



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 13th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. CALERO RODRIGUES (Brazil)

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Distr. GENERAL
A/C.3/37/SR.13
22 October 1982
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

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

AGENDA ITEM 75: ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND OTHER FORMS OF ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO COLONIAL AND RACIST REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (continued) (A/37/333, A/37/413)

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1. Mr. JANI (Zimbabwe) said the right of self-determination, established in many United Nations resolutions, presupposed that people should be governed in accordance with their freely expressed will and should have sovereignty over their natural resources, which meant that no people could be deprived of its means of subsistence on the grounds of rights claimed by other States. Yet, a number of situations were characterized by the absence of those elements. For example, Morocco had attempted to justify its illegal occupation of Western Sahara by citing unsubstantiated ties of allegiance between the two States. The advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the matter had stated that historic links between the two territories did not support claims of territorial sovereignty or preclude the application of the principle of self-determination for inhabitants in the area. Thus, illegal invasion could never be legitimized by subsequent developments. His delegation therefore urged Morocco to proceed with the referendum agreed upon at the Nairobi summit.

2. The United Nations had refused to accept the fait accompli in East Timor and had demanded that Indonesia should withdraw its forces and desist from further violation of the territorial integrity of Timor. In reply, Indonesia had argued that the only troops in East Timor were volunteers responding to a Timorese request for assistance in restoring peace. However, at the time of the invasion,

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(Mr. Jani, Zimbabwe)

East Timor had still been a colony and had not yet chosen its own government. Who therefore could have called in Indonesia except Indonesia itself? Indonesia denied reports that the Timorese people were suffering from violations of human rights and from starvation. How then did Indonesia account for a one third decrease in the population within seven years? His delegation urged Indonesia to respect the rights of the East Timorese people and to initiate a process of dialogue aimed at allowing them self-determination.

3. In the Middle East, the massacre by Israel of Palestinians whose only crime was to want a State of their own, and of innocent civilians, had underscored the need for a comprehensive political settlement of the Palestinian problem if peace was to be restored in the region. In Afghanistan and Kampuchea, ideology was being cynically used as a mask for policy. It was claimed in both cases that the presence of foreign troops was necessitated by the desire to protect the welfare of the people. However, measures to enable the people freely to express their political will and to regain control of their destiny were still not forthcoming.

4. Ms. JORDAN (Barbados) noted with regret that, as the end of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination approached, racism and racial discrimination remained rampant. In South Africa the white minority, with economic support and other assistance from certain countries, continued to mistreat the indigenous Africans, moving them to lands which were the least productive and least mineral-endowed, under the guise of establishing "independent homelands", and exploiting cheap African labour while whites, who constituted only 18 per cent of the work force earned 64 per cent of all income in South Africa. Those who had dared to voice dissatisfaction had been tortured, imprisoned or murdered. To honour those men and women who were fighting for their dignity and human rights, her delegation had supported the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners.

5. In other parts of the world, racism continued in societies whose representatives in the Third Committee loudly protested against the evils of apartheid. The record of the Americas in the area of racism was abominable: the lot of blacks and Indians in the hemisphere had been extinction or degradation. Racial minorities were still relegated to inferior status, whether in terms of housing, of employment or of civil rights.

6. Although Barbados was a small island State and could give little but moral support, it was still convinced, as it had been 30 years earlier, that only mandatory total sanctions against South Africa would put an end to the apartheid régime. The excuse that the industrial Western countries could not do without South African minerals did not hold water because although South Africa supplied them with a good part of the minerals they needed, those supplies were not of critical importance to them.

7. Recent developments seemed to indicate that cracks were appearing in the machinery. The international community must therefore maintain the pressure to widen those cracks and ultimately bring the racist régime of South Africa to its knees.

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8. Mrs. SARANGEREU (Mongolia), speaking on agenda item 79, said that exercise of the right to self-determination was a prerequisite for the exercise of all other human rights. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the General Assembly in 1960, had given a great impetus to efforts to eliminate colonial domination. As a result of the struggle of the national liberation movements, supported by the socialist countries and all progressive forces in the world, many countries had attained independence. However, the imperialists were still clinging to a few pockets of colonialism, such as South Africa, whose policy of apartheid and illegal occupation of Namibia had been repeatedly condemned in United Nations resolutions and decisions.

