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New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 11th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. RITTER (Panama)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 87: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE SECOND DECADE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/42/3, A/42/492 and A/42/493)

AGENDA ITEM 91: IMPORTANCE OF THE UNIVERSAL REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND OF THE SPEEDY GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES FOR THE EFFECTIVE GUARANTEE AND OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS: REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/42/448 and Add.1)

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- (a) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued)
- (b) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF APARTHEID: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)
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1. Mr. GOMEZ (Controller) said that the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination contained a recommendation that the Secretary-General should advance the necessary travel funds once more so that the Committee might continue its important work.

2. Prior to 1986, the Secretary-General had advanced travel funds for each meeting on a regular basis, even though States parties clearly bore responsibility for those expenses. Owing to the financial crisis which had arisen in early 1986, it had not been possible to carry out in a timely manner all the activities requested by Member States under the regular budget for the current biennium, let alone advance funds for activities that were to be financed by States parties. That was why the session of the Committee that was to have been held in August 1986 had been cancelled and one of its 1987 sessions shortened. Despite the many appeals to States parties to honour their financial commitments, 48 States parties currently owed a total of more than \$US 150,000.

3. The action recommended in the Committee's report would not solve the underlying problem. Unfortunately, the financial crisis still existed and the Secretary-General was not in a position to advance funds. States parties must honour their financial commitments if the Committee was to continue meeting. Information regarding their respective assessments would be sent before the end of October to the Permanent Representatives of Member States that were parties to the Convention; it was to be hoped that, as a result of that effort, sufficient funds would be on hand by the end of January 1988 to allow the thirty-sixth session of CERD to be held on 29 February 1988, as scheduled. An updated financial report would be presented to the States parties at their biennial meeting on 15 January 1988.

4. Mr. MARTINEZ (Panama) said that the struggle to eliminate all forms and manifestations of racial discrimination and to ensure equality, justice and brotherhood among men had yielded significant achievements over the past 40 years. The United Nations had made an extraordinary contribution to that process, and the concerted efforts of States had played an essential role. Nevertheless, the continued existence of the apartheid régime in South Africa jeopardized the credibility of the United Nations. The existence of a racist minority régime in South Africa and Namibia constituted a setback for the fight for racial equality in the modern world. No one could remain silent or indifferent in the face of the apartheid régime, under which a racist minority subjected millions of persons to the most shameful form of oppression. The international community had categorically condemned that policy, labelling it a crime against humanity. Yet, apartheid continued to exist through the complicity of those who, citing fallacious arguments and untenable sophisms, refused to adopt measures for the definitive isolation of the Pretoria régime as stringently and resolutely as they did against other countries. He wished to reaffirm his country's repudiation of those who imposed apartheid and, likewise, those who gave it their support and enabled it to survive. Panama had ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and was endeavouring to implement those instruments faithfully at both the national and international levels.

5. Panama advocated respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and independence, since the full exercise of that right was inseparable from human rights and fundamental freedoms. The South African régime must immediately end its illegal occupation of Namibia, which constituted a flagrant violation of United Nations resolutions and Security Council resolution 435 (1978) in particular. Only the genuine independence of the Namibian people could end the discrimination and degrading oppression generated by that occupation.

6. He reiterated his Government's solidarity with all peoples struggling for their independence, territorial integrity and just aspirations for freedom from colonial domination, i.e., the peoples of the Sahara, Afghanistan, Democratic Kampuchea, New Caledonia, Puerto Rico and Cyprus. Special mention must be made of the Palestinian people, whose inalienable rights must be recognized.

7. Panama, which was proud to have participated for many years in the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, noted with concern the financial difficulties that threatened to prevent the Committee from fulfilling its mandate. In view of that situation, he appealed to all States parties to the Convention to reaffirm their moral and financial support for CERD so that it might continue to function with its customary efficiency.

8. Mr. ZAWACKI (Poland) said it was imperative that racism and racial discrimination should be totally eliminated, in keeping with the common desire of peoples all over the world. Unfortunately, millions of people continued to be victims of various forms of those abhorrent phenomena. Even though racism and racial discrimination had been the subject of thorough debates in the United

(Mr. Zawacki, Poland)

Nations and other international forums for almost 40 years, the progress achieved was far from satisfactory, especially in South Africa, where the Pretoria régime was imposing apartheid, a racist doctrine which constituted a total negation of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

9. South Africa was the only country in which racial discrimination was supported by the constitution. In disregard of United Nations resolutions and decisions, the Pretoria régime had even escalated its campaign of terror and repression in order to preserve institutionalized racism. No one believed that moral indignation and rejection alone could bring about the abolition of apartheid, just as Pretoria's so-called reforms fooled no one. Apartheid could not be reformed; it must be abolished, and the end of that evil system was inevitable. Comprehensive and mandatory sanctions must be imposed against the Pretoria régime, in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Such measures were the most appropriate and effective means by which the international community could support the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.

10. The Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination demonstrated the will of the international community to co-ordinate efforts to eliminate racism and racial discrimination. His delegation fully supported the Secretary-General's proposals to implement the Programme of Action for the Second Decade, and shared the view that new impetus must be given to the struggle against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid. All States Members of the United Nations without exception must condemn such practices both in words and in deeds.

11. The Government and people of Poland condemned and rejected racism, racial discrimination and apartheid and the country's legislation effectively prevented their manifestation in any form. Poland implemented all the decisions and recommendations of the United Nations on those questions.

