was held, South Africa had reinforced the state of emergency and had extended it to the whole country. Such repression could only lead to further violence and racial uprisings and to greater suffering for the people of South Africa.

39. South Africa must be condemned, not only for what the abhorrent system of apartheid was doing to the majority of its people, but also for the arrogance and contempt which the Pretoria régime had shown towards the international community. His delegation reiterated its call for apartheid to be dismantled, and for the international community to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Government of South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. It was disappointing that, as indicated in the report of the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1988/6 and Add.1), the lack of concerted international efforts to impose sanctions had enabled South Africa to avoid the full effects of such sanctions. South Africa had been able to find willing and

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friendly trading partners, which had helped make armaments its third largest export. Those who did not favour sanctions and engaged in profitable trading activities with South Africa must realize that their perfidious activities were strengthening the will of the Pretoria régime to resist efforts to bring about qualitative political, economic and social changes in South Africa.

40. The black majority must be helped to realize its dream of a united and democratic South Africa. His country joined the international community in calling for an immediate release of Nelson Mandela and the other political prisoners.

41. The question of Palestine remained the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In resorting to a policy of violence and intimidation, Israel had shown total disregard for human rights. The international community must constantly condemn the continued occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law; Israel must show a willingness to withdraw totally and unconditionally from those territories.

42. His country strongly condemned Israel's increasingly violent response to the glorious intifadah of the Palestinian people and urged the international community to do all it could to ensure that Israel complied with its moral and legal obligations towards the inhabitants of the occupied territories. A just and lasting solution to the problem could be achieved only through the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination and to establish an independent State. His delegation supported the convening, under United Nations auspices, of an international peace conference on the Middle East, in which the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, should have a major role.

43. The people of Kampuchea continued to be denied their basic rights. The occupation of the country by a foreign army had forced thousands to flee their homes and villages. Nearly 300,000 Kampuchean were encamped on the Thai-Kampuchea border. Many others had sacrificed their lives in the noble struggle to exercise their right to self-determination and to ensure the independent, neutral and non-aligned status of Kampuchea.

44. The fundamental issues of the Kampuchean problem must be clearly addressed. The Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea must withdraw. The Kampuchean people must be assured that they would be free from the horrors of the past and from the flagrant violations of human rights from which they had suffered. National reconciliation, under the leadership of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, would not only heal divisions between the various Kampuchean partners but would also regain for Kampuchea its rightful sovereignty and independence.

45. The constant search for a solution by the ASEAN countries had yielded a significant measure of success with the convening of the Jakarta informal meeting in July 1988. That meeting was an important milestone in the process of finding a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem. Subsequently, the

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parties concerned had met again in Jakarta to work out the modalities for a comprehensive solution. The present international climate augured well for the parties concerned to come together in the near future to achieve agreement on the issues. Peace in Kampuchea would contribute tremendously to regional peace and security. It would facilitate more co-operative relations between the States of South-East Asia. It would create a climate of regional stability. It would foster respect for the fundamental human rights of both States and individuals. And it would promote the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia.

46. The Namibians remained in colonial bondage largely because of the ineffectiveness of international action against the racist Pretoria régime. There were now hopeful signs that they might at last gain their right to self-determination, following their endless struggle against the apartheid régime established by Pretoria. Only sustained international pressure could compel South Africa to initiate the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The agreement achieved between the parties concerned should be implemented as soon as possible so as to expedite the process of independence for Namibia. His delegation reaffirmed its support for the Namibian people's struggle for independence under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and legitimate representative.

47. In his recent statement to the General Assembly the Prime Minister of Malaysia had stated that inequality was the bane of human society; that democracy, purportedly cherished by all, was associated with equality, equitability and freedom of choice; and that no one should impose his own choice and interpretation of democracy on someone else. Nevertheless, not all peoples had the opportunity of exercising their fundamental rights. For example, that opportunity was denied to the fraternal peoples of South Africa, Namibia, Palestine, Kampuchea and other places, where racism and racial discrimination abounded and where men and women were deprived of their right to self-determination. His delegation invited the Committee to address that problem seriously.

