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Chairman: Mr. KABORE (Burkina Faso)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 89: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE SECOND DECADE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued) (A/44/240 and Corr.1, A/44/409-S/20743 and Corr.1 and 2, A/44/477, A/44/574, A/44/575, A/44/595, A/44/617; A/C.3/44/L.3; E/1989/42 and Add.1-4)

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AGENDA ITEM 105: 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 (continued) (A/44/526, A/44/548)

1. Ms. ARMSTRONG (Canada) said that it was essential for the United Nations to continue its efforts in the context of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, since the evil of racism affected all countries, including Canada. Every society must fight racism by better informing and educating its citizens, particularly young people, to be more tolerant. In addition, it was necessary to guarantee better legal and constitutional protection for the potential or actual victims of racial discrimination. States must also fulfil their international obligations and submit the relevant reports to the United Nations; such reports were very useful because they provided examples of various approaches and suggested concrete ways in which States could work together to eradicate racism. Her country's ninth report on the elimination of racial discrimination clearly demonstrated the willingness of the various Canadian jurisdictions to deal with the problem and to promote understanding and co-operation within a multicultural society.

2. Apartheid was the most vile form of racism because it institutionalized and systematized racial discrimination. South Africa was a special case because of its racist legislation. Race determined where people were born and where they died, where they could live, work and go to school, and the quality of education, health care and other social services to which they had access. Such legislated racism was enforced through repressive laws and actions, such as state-of-emergency regulations, detention without trial, restriction orders on individuals, the banning of political organizations and strict censorship. Her country's reaction to that situation had been to attempt to convince South Africa that it must abolish the abhorrent system of apartheid and enter into negotiations with black leaders for the establishment of a non-racial, representative government. In order to end apartheid and encourage dialogue, her country, unilaterally and with others, had applied a broad range of measures, including financial and trade sanctions, assistance programmes for the victims of apartheid, a ban on sports contacts and

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(Ms. Armstrong, Canada)

support to the front-line States. Less than three months previously, the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Committee, chaired by Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, had reviewed the measures taken to fight apartheid. The Committee's report would be presented at the Commonwealth meeting to be held that month in Kuala Lumpur.

3. Canada's position had always been that sanctions were necessary in order to convince the South African régime of the need for change. The South African Government leaders had acknowledged the effect of sanctions and were beginning to realize that change was absolutely necessary. However, despite much talk about reforms, none of the major pillars of apartheid had been dismantled. Yet there were some positive signs. The election results had bolstered the political forces in favour of change and reform. The African National Congress (ANC) had also shown courage and foresight in preparing itself to participate in genuine negotiations. Other hopeful signs were the peaceful march held in Cape Town and the release of eight ANC leaders, including Walter Sisulu. In any event, the real litmus test of the new South African Government would be its willingness to negotiate with the legitimate leaders of the black majority. In the absence of progress, international pressure would increase, because Pretoria must understand that the world now demanded action.

4. Her delegation hoped that those States which had not yet done so would ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. With regard to the application of the Convention, she deplored the ongoing financial difficulties which prevented the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) from carrying out its mandate efficiently and expressed the hope that all States parties would fulfil their financial obligations as soon as possible. Her country, for its part, would do so in the near future. Her delegation would work to find long-term solutions to the situation which affected the meetings of CERD, and looked forward to the results of the study currently under way to review all aspects of the problem.

5. Mr. WHITAKER-SALLES (Brazil) said that his country, which was a multiracial society, actively supported the initiatives of the international community for the elimination of racial discrimination. The new Federal Constitution provided that Brazil would be guided in its relations with other States by strict adherence to the principles of self-determination and the repudiation of racism and, in the domestic sphere, that any discriminatory act resulting in the denial of fundamental rights and freedoms would be punishable by law. It further stipulated that racial discrimination was an imprescriptible crime punishable by imprisonment, and that in such cases, sentences could not be commuted and offenders would not be eligible for release on bail.

6. His delegation took note with satisfaction of 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/44/595), and in particular, commended the Secretariat for its work on the compendium of national legislation against racial discrimination. He also expressed his appreciation for the work of

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(Mr. Whitaker-Salles, Brazil)

the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, whose report had been issued as document A/44/18. Since the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination was the most comprehensive instrument available to the United Nations in the fight against all forms of discrimination, all countries should make every effort to enable CERD to discharge its functions adequately.