12. His Government maintained no political, economic or other relations with South Africa and it condemned the political, military and economic assistance given to the Pretoria régime by certain countries and transnational corporations. It also supported the immediate imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa by the Security Council and expressed its solidarity with all those who were struggling for the elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination, especially SWAPO and the African National Congress.

13. His country would spare no effort in contributing to the final eradication of all forms of racism and racial discrimination in the world. The complete eradication of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid also depended on universal ratification and strict observance of the international conventions thereon.

14. The adoption of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in 1965 was a historic milestone. His country, which attached great importance to the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, set up under the Convention, regretted the critical financial

(Mr. Zawacki, Poland)

situation affecting the Committee and limiting its capacity to discharge its mandate. Such a situation could not continue, and States Parties must honour their obligations under the Convention and pay their contributions, so that the Committee could overcome its present crisis. Poland was convinced that the steps taken by States Parties at the meeting held in April 1987 to rationalize the system of periodic reporting would facilitate the Committee's work.

15. It was regrettable that only 85 States Members of the United Nations were parties to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. He appealed to those States which had not yet done so to accede to the Convention, in particular the States which had jurisdiction over transnational corporations operating in South Africa and Namibia, without whose co-operation such operations could not be halted.

16. In spite of the general acceptance of the right of peoples to self-determination, millions of people were denied that right, in particular the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. South Africa continued its illegal occupation of Namibia, and the Pretoria régime had not only refused to comply with United Nations resolutions in that regard but had also stepped up its ruthless suppression of the Namibian people. Furthermore, it was attacking the front-line States, thus worsening the situation in southern Africa and posing a threat to world peace and security.

17. His Government extended its support to the peoples in other parts of the world which were struggling against colonialism, oppression and exploitation. It supported in particular the people of Nicaragua, whose peaceful efforts to build up their country were being hindered by a policy of intervention which had recourse to mercenaries financed and directed from abroad.

18. There would be no peace and stability in the Middle East without settlement of the question of Palestine. The Polish Government defended the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to decide its own future, including the right to establish an independent State. That goal could be attained within the framework of a peace settlement for the Middle East in line with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Poland commended the idea of convening an international peace conference on the Middle East.

19. The use of mercenaries was a flagrant violation of the right of peoples to self-determination and it should be unanimously condemned. It was regrettable that mercenaries were still being used against sovereign States and national liberation movements. His country condemned all forms of mercenary activity and called for the early adoption of an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries. It also supported the efforts of the United Nations in that direction and welcomed the appointment of a special rapporteur on the use of mercenaries as a means to violate human rights and to impede the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination.

20. Mr. HUANG (China) said that the right to self-determination was both a prerequisite for the full enjoyment of basic human rights and a guarantee of those rights. It should be made clear that foreign aggression, domination and exploitation violated fundamental human rights and the United Nations Charter and threatened international peace and security. It must also be made clear that all countries were bound by their international obligation to support oppressed nations in their struggle for the right to national self-determination; obstruction and sabotage of their efforts constituted a violation of international law.

21. Since the end of the Second World War the principle of national self-determination had served as an inspiration for the fight against colonial domination and for the national liberation movements and it had accelerated the rise of the third world. Today it was easy to find cases in which the right to national self-determination was denied, obstructed or seriously violated. In the Middle East the Palestinian people had been denied the right to self-determination for more than 30 years. The foreign armed invasion and military occupation of Democratic Kampuchea and Afghanistan had infringed upon their independence and sovereignty and their right to self-determination. The most savage colonial régime in human history still lingered in southern Africa. The international community as a whole and the Third Committee in particular must approach those international conflicts from the perspective of the principle of national self-determination.

22. The question of Palestine bore historical witness to Israel's wilful violation of the right of peoples to self-determination, which was preventing a peaceful solution in the Middle East. The international community had shown its interest in the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, and the PLO had responded positively; however, the Israeli authorities still refused to recognize the PLO's legitimate right to participate in such a conference and were thus delaying a process which might lead to peace. The situation depended on Israel. If Israel adopted a realistic and co-operative attitude, it would not be difficult to achieve a fair settlement.

23. The situation in Kampuchea had resulted from Vietnamese aggression and occupation. The coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea had proposed a plan envisaging the withdrawal of the occupying troops in two stages under United Nations supervision and negotiations with the Phnom Penh régime with a view to establishing a four-party Government. That generous and reasonable proposal had been rejected. A change had recently taken place in the attitude of the Vietnamese authorities, who now said that they were concerned about the "national reconciliation" of Kampuchea and sought a "political settlement". Unfortunately, their idea of national reconciliation did not include the withdrawal of the troops; therefore, the result could only be a Government controlled by foreign elements, a solution which was unacceptable to the Kampuchean people. The solution to the Kampuchean problem was simple: the foreign troops must withdraw.

24. The nature of the Afghan question was the same as that of the Kampuchean question. In 1986, the Soviet Union had declared that it would stage a partial withdrawal of troops in an effort to reach a political solution, and the Kabul régime had declared a unilateral cease-fire. The results had been disappointing,

(Mr. Huang, China)

however. The troop withdrawal had involved only a very insignificant number of forces, and the cease-fire was in fact a continuation of the suppression of the resistance movement and repression against innocent civilians. The talk of "reconciliation first and troop-withdrawal afterwards" was nothing but an excuse for putting off that withdrawal. In order to achieve a political settlement of the Afghan situation, there must be genuine good faith and concrete actions.