48. Mrs. BARGHOUTI (Palestine Liberation Organization) said it was deplorable that, 40 years after following the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, various forms of racial discrimination still existed and were being perpetuated. In spite of all the efforts of the international community, there were still racially motivated ideologies and practices that threatened world peace and security. Manifestations of foreign occupation, colonialism, apartheid and zionism were prime examples of racist ideologies based on the premise of racial superiority and racial purity.

49. The brutal suppression of the South African people and the Namibians by the Pretoria régime had shocked the conscience of the world. Apartheid could not be reformed. It must be eliminated. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) reiterated its full support for the people of South Africa and Namibia in their struggle for freedom and independence.

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(Mrs. Barghouti, PLO)

50. Terrorism and racial superiority had been, and still were, the basic practices that the Zionist movement depended on in establishing its presence in Palestine and in expediting the dispersal of the Palestine people. Hence, killing, detention, imprisonment, deportation, torture, demolition of homes and collective punishment were an integral part of Israeli policy and practices towards the Palestinian people. Those racist and inhuman practices had intensified during the heroic uprising of the Palestinians in the occupied territories. Since the beginning of the uprising on 9 December 1987, the Israelis had killed almost 400 Palestinians through beatings, burning alive, suffocation from toxic tear gases, live ammunition and rubber and plastic bullets. More than 15,000 Palestinians had been wounded and maimed; more than 20,000 had been detained and interrogated.

51. It was obvious that the objective of Zionism was the creation of an exclusivist State, a State of Jews, whatever their citizenship or degree of commitment to Judaism. Its programme was based on the illusion of racial supremacy and racial exclusivism. Their goal demanded the mass transfer of Jews from all over the world to Palestine and the expulsion by force of the indigenous Palestinian population from their homeland, Palestine. That goal was enunciated by Theodor Herzl when he spoke of "spiriting the population across the border" and in a 1976 secret memorandum included in the Koenig documents, where it called for the "thinning away" of the Palestinian population. In 1987, the Deputy Defence Minister, Mr. Michael Dekel, proposed that Israel should solve the Palestinian problem by expelling the Palestinians, and that the world should get used to the idea.

52. For more than 40 years the Palestinians had been subjected to all forms of persecution, oppression and forced dispersal. They had been prevented by the occupying Power, Israel, from exercising their inalienable national and human rights, including the right of return, self-determination, and the establishment of an independent State on their national soil. However, the uprising now in its eleventh month, showed no sign of weakening. It proved the determination of the Palestinians to rid themselves of Israeli occupation and to attain freedom, independence and statehood. Moreover, the uprising had gained support and solidarity from the broadest sector of the international community. Now, more than ever, it was clear that the attainment of peace in the Middle East was organically linked with the solution of the Palestinian question.

53. The racist policies of Israel were also applied to Palestinians with Israeli citizenship. Research at Haifa University had revealed that close to 50 per cent of a national sampling of Palestinians in Israel were dissatisfied with their status. Of them, 83 per cent said that they did not enjoy equal job opportunities. Close to 80 per cent said the Government was responsible for the wide gap between them and Jewish citizens. Two thirds wanted to repeal the Israeli Law of Return, which guaranteed to any Jewish person, regardless of birthplace, the right to live in Israel and to obtain automatic Israeli citizenship on "return". By contrast, the Palestinians were denied the right to return and live in their homeland.