7. The persistence of institutionalized racism and discriminatory practices in some areas of the world contrasted with the historical tide which, in the last few decades, had swept racist, segregationist and colonialist policies from most parts of the world. In that regard, the policy of apartheid represented the most conspicuous form of anachronism. In his address to the General Assembly on 25 September 1989, the President of Brazil had said that apartheid was an affront to the conscience of civilized peoples. Therefore, the concerted efforts of the United Nations and the international community to combat racial discrimination would come to fruition only when the policy of apartheid became a thing of the past. He hoped that the recent release of prisoners by the Pretoria Government would be followed by more meaningful changes and, eventually, by the suppression of apartheid.

8. Namibia's transition to independence would be a major element in the decolonization process begun in the post-war period. The urgency with which the international community viewed the matter had been demonstrated by the adoption of Security Council resolution 640 (1989) adopted three months earlier. His country had participated in that unanimous decision and would stand by all the commitments embodied in it.

9. He condemned the use of mercenaries, which represented a ruthless violation of the sovereignty and right to self-determination of peoples and States alike. In that connection, he commended the work of the Special Rapporteur on mercenaries, whose report (A/44/526) portrayed a situation which in many respects had improved considerably, owing to the new lessening of tensions in international relations and the fruitful role played by the United Nations.

10. Referring to his country's commitment to the cause of Palestinian self-determination, he reaffirmed his delegation's call for the implementation of the relevant decisions of the international community and the consequent cessation of all attempts to deny the Palestinian people the exercise of that right.

11. Mr. AGUILAR (Venezuela) said that legislation and, more importantly, the general attitude of the Venezuelan people made the expression of any form of racism or racial discrimination impossible. Although the risks of racist measures and practices arising in a predominately mixed-race society such as Venezuela were minimal, the Government remained ready and willing to co-operate internationally in combating those evils. The Central Information Office and the Audio-Visual Unit of the Ministry of Education, for example, were conducting an educational campaign on racial discrimination, with special emphasis on the harmful effects of racial intolerance, particularly apartheid.

(Mr. Aguilar, Venezuela)

12. In the context of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, Venezuela had submitted to the Secretary-General the information required to prepare the global compendium of national legislation against racial discrimination. That compendium would provide a very good basis for preparing "model texts" that would be of considerable help in facilitating the legislative efforts of the various States in that area.

13. Venezuela agreed that the priority objective of the struggle against racism and racial discrimination should be the definitive and total elimination of the policy of apartheid. Both within the Security Council and elsewhere, it had supported the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist Government in Pretoria under Chapter VII of the Charter. Venezuela had been party to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid for a number of years, and it urged all those States which had not yet done so to ratify or accede to the Convention. He was especially pleased to announce that the Government of Venezuela had deposited the instrument of ratification of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports with the Secretary-General on 3 October. His country participated fully in the activities organized by the Special Committee against Apartheid and contributed to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the United Nations Fund for Namibia, the Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid and the United Nations Institute for Namibia Account, among others. It also strongly supported the convening of an extraordinary session of the General Assembly on apartheid and was confident that practical and effective measures would be adopted to eliminate that system, which could not be reformed.

14. In addition, Venezuela was paying due attention to the problems of indigenous peoples, migrant workers and refugees. In reference to the struggle against racism and racial discrimination, he emphasized the importance of information and education. The contents of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as of the international covenants and conventions on human rights, should be made known. It was also important to disseminate appropriate arguments for countering the theories that had been conceived throughout history to justify racial discrimination.

15. With respect to the subject of the self-determination of peoples, he said that that principle was reflected in the policies implemented by his Government in accordance with the principles set forth in the preamble of the National Constitution, in the Charter of the United Nations and, in particular, in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The people and the Government of Venezuela were pleased at the forthcoming independence of Namibia, which gave the international community the opportunity to contribute to the process of creating that new State, as well as to the development of a society based on equality among all human beings, in which the equal rights and fundamental freedoms of all inhabitants were guaranteed without discrimination. He was confident that the independence process would be carried out in its entirety, in accordance with the programme outlined in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Venezuela was truly honoured that a battalion of its armed forces had been chosen to participate in the United Nations Transition Assistance Group.

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16. Mrs. NIKOLIC (Yugoslavia) said that the question of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid, as well as of the right of peoples to self-determination, had for years been one of the priorities of the United Nations and the international community. During the preceding year, that determination had been emphasized to an even greater extent by important developments in southern Africa, particularly in Namibia. The people of Namibia were at last on the threshold of realizing their inalienable right to self-determination. The United Nations and, in particular, the Security Council must play the key role in the process, namely by ensuring that the elections which were to be held in less than a month led to the genuine independence of Namibia. However, persisting problems raised doubts as to the successful completion of that undertaking. It was therefore necessary, at the current decisive phase, to force South Africa to stop violations of the existing agreements in order to create conditions for the holding of free and fair elections that would enable the people of Namibia to realize fully their right to self-determination.