25. The South African authorities' brutal rule, their illegal occupation of Namibia and their repeated aggression against neighbouring countries had brought great instability to the whole of southern Africa. Virtually all the countries and peoples of the world, as well as many international organizations, entities and fora, had condemned South Africa and called increasingly strongly for sanctions. If the South African authorities did not give up their obstinate position, they would remain in the dock.

26. China welcomed the Secretary-General's report on the implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (A/42/493) and appreciated the positive efforts made by the United Nations to combat racism. The Organization should make the struggle against racism its priority item and ensure its financial support. His Government wished to express its support for that effort by making a contribution of \$US 10,000 to the Trust Fund for the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

27. Lastly, he wished to point out that support for national self-determination and incitement of ethnic separatist activities were two completely different matters. Support for the latter activity ran counter not only to the United Nations Charter but also to the general principles and norms of international law and international relations. Such a practice would bring nothing but harm to international peace and security and would result in a great step backwards in history. Some States which knew nothing about the realities of other countries enjoyed making indiscreet remarks and interfering in their internal affairs, and a few had even gone so far as to incite and support activities aimed at splitting particular countries and jeopardizing their national unity. Such irresponsible remarks and incitement of ethnic hatred, in violation of the norms guiding international relations, must be stopped.

28. Mr. HASSAN (Bahrain) expressed concern at the prospect of continuing to condemn and denounce racism and racial discrimination year-in and year-out without taking decisive action to eliminate both those evils and enable justice to prevail so that peoples could exercise their right of self-determination and anachronistic régimes would disappear.

29. With regard to the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, his Government welcomed the efforts made to apply the Programme of Action for the Decade. While it recognized the importance of the activities enumerated in the Secretary-General's report (A/42/493), especially with regard to training, practical courses, seminars and the role of education in the field of human rights,

(Mr. Hassan, Bahrain)

it believed, however, that satisfactory results would not be achieved unless the Member States took concerted action to eliminate racism. Since the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, there was no more need for publications, books or seminars but rather for concrete actions to put an end to that affront to humanity.

30. Bahrain's policies were based on the principles of Islam, which advocated tolerance, compliance with United Nations resolutions and the unconditional outlawing of racism and racial discrimination.

31. Despite the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter, millions of people were being deprived of the right of self-determination, in particular, the peoples of Namibia, South Africa and Palestine. The most extreme case was that of South Africa. After 40 years of apartheid, it was clear that the time had come to take decisive action to put an end to that abominable régime. The international community must impose sanctions, particularly military and economic sanctions, against Pretoria. The South African régime was not only oppressing the black majority in that country but also occupying the Territory of Namibia illegally and attacking neighbouring States, using mercenaries to destabilize them and impede their economic development. The only way to help the peoples of South Africa and Namibia was to impose mandatory and comprehensive sanctions and to implement Security Council resolutions on the independence of Namibia.

32. For 40 years, the Palestinian people had been deprived of its territory and exiled by international Zionism and Israeli policy. Israel was trying to eliminate the personality of that people, appropriate its land, destroy its holy places and deprive it of its fundamental rights, even its right to exist. Its settlements policy in the occupied territories was proof of its objectives. Israel flouted the many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Commission on Human Rights and continued to violate the rights of the Palestinian people. Yet the realization of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination remained a prerequisite for establishing peace in the Middle East.

33. His Government was vigorously opposed to colonialist régimes and policies and supported the right to self-determination and independence and the struggle of oppressed peoples against their oppressors.

34. Ms. BARGHOUTI (Observer, Palestine Liberation Organization) said that 1987 marked a number of important anniversaries in the tragedy of the Palestinian people: the seventieth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, under which the British Empire had committed itself to the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people; the fortieth anniversary of General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, on the partition of Palestine; the twentieth anniversary of the Israeli occupation of Palestine and other Arab lands; and the fifth anniversary of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the siege of Beirut and the subsequent Sabra and Shatila massacre. That was why international non-governmental organizations working to broaden support for the Palestinian people had declared 1987 the "Year of Palestine".

(Ms. Barghouti, Observer, PLO)

35. Under General Assembly resolution 181 (II), each of the two States in Palestine was to have drafted a democratic constitution guaranteeing the civil, political, economic and religious rights of the population. Yet as soon as it had been founded, Israel had begun to violate that resolution, adopting the Law of Return in 1950 and the Israel Nationality Law in 1952. Those clearly racist laws had not only prohibited Palestinians from returning to their native homeland but had also excluded broad categories of Jews from obtaining Israeli citizenship.

36. Israel had uprooted 650,000 Palestinians from their homeland, stolen more than 90 per cent of their land and razed 385 Palestinian villages. Former Israeli Prime Minister, Menachem Begin, and his successor, Yitzhak Shamir, had been involved in the Deir Yassin massacre of 9 April 1948 and in the antagonism towards the Arab population that had already manifested itself in the 1940s. Those facts, together with the Sabra and Shatila massacres in 1982, proved the racist nature of Zionism, which was comparable to apartheid. Both Israel and South Africa denied basic rights guaranteed under the United Nations Charter. The racist régimes in Tel Aviv and Pretoria had labelled genuine liberation movements as "terrorists" in order to dehumanize them, while terming themselves "Western democracies" fighting the forces of backwardness.