9. The racist South African régime, buttressed by the military, political and economic support it received from the United States and other NATO member countries which ignored calls by the international community to end their assistance to South Africa and impose comprehensive sanctions against it, was committing diversionary acts of aggression against Angola and other States, thus threatening peace and security not only in the region but throughout the world.

10. The imperialists were using the Pretoria régime to achieve their strategic objectives, namely, the plundering of natural resources and the suppression of the struggle of peoples for self-determination and national and social liberation. The manoeuvres surrounding the settlement of the question of Namibia were the best proof of that. What the efforts of the so-called contact group amounted to was manipulation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and other basic United Nations documents in order to set up a puppet régime in the country.

11. The Mongolian People's Republic wished to state in that connection that it supported the struggle of peoples against colonialism, racism and apartheid, that it protested against the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime and that it favoured the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions on the South African régime in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

12. In the Middle East, Israel continued to deny the Palestinian people the right to establish a State of its own. The fact that Israel continued to occupy the Arab territories was yet another example of the flagrant violation of the right of peoples to self-determination. The world had been shocked by the massacres of Palestinian refugees in the Sabra and Shatila camps. Israel's adventuristic policy had caused thousands of casualties, especially among the civilian population. The Israeli aggression against Lebanon was a direct consequence of the Camp David accords and of the "strategic co-operation" between the United States and Israel. It was clear that Israel had set itself the goal of destroying the Palestine Liberation Organization and stifling the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for the exercise of its legitimate rights.

13. The Mongolian People's Republic continued to advocate a just peace in the Middle East, which could not be achieved unless all Israeli troops withdrew from all the occupied territories, and the exercise of the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination and to the establishment of its own State. Such a settlement could only be reached with

(Mrs. Sarangereu, Mongolia)

the participation of all the parties concerned, including PLO, which was the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

14. Her delegation also supported the right to self-determination of the peoples of small colonial Territories over which imperialism was attempting to perpetuate its domination, such as Micronesia and Puerto Rico, whose right to true independence and freedom was being flagrantly violated.

15. Recent events in the South Atlantic had again shown what a threat to peace the retention of colonial possessions was.

16. The Mongolian People's Republic continued to support all United Nations resolutions and decisions concerning the political and moral assistance which the international community could give to the national liberation movements of colonial countries and peoples. Resolution 36/9, adopted by the General Assembly in October 1981, was particularly important in that connection because, in that resolution, the Assembly had recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence and liberation from colonial domination by all available means, including armed struggle. In order for the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to be fully implemented, the entire international community must redouble its efforts. In that respect, non-governmental organizations had quite as important a role to play as governmental organizations.

17. Mrs. DALUZ (Cape Verde) briefly reviewed the history of the Programme for the Decade and said that, although an increasing number of States were recognizing the role of legal procedures in the fight against racism and there was a public awareness of the evils of discrimination, the Decade had not produced the desired results. Ten years was too short a time in which to wipe out the combination of laws and myths that had supported four centuries of slavery and colonialism, if patterns of political behaviour and national interests were not modified.

18. Thirty-seven years after the establishment of the United Nations, the South African régime was as aggressive as ever and the well-armed, well-trained, well-fed and well-educated white minority continued to subjugate by terror the first inhabitants of the land, where they were now prisoners and were deprived, through violence and the system of laws, of all peaceful means of opposition.

19. The Government and people of Cape Verde preferred dialogue to confrontation. They were not, however, prepared to sacrifice for the sake of peace either their dignity or respect for fundamental principles. No legal, economic or strategic barrier could be invoked to delay the struggle for the final removal of apartheid, which during its 70 years of existence had drowned in blood the aspirations to freedom of the black majority. The peoples of the United Nations should do the utmost to eradicate apartheid, and they should do it fast, because no one knew to what extremes the madness and the contempt of the Pretoria régime might drive the black majority.