17. Despite the current positive developments in international relations and the strong condemnation of apartheid by all progressive forces in the world, South Africa persisted in its policy of racial discrimination. Among the expressions of the resolve to exert maximum pressure to bring about the elimination of apartheid, mention should be made of the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on apartheid. The recent summit in Belgrade of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries had also given attention to that problem. Moreover, the Declaration of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity on South Africa, approved in August in Harare, represented a platform for the peaceful settlement of the problem and the creation of a democratic, multi-racial social system in South Africa that would grant full equality to the majority and to all other groups of the population.

18. The new team in Pretoria had announced changes in the direction of eliminating apartheid. For the time being, however, those changes remained within the framework of the familiar tactical manoeuvres of the South African régime. The United Nations should take all possible measures, including the imposition of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions, finally to eliminate the obnoxious system of apartheid.

19. The Belgrade summit had also reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their home and property and to exercise the right to self-determination without external interference. Full support had been given to the intifadah of the Palestinian people against the occupying Power and to their struggle to end the occupation and bring about the withdrawal of Israeli troops, as well as to joint action by the whole international community with a view to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement.

(Mrs. Nikolic, Yugoslavia)

20. It was ironical that, with 128 States parties to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, making it the most widely accepted human rights instrument, the very existence of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination should be threatened by financial difficulties and that it should once again be necessary to cancel its spring session. She did not want to believe that the lack of payment on the part of States parties represented a lack of political commitment, and urged those States parties that were in arrears to fulfil their financial obligations without delay. The United Nations together with the member States had a responsibility to ensure that the present financial crisis of CERD was addressed and solved.

21. Other forms of discrimination threatened the dignity and human rights of various vulnerable groups such as national and ethnic minorities, migrant workers and indigenous peoples. Yugoslavia fully understood those problems, since it had borders with seven countries, some of whose peoples lived in Yugoslavia as nationalities and national minorities, just as some of the Yugoslav peoples lived in those countries. Yugoslavia considered the presence of nationalities and national minorities in its territory as a privilege, since the various cultures, traditions and languages enriched the overall heritage of the country. It had always stressed that full equality, opportunities for overall development of national, ethnic and other minorities, and the promotion and protection of their human rights represented a very important factor for understanding and co-operation among States.

22. Yugoslavia advocated and supported an early conclusion of the negotiations on the draft declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities. Priority should also be given to the completion the following year of the international convention on the rights of all migrant workers and their families. In that connection, she expressed satisfaction with the results of the international seminar in Athens on a cultural dialogue between countries of origin and receiving countries of migrant workers.

23. Mr. AL-SAUD (Saudi Arabia) said that his country remained firmly committed to the struggle against racism and racial discrimination and to the right of peoples to self-determination. In the Palestinian territories, where the intifadah was in its twenty-third month, the Israeli occupiers were still committing acts of extreme cruelty and violence, such as killing and torture, directed against old people, children and women. For example, in the Palestinian town of Bait Sahur, they had attacked homes and violated their sanctity, frightened and humiliated the inhabitants and confiscated their possessions and housing on the pretext that the people were not paying the high taxes imposed by tyranny. That was one more proof of violation by the Israeli authorities of the international agreements and treaties, in particular the fourth Geneva Convention, relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

(Mr. Al-Saud, Saudi Arabia)