37. At its eighteenth session, held in Algeria, the Palestine National Council had reaffirmed that the only way to achieve a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict was to convene an international conference under United Nations auspices with the full participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Such a conference should guarantee the right of return of the Palestinian people and ensure the establishment of an independent Palestinian State. Putting the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people in the forefront would fulfil the legitimate aspirations of the entire Palestinian people, including those who were living a sub-human existence in the land of their ancestors.

38. Mrs. SYLLA (Madagascar) expressed satisfaction at the Secretary-General's report on the implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (A/42/493). With respect to the proposed plan of activities for 1990-1993, the highest priority should be accorded to measures to combat apartheid, which represented the most extreme form of racism and racial discrimination and, as such, was a crime against humanity. She condemned the intransigence of the minority racist régime of Pretoria, the intensification of its policy of repression against the black majority in South Africa and Namibia, a territory which it was occupying illegally, and its terrorist acts of aggression against the Front-Line States. Comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions must be imposed against the Government of South Africa in order to dismantle the iniquitous system of apartheid.

39. Although many peoples had already won their independence, in conformity with the principles set forth in the United Nations Charter, the International Covenants on Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, unfortunately some were still unable to exercise their

(Mrs. Sylla, Madagascar)

fundamental rights and had been expelled from their homes and lands. In the case of Namibia, occupied illegally by the racist Pretoria régime, the only possible solution was the unconditional application of the United Nations plan for Namibia contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Madagascar supported the liberation struggle waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and pledged its solidarity with the Front-Line States.

40. With respect to the Palestinian people, the international community must find an equitable solution which guaranteed the exercise of the inalienable right of that people to self-determination and to a homeland, within the framework of a comprehensive and peaceful solution to the crisis in the Middle East. Madagascar supported the early convening of the international peace conference on the Middle East, as called for by the General Assembly since 1983 in which the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, must participate on an equal footing with the other parties to the conflict.

41. The international community must support the peace plans proposed within the framework of the United Nations or the Organization of African Unity for resolving the situations in Lebanon, Western Sahara and Chad.

42. With respect to the use of mercenaries against sovereign States and liberation movements, Madagascar supported fully General Assembly resolution 41/102 of 4 December 1986; rejection of that practice was implicit in the Penal Code and in the Code of National Service Justice. The use of mercenaries must be unconditionally abolished and Madagascar noted with satisfaction that the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights had appointed a Special Rapporteur on that issue.

43. Mr. PITARKA (Albania) said that South Africa and Namibia remained the main centre of racial discrimination in the world. The peoples of Africa and progressive world public opinion were indignant to see that the Pretoria racist régime was persisting in its policy of apartheid against the Azanian and Namibian peoples, inflicting all manner of sufferings on the population and subjecting men and women, young and old, to inhuman tortures and penalties. The Pretoria régime could not cover up that reality with propaganda and such political manoeuvres as the so-called "internal constitutional elections", the farce of "democratization", and the elections which had taken place in May 1987. In that connection, it should be remembered that 24 million Azanians had been excluded from those "elections" because they did not enjoy the basic right to vote.

44. The worsening situation in South Africa and the reign of terror, violence and racial discrimination prevailing there proved the fallacy of the alleged efforts of the United States and other imperialist Powers to reform the South African régime. Indeed, it was clear that the imperialist Powers, first and foremost the United States and its multinational corporations, were supporting the Pretoria Government in order to preserve their neo-colonialist and economic interests in South Africa and Namibia.

(Mr. Pitarka, Albania)

45. Racial discrimination was an inhuman policy, based on a reactionary ideology which maintained the superiority of certain races or nations over others and which had inspired and continue to inspire practices of national oppression in various countries and regions of the world. The ideology of racism had appeared originally in the imperialist metropolises and it was no accident that in the United States and some other countries blacks and coloured national minorities were discriminated against in employment and education and in their participation in political and social life.

46. Albania had condemned publicly the racial discrimination and genocide practised by the Zionist Government of Israel against the peoples of the occupied Arab Territories, especially the Palestinian people. The persecution, arrests and torture of innocent Palestinian and other Arab inhabitants of the occupied Territories, along with the strict restrictions on their social, economic and cultural rights, did not differ much from the racial practices of the South African régime. The Palestinian refugee camps brought to mind the bantustans and other forms of territorial exclusion practised in South Africa. The relations, collaboration and similarities between the two régimes were not accidental. Their arrogance and persistence in pursuing their policies also had a common basis, namely the support and assistance of international imperialism, first and foremost United States imperialism.

47. Mrs. BELLORINI (Nicaragua) said that there was widespread consensus regarding apartheid, a system of institutionalized racism which was a disgrace to all humanity, the unlawful occupation of Namibia, and the Pretoria régime's policy of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring countries. By maintaining the apartheid system and intensifying the repression against the Namibian people and the exploitation of its resources, the Government of South Africa was perpetuating colonialism in the region.

48. Because of its nature, the South African Government would not abandon its apartheid policies. The Governments of countries whose level of technical, economic and military development enabled them to exert pressure on the régime therefore had a responsibility to use that ability in the name of justice, law and the principles of the United Nations Charter and on behalf of the majority of countries in the world, which were not in a position to exert material pressure. In view of the discouraging situation in southern Africa, it was impossible to ignore the reticent attitude of some Governments, particularly the United States Government which not only refrained from exerting its influence and obstructed initiatives by the international community to promote justice and safeguard the right of self-determination but also collaborated openly with the racist Government while using its veto power in the Security Council to prevent the immediate imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. The United States Government must understand that the apartheid régime could be neither reformed nor transformed through the policy of constructive engagement.