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54. According to the newspaper In These Times of 25 May 1988, the income of urban Palestinian families was two thirds that of urban Jewish families. The proportion of Palestinians in the population of Israel was 1 to 6, but only 1 in 60 held a senior government post, only 1 in 300 occupied an academic position in a university, and only 1 in 16 was on the Committee of the Histadrut, the Israeli federation of trade unions.
55. She hoped that the encouraging improvement in international relations would also have a positive impact in the Middle East. The early convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/58 C, with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council and the parties directly involved, including Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, provided the only viable peaceful framework in which the Middle East conflict could be resolved and in which freedom, independence and peace could be guaranteed for the Palestinian people, as reiterated by Chairman Arafat during the summer of 1988 in his address before the European Parliament.
56. Mr. MOHIUDDIN (Bangladesh) said it was regrettable that 40 years after the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, discrimination based on race still prevailed. The most brutal manifestation of racism was to be found in South Africa, where the minority régime had made apartheid an institutionalized form of racial discrimination and a system of government inimical to the most sacred values of human rights and dignity. Millions of members of the South African majority continued to be victims of systematic and institutionalized violations of their fundamental rights.
57. The situation had deteriorated further with the brutal repression unleashed by the apartheid régime against the majority of the population through mass arrests and detention without trial, murder and the torture of innocent people, including children. Yet repression could not conceal just causes or undermine the determination of those who believed in them. His delegation unequivocally condemned such atrocities and supported the valiant people of South Africa in their just struggle against the racist régime.
58. The valuable report of the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1988/6 and Add.1) indicated that assistance given to the Pretoria régime had an adverse effect on the human rights status of the non-white population of South Africa and made the eradication of apartheid more difficult. Bangladesh, which maintained no links whatsoever with the pariah Government of South Africa, fully supported the application of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, and joined in the call for the release of Nelson Mandela as a first step towards the inevitable dismantling of apartheid.
59. Bangladesh, as a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, was encouraged by recent diplomatic initiatives in southern Africa and Angola that had improved the prospects for the early attainment of independence by Namibia.

(Mr. Mohiuddin, Bangladesh)

60. Another brutal manifestation of racial discrimination was to be found in the oppressive policies pursued by Israel in the occupied Arab territories, including the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. The uprising provided glaring testimony to the rejection of those policies by the Palestinian people. His delegation condemned the atrocities committed against a defenceless people and supported the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence. Bangladesh supported the efforts of the Secretary-General to convene an international peace conference with the full participation of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, since peace in the Middle East could only be guaranteed through a just and lasting solution based on the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

61. 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/43/644) deserved special mention. The highest priority should be given to programmes for combating racism, in particular in South Africa and Namibia, in the occupied Arab territories, and in other countries under colonial domination. His delegation urged all Governments and non-governmental organizations to intensify their activities in that domain and to assist the victims of discrimination.

62. Bangladesh supported the conclusions and suggestions adopted at the Global Consultation on Racial Discrimination (A/C.3/43/CRP.1), held recently at Geneva, and appealed to all Governments to accede to or to ratify the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. Bangladesh had made a modest financial contribution to the Trust Fund for the Programme for the Decade, and appealed to all Member States to contribute generously to the Fund, since, despite repeated appeals by the Secretary-General, its status was far from encouraging.

63. The financial difficulties faced by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination gave serious cause for concern. All States parties must pay their outstanding contributions. It would be unfortunate if the Committee was unable to function owing to a lack of resources.

64. Lastly, his delegation reiterated its full support for the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and its solidarity with the peoples of Palestine and Namibia. Posterity would not forgive failure in the fight against racism and racial discrimination.

65. Mr. MORA GODOY (Cuba) thanked the Under-Secretary-General for Human Rights for his detailed in-depth introductory statement and said that, since its inception, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had constituted the fundamental mechanism for supervising the implementation of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and had made an enormous contribution to the elimination of discrimination throughout the world. In order to resolve the Committee's financial difficulties, all countries with outstanding contributions must pay them and, until such time as a definite solution was found, the necessary funding should be provided from the regular budget of the United Nations.

(Mr. Mora Godoy, Cuba)

66. Cuba supported the Secretary-General's intention to strengthen the activities related to the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, as outlined in his report on the implementation of the Programme (A/43/644). The Organization would thus be able to fulfil the role assigned to it by the international community in that field.

67. The right of peoples to self-determination was the fundamental principle on which international relations were based. However, there were still colonial States and many independent countries were being subjected to acts of aggression which impeded the exercise of their right to self-determination. That was the situation of the Palestinian people in the Middle East, who were waging a battle in which many of their finest sons had perished. Cuba offered its firm support to the Palestinian people and its sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). It also supported the proposal to convene an International Peace Conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations, with PLO participation.

68. Cuba affirmed its solidarity with all Latin American peoples - the people of Panama, whose right to self-determination was being threatened or the people of Puerto Rico, who had not yet been able to exercise it. In Central America, Nicaragua was the victim of a dirty war being conducted by a Government linked to it by diplomatic ties. That Government had spent millions of dollars trying to topple the legitimate Government of Nicaragua. It had formed a mercenary army to subvert a country which had decided its own fate in the exercise of its right to self-determination. The problems of that region must be resolved through negotiations, on the basis of the Esquipulas agreements and the actions by the Contadora Group and its Support Group in favour of peace.