24. He also noted that the policy of terror by the racist minority Government of South Africa against the indigenous South African population was further proof of the continuing human rights violations by that Israeli ally, in particular, the arbitrary campaign of detention of the political leaders of the African National Congress. In his opinion, the continuing violation by those two racist régimes of all international agreements and principles remained the cause of the existing tension in many parts of the world. On the other hand, it was hoped that with the launching of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia in April 1989, the Namibian people would exercise their right to self-determination in an independent territory, and would soon occupy their legitimate place in the Third Committee and in the other committees of the United Nations, which would give hope to the countries still subject to colonization and occupation.
25. Mrs. BARGHOUTI (Observer for Palestine) said that human rights violations in the occupied Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem, had caused a serious deterioration of the situation, particularly during the heroic intifadah of the Palestinian people. The Israeli authorities claimed that their racist policies and practices were intended to "maintain law and order", but it was clear that, even though they were called "transfers", the discriminatory Israeli measures were aimed at expulsion of the Palestinian population, and the establishment of an exclusively Jewish State. According to a statement by the Israeli Deputy Minister of Defence at a political meeting of the Herot party, the policy of "transferring" the Palestinian population was the only solution to the problem, an opinion shared by Rahavam Zeevi, a retired Major-General who had once headed the Israeli Army in the West Bank. He had stated that "The Arabs will be compelled to make peace with Israel only when Israel adopts a policy 'to transfer' the Arab population from the occupied territories to neighbouring Arab lands".
26. Despite local and international protests and condemnation, the Israeli Government had expelled 56 persons since the beginning of the intifadah; that constituted a violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which prohibited deportation. Zionist racist policy had affected the lives of the Palestinian people in all aspects: economic, social and political. The establishment of the Jewish National Fund in 1901 at the Fifth Congress of the World Zionist Organization had been for the purpose of colonizing Palestinian territory, and the situation had now reached the point where not even Palestinians with Israeli citizenship could work or own land on the Jewish National Fund.
27. The tragic situation of the Palestinian people under Israeli occupation had shocked the world. On 4 July 1989, a delegation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions had held a conference in Tel Aviv and had criticized the oppressive Israeli measures against the Palestinian people, in particular the deportation policy. In addition, the order by the Israeli military to close schools and universities in the West Bank, in force for almost a year, had brought protests and condemnation from the international community. In a letter to the Israeli Minister of Defence from the heads of four major Palestinian institutions in Israel, including representatives of Jewish and Arab university students, the closings had been described as a "criminal and unjustified act". Moreover, the

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(Mrs. Barghouti, Observer, Palestine)

Israeli authorities had forced the Palestinian population of Gaza to obtain magnetic identity cards in order to be able to work in Israel. The same racist policy would be implemented in the other occupied Palestinian territories; it resembled the Nazi policy of discrimination against Jews in Germany and the bantustanization imposed by the racist Pretoria régime.

28. The racist nature of zionism became clear in the light of the increasingly close alliance between Israel and the racist régime of South Africa, which made it essential for all countries to stop providing economic, military and political support to those régimes. The world community must use all possible means to put an end to the suffering of the Palestinian people and recognize its inalienable right to self-determination and the creation of an independent State on its national soil.

29. She expressed her delegation's appreciation to the non-aligned countries for the welcome given to the State of Palestine. It was regrettable that the Government of the United States continued to deny the Palestinian people its right to self-determination, erecting an obstacle to the achievement of peace and stability in the Middle East. She trusted, however, that the new Administration would adopt a more positive stance. The solution to that conflict depended on the end of the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem and the other Arab territories, which, according to the Secretary-General in his report of January 1988, constituted the "underlying problem" in the region.

30. Miss AL-ALAWI (Bahrain) said that, inspired by Islam, Bahrain guaranteed human rights and respect for freedom and equality under the law. Those principles were contained in its laws and regulations, and its international policy was based on them. Bahrain had always supported the efforts by the United Nations to combat racism and racial discrimination, and condemned the crime of apartheid. Consequently, it had no political, economic or other relations with South Africa, which had adopted measures that caused world-wide indignation and constituted an ever greater danger to peace and security. Bahrain urged all countries, regional organizations and other types of organizations to adopt strict and concerted measures to isolate the racist régime and force it to put an end to its illegal practices. Her delegation had expressed its conviction that to end apartheid, it was necessary to dismantle it completely and establish a democratic régime based on justice, law and respect for human rights, in accordance with the relevant resolutions. Furthermore, it considered that the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter was urgently called for in the international campaign against the apartheid régime.

31. Bahrain had supported the efforts of the United Nations and the Secretary-General to apply Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on the independence of Namibia, and hoped that the Namibian people would exercise their right to self-determination through free elections under the auspices of the United Nations, within the framework of the independence plan for Namibia. Furthermore, she urged the Pretoria régime not to place obstacles in Namibia's way.

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(Miss Al-Alawi, Bahrain)

32. As for Israel, under its plans for aggression and expansion, it was continuing to apply an abhorrent racist policy against the Palestinian people, ignoring the various United Nations resolutions recognizing its inalienable and legitimate rights. In reality, the Palestinians lived in the same situation as the population of South Africa. Bahrain hoped that the Palestinian intifadah and the resistance of the South African people would further disturb those régimes and that effective solutions would be found. She urged the international community to condemn the inhuman policies and terrorist practices of Israel against the Palestinian people, and to support it in its legitimate struggle to exercise its right of self-determination and to establish its own legitimate homeland through the Palestine Liberation Organization.