(Mrs. Bellorini, Nicaragua)

49. Her delegation was concerned at the financial difficulties faced by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. States parties to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination must make every effort to fulfil their financial obligations. Despite their serious economic problems, the Latin American countries had complied promptly with that obligation.

50. The right of self-determination was a prerequisite for the exercise of other human rights and fundamental freedoms. Along with the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Nicaragua was taking part in efforts directed at the elimination of colonialism in all its forms, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The Government of Nicaragua was concerned at the colonial situation of Puerto Rico, which was aimed at changing the Latin American character and identity of the people and culture of that country. A colonial situation also persisted in Western Sahara, despite the legitimate demands of the Saharan people. The Palestinian people continued its tragic existence as a nation without a State, a situation which hindered the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination. That situation had worsened with Israel's occupation of Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem, and the territories of neighbouring Arab countries. Since the question of Palestine lay at the heart of the Middle East problem, the international community must find an equitable solution which upheld the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Nicaragua supported the early convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, under United Nations auspices, in which the Palestine Liberation Organization would participate on an equal footing with other interested parties.

51. In Latin America, and in Central America in particular, there was evidence of a growing awareness on the part of peoples and an affirmation of their dignity which was enabling them to confront firmly threats to their self-determination and total independence. The conflict in Central America had helped strengthen Latin America's unity and capacity for concerted action and co-operation, as exemplified by the formation of the Contadora Group and its Support Group. The important work done by those groups and the political will of the Central American countries had finally taken shape in agreements based on dialogue and negotiation which augured well for peace in Central America. In fact, the Esquipulas agreements represented the highest expression of Latin American unity and the greatest expression of Central American unity in the current century.

52. Those agreements, which comprised a detailed procedure for the achievement of peace, contrasted with the long history of Central American dependence on the United States and constituted an historic landmark in the distancing of Central America from the current policy of the United States Government. That Government must recognize the existence of an increasingly multipolar world in which aspirations for justice, democracy and economic development could not be scorned.

53. Nicaragua noted with satisfaction the decision of the Commission on Human Rights (paragraph 1 of its resolution 1987/16) to name a special rapporteur to study the question of the use of mercenaries.

54. Mrs. BUTIKO (United Republic of Tanzania) said that her Government had always manifested its absolute condemnation of apartheid and all other forms of racial discrimination. Everyone was aware of the determination of the racist régime to maintain white supremacy and regional domination, and to create a cordon sanitaire along its borders. It was also clear that the régime was willing to go to great lengths to continue its exploitation of the resources of Namibia in order to maintain the oppressive apparatus of apartheid and continue to use Namibian land as a springboard to further its policy of regional destabilization. Apartheid had led to violence in South Africa, to the denial of the right of the Namibian people to their independence and to a destabilization of the independent States of the region, thus preventing them from engaging in national reconstruction. The racist régime had ignored the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of the region, in violation of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

55. Despite the many years that had passed since the General Assembly began to examine those matters and the countless resolutions adopted regarding them, Namibia was still a colony of Pretoria, the black population of South Africa continued to be removed from their homes and forced to work under conditions that were no different from slavery and apartheid continued to sow death and destruction all over South Africa. While hundreds of thousands of persons had been jailed, tortured, starved and killed, the Governments of such great democracies as the United Kingdom, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany persisted with their policy of "constructive engagement". Apartheid could not be reformed and no encouragement should be given to so-called reforms.

56. Her delegation called upon the racist régime to immediately lift the state of emergency, stop all acts of brutality by its security forces and release all political prisoners. It also called on the international community to individually and collectively assist the front-line States and the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

57. Apartheid had caused too much human suffering and too many violations of rights. It was essential for the United Nations to take immediate concerted action to complement the efforts of the local population to put a speedy end to apartheid. To show sympathy and understanding and to applaud the so-called reforms would only accentuate the feeling of frustration and despair among the black people of South Africa and Namibia.

58. The Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries had declared that the imposition of economic sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa represented the only effective and peaceful means of forcing it to terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia and would also contribute to the elimination of the system of apartheid. The United Republic of Tanzania urged the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany to co-operate in that respect. It also appealed to those European Governments who had taken a weak stance on sanctions to join the international community. The Governments and corporations that assisted the régime in a variety of ways should know that they were thus sharing in the responsibility for the suffering, insecurity and tension in South Africa and southern Africa as a whole.

(Mrs. Butiko, United Republic of Tanzania)

59. Her Government had consistently supported peace initiatives in Africa, the Middle East, Europe, Asia and Central America. The Guatemala Agreement constituted an historic initiative and offered an authentic and legitimate platform for the restoration of peace and stability and the consolidation of the sovereign independence of the Central American member States. Tanzania called on all States to support the implementation of those Agreements, and above all, to desist from any action that would undermine them.

60. A solution to the Middle East conflict could only be achieved through recognition of and respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, who should fully participate in any peace conference relative to that region.

61. The war between Iran and Iraq had caused both countries enormous material damage and loss of human life. Not only had there recently been an escalation of the war itself, but there was imminent danger of its becoming internationalized. Tanzania urged both parties to implement Security Council resolution 598 (1987).