69. The Secretary-General's progress towards a settlement of the conflict in the Western Sahara was encouraging. Cuba supported the struggle by the people of Western Sahara for their independence.

70. The most abhorrent racist practice in the contemporary world was the régime of apartheid, under which the Government of South Africa was subjugating the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. The situation in South Africa was growing more and more serious. Repression and torture were the instruments used daily by the Government in order to put down popular rebellions. Apartheid, an institutionalized form of racism imposed by a white minority in order to remain in power and oppress the black majority, was a crime of genocide within the meaning of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

71. The international community could not allow such crimes to continue. The Security Council must be able to approve the mandatory sanctions provided for in the Charter, without the veto of the United States continually helping the disastrous system of apartheid to survive. The black population of South Africa had never been asked whether it preferred a policy of constructive engagement with the Government or the dismantling of apartheid. Some countries spoke of national

(Mr. Mora Godoy, Cuba)

dialogue, of peaceful changes and shared power, and criticized violence, but the South African blacks had no choice but to do whatever was necessary in the fight for their lives and for the human dignity that had been denied them.

72. It was disturbing that transnational corporations had found new mechanisms for deriving greater gains for themselves and for the Government of South Africa, as indicated in the report of the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1988/6 and Add.1).

73. Apartheid could not be changed. It must be abolished with extreme urgency. That was the responsibility of the international community. Cuba reaffirmed its condemnation of the régime of apartheid, supported the struggle of the South African and Namibian peoples and of their legitimate representatives, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), and sought the unconditional release of all political prisoners, especially Nelson Mandela. All those who valued freedom and equality among human beings must fight to exterminate apartheid.

74. Mr. TURK (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that it was discouraging to note that the Committee's discussions were not taking place in the spirit of moderation and conciliation one would have hoped for. Equally discouraging were the diatribes launched by many delegations against Israel. They only hindered the advent and the cause of peace.

75. Unfortunately, while other countries involved in regional conflicts, such as Iran and Iraq, had found a way to initiate direct dialogue - on which Iraq, in particular, had insisted - most Arab Governments refused to consider the possibility of entering into direct negotiations with the State of Israel. The major obstacle to attaining a peaceful solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict was the stubborn refusal of those Governments to accept Israel as a sovereign member of the family of nations and to end their state of war against Israel.

76. Many of the statements made before the Committee were serious distortions of the truth, which made no reference whatsoever either to the Arab intention - dating back 40 years - to destroy the newborn State of Israel, or to the fact that Israel controlled the West Bank and Gaza Strip as a result of a war of legitimate defence. Neither did they mention the continual efforts of the Israeli Government to enter into direct negotiations with neighbouring countries on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

77. The attitude of the Arab Governments had thus far ruled out a political solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict and any final determination on the status of the Israeli-administered zones. With the exception of Egypt, the Arab Governments had rejected the Camp David Accords which provided for the solution of all aspects of the Palestinian problem and recognized the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. After 21 years without making headway in the peace process, the

(Mr. Turk, Israel)

frustration of the Palestinian people was natural. They were a people cynically exploited by those who opposed a political solution and instigated hatred towards Israel.

78. The Government of Israel believed that terror and violence would only lead to a dangerous stalemate and that a viable solution to the dispute could be achieved only through a political process of direct negotiations based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

79. The recent wave of violence unleashed against Israel had endangered many lives but the Israeli Defence Forces had displayed a degree of restraint rarely found in other countries. It was supreme hypocrisy that accusations on that subject should have been voiced by Governments which had resorted to chemical warfare or had brutally suppressed domestic riots, slaughtering hundreds of people in a single day.

80. Israel rejected categorically all attempts to draw an analogy between itself and the apartheid régime in South Africa. Israel had consistently condemned apartheid and had taken appropriate measures to curtail its relations with South Africa. Zionism was the national liberation movement of the Jewish people. Those who falsely equated zionism with racism were wilfully and cynically distorting the deeply democratic and humanitarian nature of Israel and were harming the continuing world-wide struggle against racism.