33. Her delegation trusted that the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General (E/1989/42/Add.3) would receive support from all States in pursuit of the objectives of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

34. Mr. SOTIROV (Bulgaria) said that despite some encouraging progress in recent years, much remained to be done in the struggle against racism and racial discrimination, which continued to exist in many parts of the world in different forms and manifestations. Without doubt the apartheid system in South Africa remained the most extreme and inhuman manifestation of racism; it was condemned by civilized nations as a crime against humanity. That historical anachronism was the most typical example of mass and flagrant violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, was the cause of tension in southern Africa and posed a threat to international peace and security. Recent developments showed that despite changes in terminology used by the South African authorities, their vision of a "new future" for South Africa was based on the existing policy of the National Party, not on the logic of the country's progressive development. The so-called five-year plan advanced by the new leadership was nothing more than a new manoeuvre by the racist régime to perpetuate apartheid through the creation of constitutional structures to guarantee its future existence.

35. Now more than ever the international community must unite and adopt effective measures to do away with the apartheid system. Concerted, decisive action was needed to apply the relevant United Nations decisions. Bulgaria joined the overwhelming majority of member States in reiterating the call for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. In that connection, his delegation expressed its full support for the conclusions contained in the updated report by Mr. Khalifa concerning the adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the colonialist and racist régimes of southern Africa (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1988/6 and Add.1).

(Mr. Sotirov, Bulgaria)

36. His country, which strongly condemned apartheid, had no political, economic, diplomatic or any other type of relations with the racist régime of South Africa. Among the first to sign and ratify the relevant international instruments, his country had always participated actively in the efforts of the United Nations to eliminate racism, racial discrimination and apartheid, and had supported the just struggle of the South African people. In that context, he wished to stress the importance of the Harare Declaration adopted on 29 August 1989 by the Organization of African Unity, and the relevant documents of the Nintl. Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade in September 1989. Similarly, his country wished to express its full support for the valuable work of the Group of Three with regard to the implementation of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

37. His delegation stressed the need for urgent action to overcome the serious financial difficulties which for several years had plagued the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which was doing valuable work. First and foremost among such action should be the timely payment in full by all States parties to the Convention of their dues to the Committee's budget. Since becoming a party to the Convention, his country had been following that approach, and it therefore joined with those delegations which had appealed for a more consistent financial effort in that area by all States parties. At the same time, other possible remedies should be considered. Noteworthy in that connection was resolution 1989/47 of the Commission on Human Rights, in which the Commission had noted that the General Assembly could consider alleviating financial difficulties experienced by some treaty bodies by the temporary allocation of the necessary funds through advances from the United Nations regular budget, which would then be reimbursed from contributions received within the same budget year. That procedure could be repeated until a permanent solution to the difficulties was found.

38. In view of the current international situation, prospects for the success of the Namibian independence process appeared good. Positive changes had come about since the launching, on 1 April 1989, of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, and his country sincerely hoped that the Namibian people would at last be able to realize their right to self-determination and national independence. Unfortunately, the continuing efforts by the South African régime to maintain in Namibia a number of racist laws and regulations threatened the prospects for genuine and free elections. His delegation wished to associate itself with other delegations that had called for the removal of all such obstacles to the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

39. His country, which had supported all efforts aimed at achieving a just and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict, saluted the heroic intifadah of the Palestinian people, struggling to assert its inalienable right to self-determination. The convening of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation, on an equal basis, of all the parties concerned, including Palestine, was the most promising option in that respect.

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40. Mr. TAHA (Sudan) said that the situation in the occupied Arab territories was alarming. Against the will of the international community and in contempt of United Nations resolutions, Israel was persisting in its bloody policies of oppression against the Palestinian people, and was thus the main party responsible for the heightening of tension and the escalation of conflict. More effective measures must be taken to force Israel to put an immediate end to the killing and maiming of unarmed Palestinian citizens, to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions, and to withdraw from all occupied Arab territories. His country urged the international community to ensure the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence in its own homeland, and to recognize the State of Palestine under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