62. Mrs. KOZAKOU-MARCOULLIS (Cyprus) said that despite the resolutions and international instruments adopted by the United Nations and the apparent unanimity of the international community regarding the items under discussion, the people of Namibia, the people of South Africa and the Palestinian people were still not free and millions of persons suffered under the yoke of colonialism, foreign domination, military occupation or the denial of their fundamental rights.

63. Many Security Council resolutions remained unimplemented, despite the fact that all States had the responsibility to carry out decisions of that body in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter. Some principles of the Charter - non-use of force, non-interference, equal rights, self-determination of peoples and respect for the fundamental human rights and freedoms - were constantly violated.

64. Her delegation paid tribute to all those who had sacrificed their lives in the just struggle against apartheid, to the thousands of political prisoners in South Africa, to the people of Namibia for their struggle against colonialism and oppression, to the Palestinians who were committed to a free and independent State of their own and to all peoples who suffered under colonialism, oppression, foreign domination, military occupation or aggression.

65. Her delegation supported the plan of activities for the second half of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Emphasis should be placed on implementation of United Nations resolutions and human rights instruments and on the promotion of the work of the United Nations in the struggle against apartheid, racism and racial discrimination.

66. The contribution of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) to international efforts to promote the effective enjoyment of human rights by all people was most valuable. In that context, the Government of Cyprus was concerned by the financial problems hampering the work of CERD. The States parties

(Mrs. Kozakou-Marcoullis, Cyprus)

to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination should, without delay, fulfil their financial obligations, thus enabling CERD to continue its important work.

67. Her delegation had heard with indignation the statement by the representative of Turkey regarding respect for human rights, the need to abide by General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, and the need for withdrawal of Turkish troops from certain countries and return of refugees to their homes. It was inadmissible for an aggressor country to preach human rights and respect for the Charter and the resolutions of the General Assembly, when it had invaded Cyprus in 1974 and continued to occupy part of its territory, had forcibly uprooted part of its population, had divided the people of Cyprus on the basis of ethnic criteria and had promoted separation, segregation and secession in violation of international law and human rights and in disregard of numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The Prime Minister of Turkey had recently threatened to create another problem with a friendly country in the same way that it had solved the Cyprus problem, namely, in violation of international law, by invasion and occupation.

68. Mrs. MUKHERJEE (India), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of Pakistan had referred in his statement to Jammu and Kashmir. As was well known, Jammu and Kashmir were part of India and the principle of self-determination could not be applied to integral elements of an independent and sovereign State. India's position on the matter was well known and it was not necessary to go into further detail.

69. Mr. MIR NAWAZ KHAN MARWAT (Pakistan), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that his delegation had already stated its opinion on the subject of Jammu and Kashmir and did not wish to discuss the subject, on which it had a clear position.

70. Ms. LIEN (Viet Nam), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the accusations levelled against Viet Nam by the representative of Singapore were an attempt to make public opinion forget the sad events of the past, when Singapore had served as a logistic base for the war of aggression against Viet Nam and the countries of Indo-China. Singapore had also been a centre for rest and recreation for United States soldiers, which had enabled it to reap huge benefits at the expense of the sufferings of the peoples of Indo-China during the Viet Nam war. After the war, Singapore had persisted in turning a blind eye to the realities and trend of the times. It had maintained its alliance with the imperialist and reactionary forces and done everything possible to oppose the revolution in the countries of Indo-China. Now its design was to bring the genocidal clique back into power in Democratic Kampuchea. The right of Singapore to speak in the Committee about the self-determination of peoples could therefore be questioned.

71. In reply to the statement made by the representative of China, she pointed out that China had supported the genocidal régime of Pol Pot, which had caused the death of millions of Kampuchians and waged wars against neighbouring countries.

(Ms. Lien, Viet Nam)

Today, regardless of world-wide condemnation of the perpetrators of that genocide, China continued to keep Pol Pot's remnant forces and sustain them in their activities to undermine the Kampuchean people's revival and rehabilitation. China was also trying to impede negotiations towards a political settlement of the Kampuchean question. What was now needed was mutual co-operation in finding a satisfactory solution for the benefit of both peoples - Vietnamese and Chinese - as well as the other peoples in the region. Her delegation hoped that China would soon make a constructive contribution to the solution of the problem of South-East Asia.

72. Miss CHENG (Democratic Kampuchea), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that her country's problem had started with the invasion and occupation by Viet Nam over eight years before. Since then, in various General Assembly resolutions, the international community had called on Viet Nam to withdraw from Democratic Kampuchea, in order to enable the Kampuchean people to exercise its right to self-determination and to choose its Government freely. Notwithstanding, Viet Nam had continued to reject those calls to reason, thereby exposing its unwillingness to settle the problem of Democratic Kampuchea by political means. Its refusal confirmed that the real goal of the invasion and occupation of Democratic Kampuchea was the establishment of its "Indo-China Federation", namely, the total annexation of Democratic Kampuchea.

73. The sham proposals recently formulated regarding negotiations and national reconciliation were a smoke-screen intended to impede the only possible solution to the problem, i.e. negotiation between Viet Nam and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which was the legal representative of the Kampuchean people. Furthermore, Viet Nam and those who supported it were going too far in describing the Kampuchean people's struggle against Vietnamese occupation as a civil war.