81. He appealed to the Committee to conduct its discussion in a constructive spirit free from false recriminations and assaults upon his country. The ideals of the Charter of the United Nations could only be achieved through a positive spirit of conciliation, co-operation and the honest search for peace.

82. Mr. ABOU-HADID (Syrian Arab Republic) expressed astonishment that Israel had referred to two Security Council resolutions as the basis for a solution of the conflict in the Middle East. If Israel accepted all relevant United Nations resolutions, there would be no problem. There was a parallel between the soldiers of Herod who had slaughtered Jewish children 2,000 years earlier and the methods of Israel during the current Palestinian uprising in which thousands of children had been the victims of repression. Zionist ideology was linked to anti-semitism. Theodor Herzl himself had stated that the anti-Semites would be the best friends and allies of the Jews. It was impossible to criticize zionism because any such criticism was considered a criticism of Judaism and there had been campaigns designed to camouflage zionism as a democratic régime. The whole world was aware of the relations between South Africa and Israel. The South African leaders were convinced that the white minority in their country could count on Israeli support.

83. Mr. GOLEMANOV (Bulgaria), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he had noted the importance attached by Turkey to the implementation of the Protocol signed by the two countries in February 1988 (A/43/320, annex) and to the improvement of bilateral relations. If that signified good will on the part of Turkey there would be no sense in submitting a non-existent problem to an international forum. The text of the Protocol did not justify the interpretation

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(Mr. Golemanov, Bulgaria)

placed on it by Turkey as it made no mention of the existence of a Turkish minority in Bulgaria. The purpose of the Protocol was "to further relations of good-neighbourliness, friendship and co-operation in a way to serve the mutual interests ..." through "finding solutions to the problems existing in bilateral relations, including in the field of humanitarian co-operation" and "concrete measures for the acceleration of co-operation ... in the fields of economics, trade, tourism, technologies, transport, communications and culture". No priority had been given to any of those fields so as not to influence the overall development of bilateral relations. Bulgaria had acted in accordance with that document since its adoption and had made a number of constructive proposals. It intended to continue to do so in the future and hoped that Turkey would do the same.

84. Mr. TANLAY (Turkey), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that during the previous session of the Third Committee any references to the question of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria had been couched in moderate and constructive terms. The events of 1988 had included the Protocol signed between Bulgaria and Turkey (A/43/320, annex) which had initiated a process of dialogue between the two parties. The sad reality in which the Turkish minority lived was well known; its national, cultural and religious identity was denied as also was the exercise of its fundamental rights, such as the right to use its own language, to maintain its traditions, to travel and emigrate to a country of choice. That reality was in the public domain thanks to the world press, to the testimony of those who had been fortunate enough to have escaped from Bulgaria and to the alarming reports of international organisations. The problem called for a rapid and satisfactory solution. However, the process of dialogue had not yet achieved the established goal. Success depended in large measure on the attitude of Bulgaria. His delegation wished to stress once again that it was particularly important that Bulgaria should implement the terms of the Protocol strictly and as quickly as possible; he was confident that Bulgaria would take the necessary measures to reach the goals stipulated in the Protocol.

85. Mr. GOLEMANOV (Bulgaria), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that his delegation had already stated its position clearly in its previous statement and did not wish to continue an argument which was of little practical value.

86. Mr. TANLAY (Turkey), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he shared the position of the representative of Bulgaria but wished to reiterate once again that Turkey continued to be confident that Bulgaria would adopt the necessary measures with a view to achieving the objective stipulated in the Protocol.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

87. The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee had concluded its general consideration of the first cluster of items.

88. Mr. GARUBA (Nigeria), speaking on behalf of a number of States Members who wished to sponsor a draft resolution on the question of the use of mercenaries, requested that consideration of item 96 should remain open until the Third Committee had heard the statement of the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights on item 12, scheduled for the month of November.

89. Mr. MALAGA (Peru) supported the request of Nigeria.

90. The CHAIRMAN said that, if there were no objections, he would take it that the Committee wished consideration of item 96 to remain open until the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights had presented his report.

91. It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.