41. His delegation was greatly concerned by recent developments in the Namibian independence process. As his country's Minister for Foreign Affairs had observed, the racist régime of Pretoria was manipulating the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, and violating the letter and the spirit of that plan in an attempt to weaken the political position of SWAPO and to ensure its own racist hegemony over Namibia after independence. It was the responsibility of the international community to supervise and monitor the plan, and to ensure the full implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 640 (1989). It was the responsibility of the Security Council to ensure free and fair elections in Namibia in order that the Namibian people could effectively exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

42. The political crisis in South Africa was a direct result of the evil system of apartheid. Recent nominal political changes and limited reforms, adopted by the racist régime in response to international pressure, had to be viewed with caution, in the light of the continuing repressive policies, detentions without trial, death sentences for opponents of apartheid, and suppression of peaceful and non-violent protests. The release of Mr. Sisulu and other patriots must be followed by the release of Mr. Mandela and other political prisoners.

43. The tireless struggle of the international community against apartheid must continue; to that end, the most appropriate measure was the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the Security Council, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. His country reaffirmed its unequivocal support for the South African people and their leadership, represented by the African National Congress and the Panafricanist Congress, in their just struggle against the racist régime of Pretoria. It also urged the international community to extend assistance to the victims of the crime of apartheid, to exert more effective pressure on the racist régime of South Africa to cease its acts of aggression and destabilization against the front-line States, and to extend all possible support to refugees and displaced persons in those States.

44. His country attached great importance to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and to the International

(Mr. Taha, Sudan)

Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of apartheid. It also believed that the United Nations could play a more dominant role in intensifying and expanding the activities of the Second Decade. The work of non-governmental organizations in that connection could be utilized effectively in mobilizing public opinion against racism.

45. Mr. KALONJI (Zaire) said that South Africa, a bastion of institutionalized racism under the name of apartheid, treated with contempt the human rights envisaged in the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. As long as the state of emergency, declared in 1985, remained in effect, and political prisoners, in particular Nelson Mandela, remained in prison, the entire international community must continue to combat the apartheid régime. The new President of that régime would not be judged by his electoral promises, but by concrete acts designed to abolish that despicable system. In that connection, open dialogue between whites and blacks was a political prerequisite for the establishment of a democratic political system in which all South Africans could live in harmony and in conditions of justice.

46. Moved by his belief in the policy of good neighbourliness and Zaire's dedication to the cause of African peace, and despite the inevitable reactions to his decision, the President of the Republic of Zaire had agreed to receive in Zairian Territory the former President of South Africa in October 1988 and his successor in August 1989. Those two meetings had enabled the President of Zaire to plead the cause of inhabitants who had been deprived of their freedom and human dignity before the South African authorities and to stress the urgent need to abolish apartheid. He was satisfied with the favourable attitude and the goodwill shown by the Special Committee of the Organization of African Unity, which had recently met in Harare, and accepted, subject to certain conditions, the principle of constructive dialogue with the Pretoria régime.

47. Zaire, which had a common border of 2,600 km. with Angola, attached great importance to the restoration of peace in its fellow country, which had been torn by 14 years of war. The President of Zaire had therefore welcomed the mediation mission entrusted to him by the Heads of State of Central and southern African countries at their meeting in Luanda on 16 May 1989. A summit meeting with the same purpose had been held in Gbadolite on 22 June 1989, during which a meeting between the President of Angola and the head of UNITA, the proclamation of a cease-fire and recognition of the principle of negotiation for national reconciliation had created the basis for peace in Angola.

48. Namibia's forthcoming accession to international sovereignty on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was a victory for the active solidarity of the international community and the struggle of the Namibian nationalists under the leadership of SWAPO. Zaire was anxious that the elections to be held in Namibia in November should produce reliable results, and it had therefore recently appointed a high-level representative to the African committee responsible for supervising the elections.

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(Mr. Kalonji, Zaire)

49. With regard to the various centres of tension in Africa, his delegation considered that there was no need for armed conflict on the African continent since all that Africa wanted was peace and development. It therefore welcomed the fact that, as a result of dialogue and agreements, some of the centres had disappeared and others were in process of disappearing. Zaire would never forget the part played by the United Nations immediately after it had attained independence, in restoring peace and safeguarding its natural unity which was being threatened by the spectre of the internationalization of the regrettable Congolese crisis.