74. The national reconciliation proposed by Democratic Kampuchea's aggressor was only a manoeuvre aimed at forcing the national resistance forces to surrender, creating disunity among the national forces and evading international condemnation of its occupation of Kampuchea. It should not be forgotten that the withdrawal of Vietnamese occupation forces from Democratic Kampuchea was the only possibility for national reconciliation. In a note from the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (A/42/616) a national reconciliation formula was given in clear terms; the first stage of the process would be the withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces, to take place within well-defined time-frames and under the supervision of the United Nations within the framework of an agreement between Viet Nam and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

75. After the first phase, a four-party coalition would be formed that incorporated the puppet group installed in Phnom Penh by the occupation forces. The national reconciliation plan proposed by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea was open to all Kampucheans, regardless of their past or current political leanings, and without a call for surrender of any kind.

(Miss Cheng, Democratic Kampuchea)

76. Everyone knew that the arduous struggle of the Kampuchean people had paralysed the Vietnamese forces within Kampuchea, and Viet Nam had therefore resorted to all kinds of trickery in order to deceive world public opinion. However, the international community continued to condemn the Vietnamese occupation of Democratic Kampuchea.

77. Ms. DU (China), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of Viet Nam had attacked and vilified her country without any reason, by stating that it was China, and not Viet Nam, which was blocking the political solution and national reconciliation of Kampuchea. That was not true; it was well known that Viet Nam was responsible for the aggression against Kampuchea, for the nine years of occupation, for the sufferings of the Kampuchean people and for the country's economic crisis. Viet Nam claimed to want a political solution and national reconciliation, but still refused to withdraw its occupation troops. Its attitude was nothing more than an attempt to get the international community to accept the occupation of Kampuchea as a fait accompli, in order to keep that country under its control and protect the interests that it had set up there.

78. That situation was opposed by all justice-loving countries, including China, which supported the norms of international law, opposed aggression and defended justice. Viet Nam must withdraw its troops from Kampuchea unconditionally.

79. Ms. LIEN (Viet Nam), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that account should be taken of the present possibilities of achieving a peaceful solution in Kampuchea which guaranteed peace, stability and co-operation. She asked China once more not to continue to provide assistance to the genocidal clique of Pol Pot and to make a positive contribution towards solving the problems of South-East Asia.

80. Miss CHENG (Democratic Kampuchea), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that Viet Nam should accept the negotiation with the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea on the basis of the peace proposal and the United States resolutions which required its withdrawal from that country. The time had come for Viet Nam to stop blaming others for the problems of its own making in South-East Asia. Peace could only return to the region when Viet Nam withdrew its troops from Kampuchean territory.

81. Mr. NAVON (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, pointed out to the representative of Saudi Arabia that the Committee's meetings should not be turned into a forum for the spread of lies. He cited a few examples of Judeophobic slurs published in the Saudi Arabian press and formulated by Saudi official representatives. First, he referred to an article from the Saudi newspaper Al Nadwa in which it was asserted that all the crimes of zionism had their source in the Tora and in the Holy Bible and that the Jewish religion was nothing but a collection of criminal and racist principles.

(Mr. Navon, Israel)

82. In 1964 at the Centre for Human Rights in Geneva Mr. Maruf al Dawalihi had said that the attempts made to exterminate the Jews at various times in history had been prompted by their belief that they were God's chosen people. Mr. Maruf had added that the cause of the oppression of the Jews since antiquity until the present day was their religion. In 1982 Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia had said that there was no doubt that one day Israel would be finally liquidated.

83. Owing to the limited time at his disposal, he could not refute each of the defamations formulated against Israel by a country where women were not even allowed to drive, and where mutilations, flogging and public decapitations were the order of the day. In 1973, the Anti-Slavery Society in London had reported an estimated 500,000 slaves in Saudi Arabia. In 1976 Die Welt had reported that every year 10,000 black Africans were smuggled into Saudi Arabia and sold into slavery - an activity conducted under the guise of religious pilgrimages.

84. He asked the representative of Saudi Arabia, a country threatened by instability, if it was possible to confine that instability to one part of the Middle East while exacerbating it elsewhere. Such a dichotomy could not last for ever.

85. Mr. AL-GAARI (Saudi Arabia), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of Israel, instead of refuting the specific information which had been provided on the surprising similarity between the racist practices of South Africa and Israel, had again repeated the usual Zionist and anachronistic statements on newspapers and officials of Saudi Arabia.

86. The accusation that slavery was practised in Saudi Arabia was an insult to the delegations of all countries which had embassies in Saudi Arabia. No other delegation had made such a comment. The only slavery to exist in the Middle East was the white slavery practised in Israel today.

87. One might ask why the delegation of Israel did not mention the co-operation in nuclear matters between South Africa and its Government, and why it did not mention the \$4 million invested in Marion Island, where Israeli army officials were conducting investigations jointly with the racist South Africans. The truth was that the representative of Israel had given no reply because he had none.

88. Mr. NAVON (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that referring to slavery in Saudi Arabia was no anachronism. Recently, his Government had defined clearly its policy towards apartheid and the scope of its relations with South Africa. The representative of Saudi Arabia should refer to his country's oil sales to South Africa, both past and current.

89. Mr. AL-GAARI (Saudi Arabia), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of Israel had committed a further anachronism by referring to oil sales by Saudi Arabia. Israel, for its part, imported gold and diamonds in large quantities from that country.

90. Mr. AMSELEM (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, observed that the representative of Nicaragua had spoken of United States aggression and Nicaragua's commitment to peace. In truth, though, it was the Government of Nicaragua, with its disregard for the human rights of its own people, the building of the largest army in Central American history and its aggression against its neighbours, which had caused the crisis in the region. The representative of Nicaragua would have the Committee believe that years of Sandinist repression and aggression were magically over and that the Sandinists had ceased to be Sandinists out of the goodness of their hearts.

91. If there was a chance for peace in Central America and for human rights in Nicaragua, it was thanks to such people as President Arias, the leader of a model democracy, to Nicaraguans such as Violeta Chamorro, who had refused to be cowed by the aggressive acts of the Sandinist thugs, and Nino Hernandez, who continued to head Nicaragua's human rights organization despite harassment and detention, to the 4,000 women from the organization "Las madres de reos políticos", who were trying to secure justice and freedom for the 10,000 or 11,000 political prisoners in Nicaragua, to such labour leaders as Alvin Guthrie, to all the brave opposition politicians who were fighting the totalitarian régime and, above all, to the thousands of anonymous Nicaraguans who had taken up arms and fought the mighty Sandinist army and its foreign advisers to a standstill. Those men and women, faithful to the ideals of the revolution, deserved thanks for the courage with which they had fought and support in the struggle to come.

92. Democracy and peace would be possible only if the international community demanded that the Sandinists should live up to their original promise to the people of Nicaragua. But there should be no illusions about the Sandinist régime. The Nicaraguans had none.

93. Lastly, he stated that he would be happy to compare the Latin character of Puerto Rico to that of East-bloc Nicaragua.

94. Mrs. BELLORINI (Nicaragua), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the statement made by her country had been clear and unambiguous. It had referred to the historic importance of the Esquipulas II Agreements signed by the Central American Presidents. The representative of the United States had put forward its own version of the circumstances which had made possible the signing of those Agreements. All the delegations present knew that Nicaragua had been denouncing, year after year, the war of aggression to which it was subjected, the loss of human life and the economic toll. The Esquipulas Agreements would not have been possible without the steadfastness of the fighting people of Nicaragua. The Central American Presidents had signed those Agreements in an act of lucidity and determination, to reject the absurd policy of aggression pursued by the United States in Central America.

95. The Sandinist People's Army was defeating President Reagan's mercenary bands. The Government of the United States should show its political will to embark on the bilateral negotiations which Nicaragua had been advocating with the support of the international community, the Contadora Group and the Support Group. Sandinist

(Mrs. Bellorini, Nicaragua)

flexibility should not be interpreted as lack of resolve, and the United States Government would not be able to sway the Sandinist people by exerting political pressure. The principles on which the action of the people and Government of Nicaragua was based remained unscathed, whereas Reagan's military strategy was breaking down and direct intervention would be extremely costly, as the United States Government well knew.

96. Mr. AMSELEM (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that in Nicaragua a war was being waged between the Sandinist Government and the Nicaraguan people. He expressed doubts concerning the re-establishment of freedom of the press in Nicaragua and asked when such prisons as the sadly notorious el Chipote prison would be opened. The Sandinist Government had caused the Nicaraguan economy to collapse, and the commanders enjoyed economic privileges of all kinds. They, not the "contras", were responsible for the suffering of the Nicaraguan people. When the representative of Nicaragua spoke of "the Sandinist people", he wondered whether she was distinguishing between a Sandinist people and a Nicaraguan people, or perhaps she was reserving for Sandinism a political function incompatible with democratic pluralism.

97. Mrs. BELLORINI (Nicaragua), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that she did not intend to engage in further polemics with the representative of the United States. She did, however, wish to clarify that there was no difference whatsoever between the Nicaraguan people and the Sandinist people, and that Sandinism represented democracy in Nicaragua, not a formal democracy as that promoted by the United States, but a democracy based on popular participation.

98. Mr. AKYOL (Turkey), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the limited time and resources available to the Committee should not be squandered on matters that were obviously political. The question of Cyprus would be discussed in the plenary Assembly; he therefore regretted the attempt to use the forum of the Committee for sterile propaganda purposes.

99. The Greek Cypriots apparently continued to believe that it was possible, through slander, to distort the true nature of the problem which they themselves had created, thereby hindering the quest for a solution. Were that not the case, they would not have committed the error, in paragraph 24 of the Secretary-General's report (A/42/492), of considering their own citizens as members of the two categories, namely, minorities and migrant workers, and then criticized Turkey for practising racial discrimination.

100. Having made that comment, he expressed the hope that speakers would confine themselves to the agenda items during the discussions.

101. Mrs. KOZAKOU-MARCOULLIS (Cyprus), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of Turkey, who had been unable to refute any of the points made in her statement, had no need to remind her that the question of Cyprus was included in the General Assembly's programme of work. She nevertheless claimed the right to raise the question in the Third Committee because the Third Committee

(Mrs. Kozakou-Marcoullis, Cyprus)

considered such items as the violation of the rights of peoples subjected to occupation, military aggression, racism and racial discrimination. After thanking many delegations for their expression of support for her people's struggle for freedom and justice, she said that the representative of Turkey had no right to question the legality of the Government of Cyprus. The only basis for a just solution to the Cyprus problem was the application of the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Commission on Human Rights and the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.