50. His delegation considered that the Palestinians and Israelis should meet at the negotiating table and make peace on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

51. Mr. SASITORN (Thailand), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that his delegation was pleased to note that the representative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, in his earlier statement, had spoken favourably of the Prime Minister of Thailand and his continuing concern over the problem of Kampuchea. The representative of Viet Nam had also referred to the proposed cease-fire between the various parties to the conflict in Kampuchea. Thailand was favourable to a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, which would require that solutions be found for a number of important issues related to the cease-fire and also to the organization of a just and viable government and free and fair elections under the supervision of the United Nations. Those issues must be decided by the Kampuchean people themselves.

52. Mrs. VUKI (Fiji), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, recalled that at the preceding session, the representative of India had referred only to Fiji as an example of a resurgence of racism. It was unjust and false to refer solely to Fiji. In the plenary meeting of the General Assembly, speaking in exercise of the right of reply to a statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of India, the representative of Fiji had described in detail the situation in that country. Fiji had appealed for understanding on the part of the international community regarding the complex and delicate problems it was facing, in order to find satisfactory solutions. The statement by the Indian representative had been unnecessary and would not help the people of Fiji: it was a premature and critical comment which could only aggravate a situation which could be solved much faster without outside interference.

53. Mr. BEN YOHANAN (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, expressed disappointment at the flagrant attacks on Israel by some delegations during the debate on the current group of items. His delegation had been hoping that the spirit of compromise and conciliation that prevailed in many regions of the world would be reflected in the debates in the Committee. The fact that some representatives had chosen to use that platform for attacking Israel did not advance the cause of peace and the peace efforts currently under way in the Middle East.

(Mr. Ben Yohanan, Israel)

54. References had been made to the situation in the administered territories of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District, and he reminded members of the Committee that Israel had come to control those territories only as a result of an imposed and self-defensive war in 1967.

55. Throughout the years, Israel had made numerous attempts to bring about a dialogue and direct peace negotiations with its neighbours but, with the exception of Egypt, it had had no success. The peace initiative introduced by the Prime Minister of Israel in April 1989 was designed to move forward the peace process in the Middle East and to bring about an end to the conflict. The response of the Arab delegations had been demonstrated when, with the exception of Egypt, they had all walked out while Israel's Minister for Foreign Affairs was addressing a plenary meeting of the General Assembly at the current session. In that statement the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel had called upon the Arab representatives to come forward and discuss peace. On 7 October 1989, the representative of the League of Arab States had not only rejected the outstretched hand of peace but had reminded representatives that the Arab States were in a state of war with Israel.

56. As to the activities of Israel in the administered territories, the violence unleashed by Palestinian Arabs against Israel did not take the form of peaceful demonstrations, but rather violence and terrorist activities undertaken against the Israeli civilian population, including women and children, and against Palestinian Arabs living in the territories who were accused of collaborating with Israel. Since the start of the violence in the administered territories, 143 Palestinians had been murdered by PLO agents - their own people - in order to intimidate the Palestinian population and prevent the moderate elements from taking a more realistic position towards peace.

57. In such a situation, Israel found itself obliged to maintain order and public safety in the administered territories. In doing so it maintained moral standards and human rights and showed the utmost restraint, something rarely found in other countries. Strict orders had been issued concerning the use of firearms and force to halt violence, those measures being used only in life-threatening situations. It was supreme hypocrisy when accusations against the behaviour of Israel in the territories were voiced by representatives of Governments which had themselves resorted to brutal methods to suppress domestic riots. Unlike other neighbouring countries, Israel did not use heavy artillery against civilian populations, as had recently been witnessed in Beirut, nor did it resort to extreme means to quell the uprising. No action was taken against innocent people.

58. Israel had taken action against its own security personnel who used excessive force or who made use of their weapons without proper cause, and had brought them to trial and punishment. Regarding the attempts made by some representatives to draw an analogy between the apartheid régime of South Africa and Israel, his delegation had totally rejected those false accusations in its statement the preceding day and did not find it necessary to repeat its views on that subject.

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59. Ms. ZEB (Pakistan), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that in his statement the representative of the Kabul régime had made a number of references to Pakistan in connection with the current situation in Afghanistan which were completely divorced from reality. In the past 10 years the United Nations had recognized that the Afghan people must once again exercise their right to self-determination. General Assembly resolution 43/20 recognized the need for the establishment of a broad-based government in Afghanistan and requested the Secretary-General to encourage and facilitate that process. That in itself demonstrated that the Afghan people was still unable to exercise its right to self-determination and elect its government freely.

60. The accusation that Pakistan had caused the war in Afghanistan was absolutely false. The Afghan people had waged a heroic struggle in the past 10 years against the illegal régime imposed in Kabul with the support of foreign forces. Pakistan, for its part, had always sought to help to bring about a comprehensive political settlement that would enable the people of Afghanistan to regain its right to self-determination and the millions of Afghan refugees in Pakistan to return to their homeland in safety and honour.

61. The representative of the Kabul régime had blamed Pakistan for interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and violating the Geneva Agreements. The Committee and the international community could not believe those attempts to accuse Pakistan of committing such violations. It was in fact the Kabul régime that had committed hundreds of violations of Pakistan airspace and territory, had indiscriminately launched missiles against Pakistan in order to spread terror and had sent professional saboteurs to carry out subversive acts. The representative of the Kabul régime did not know the current real situation in Pakistan, where there was a democratically elected Government.

62. Mr. MEHNAT (Afghanistan), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he had not heard anything new in the statement by the representative of Pakistan; it was merely a repetition of old stories which his delegation did not wish to listen to any more.

63. Mr. ZIADA (Iraq), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that on the previous day the Zionist representative had stated that his Government had no relations with South Africa, but had not referred to collaboration in the military field. The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/43/22) indicated that Israel sold between R 1.26 and R 1.68 billion worth of arms to South Africa a year and that collaboration in the military field was continuing. Similarly, the report pointed out that Israel had helped South Africa in its war against Angola. The representative of Israel could therefore refer to cultural or sports exchanges, but could not speak of military aid. He had also said that Israel had reduced its trade and economic ties with South Africa, but that had occurred after Israel had been confronted with the fact that the Congress of the United States would have imposed a boycott against it if it had continued to maintain such relations, and that was the only reason why Israel had limited them.

(Mr. Ziada, Iraq)

64. The representative of Israel had also stated that there was currently a spirit of compromise throughout the world and that the statements made by the Arab countries did not reflect that spirit. In that regard, he recalled an article published in The New York Times on 8 October in which it was stated that it was clear that the Government of Israel was responsible for the lack of progress in the search for peace in the Middle East.

65. With regard to the situation in the occupied territories, the representative of Israel had attempted to demonstrate the humanitarian attitude of his Government. In that connection, the representative of Iraq referred to another article, published in The New York Times, on 30 September 1989, which had reported that the gaol terms of those convicted of the fatal beating of an Arab who was trying to prevent the arrest of his 15-year-old son had been cut short. Although the court had originally sentenced them to nine months in gaol, it had reduced the sentence by three months because it had considered the penalty excessive. Such was Israeli justice.

66. Resolution 44/2, which the General Assembly had adopted several days earlier, expressed horror at the policy of Israel and, among other things, condemned the killing of civilians; that resolution had been adopted almost unanimously, with the exception of the usual two votes against.

67. The representative of Israel had stated that the Arab population currently represented 17 per cent. A United Nations document published in 1979 (ST/SG/SER.F/3) indicated clearly that in 1920 the Arab population of Palestine had been 95 per cent while the Jewish population had been only 5 per cent; likewise, it indicated that Arabs had owned 97.5 per cent of the land and Jews only 2.5 per cent. In 1947, the year in which the greatest crime of the twentieth century, the partition of Palestine, had been committed, 70 per cent of the inhabitants had been Palestinian Arabs and 30 per cent Jews, despite the massive and forced immigration. Now reference was made to 17 per cent. That was truly a policy of genocide.

68. Mr. SAAD (Syrian Arab Republic) speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said the representative of Israel had stated that the occupation of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank had resulted from a defensive war. He himself wondered if the occupation of the Gaza Strip, Sinai, Syria, the Syrian Arab Golan and the West Bank had not by any chance resulted from the 1974 war; if the Suez war had been a defensive war; if the occupation of all the territory of Israel in 1947 and 1948 had also been a defensive war; if the aggression against Lebanon and the occupation of its capital had been an act of self-defence; and if the attack against the Iraqi nuclear reactor and its destruction had also been acts of self-defence. He also wondered if the Israeli attack against Palestinian leaders in Tunis could be considered a form of self-defence and if the occupation of the territory of Palestine and the massacre and displacement of its people could be depicted as mere measures to maintain peace and public order. Lastly, he said that the whole world had seen how the Israelis had broken the bones of children, women and the elderly.

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69. Mr. ALFARO (El Salvador) said that, while he welcomed the fact that the representative of Nicaragua had stated that his country respected the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, he wished to inquire whether the aid which Nicaragua was providing to the terrorists of the Frente Farabundo Martí was compatible with such a statement.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.