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20. Mr. GERSHMAN (United States of America), speaking on agenda item 79, said that the practice in the Third Committee of grouping together the item on the right to self-determination and the items dealing with racism and racial discrimination reflected the general and by now long-standing tendency in the United Nations to view the principle of self-determination as relevant chiefly, if not exclusively, to the process of decolonization and to issues that emerged in a racial context. By speaking separately to the issue of self-determination, his delegation was choosing to address the issue in a broader context, a context that was suggested, in fact, by the use of the word "universal" in the title of the agenda item.

21. The issue of self-determination raised many complex questions which bore profoundly upon the nature of the international system and the norms governing relations among States. Who was the "self" to whom the right of self-determination attached? What was the method by which self-determination was to be realized? Was independence the only acceptable outcome or was it just one of several that might be desirable or necessary, depending on the circumstances? Was the right of self-determination absolute or was it circumscribed by other factors, such as competing self-determination claims or other principles recognized in the Charter, including respect for the territorial integrity of States, the non-use of force and the need to preserve international peace and security? While there were no easy answers to those questions, it should none the less be possible to formulate the elements of a consistent approach to the issue. That was all the more important because the approach followed within the United Nations in recent years had been highly politicized and selective, reflecting the priorities and biases of a particular period that had been called "the age of decolonization". The time had come to subject the new assumptions to careful scrutiny in the light of the purposes of the Charter and the requirements of genuine universality.

22. The principle of self-determination was mentioned only twice in the Charter, in Article 1 and Article 55, both times in the context of the purposes of the United Nations. It was not mentioned in the chapters on Non-Self-Governing Territories and the Trusteeship System, where the emphasis was placed on development towards self-government, with independence being one of the possible outcomes of a process that had to take due account of the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned. Five points seemed worth noting in the approach to self-determination suggested in the Charter. First, the essence of self-determination was not the form it took - independence, free association or integration into another State, which were the options spelled out in General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) - but the method whereby a decision was reached, the vital principle involved being the need to pay regard to the freely expressed will of peoples. Second, self-determination was viewed as a gradual or evolutionary process in the Charter and in resolution 1541 (XV) which, in an attempt to interpret the Charter on such questions, stipulated that peoples choosing free association should remain free to modify their status. Third, self-determination was seen as a continual process which was not completed with the determination of international status. The link established in Article 55, and in the title of the agenda item under discussion, between self-determination and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms suggested that self-government was an internal as well as an external goal and that freedom from alien domination included freedom

(Mr. Gershman, United States)

from persecution and discrimination and the right to participate freely in the political process. From the standpoint of the individual belonging to an ethnic minority, a continuing process of internal self-government was the only guarantee of genuine self-determination. Fourth, the principle of self-determination was universal in scope, applying to all peoples and all individuals, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. It applied to relations among States, where respect for the principle was understood as serving the purpose of developing friendly relations among nations and strengthening universal peace, and to conditions within States, where respect for the principle was seen as promoting the general well-being of the population. Moreover, in so far as the guarantees embodied in the principle applied to all, so did the corresponding duty to respect the principle as it applied to others. Finally, self-determination was viewed as a relative, not an absolute, principle; it was one of a number of Charter principles which limited and reinforced one another.

23. During the previous quarter of a century, such a view of self-determination had been significantly, and in many respects radically, modified within the United Nations. Beginning with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and in many subsequent resolutions, a new view had taken hold to the effect that the essence of self-determination was not the method but the result - specifically, independence. Independence had consequently been demanded not just for Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories but also for non-independent territories that were fully self-governing and might not want a different status.

24. The identification of self-determination with independent statehood and the treatment of that objective as an urgent necessity had transformed the gradual and evolutionary approach into a revolutionary approach: independence was to be achieved immediately and by whatever means necessary, even means that did not adequately take into account the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned. That had led to the acceptance of alternatives to elections and plebiscites, in particular to the recognition of national liberation movements as the true bearers of the right of self-determination and the sole legitimate, although not democratically elected, representatives of the peoples concerned. Little serious consideration had been given to the possibility that the use of terror as a method might actually frustrate the authentic and free expression of the people's will by fostering an environment of coercion. In the end, political power was no longer being determined by ballots but by bullets.

25. With self-determination thereby defined as a result synonymous with independence, it had followed that the attainment of independence was itself sufficient to satisfy the right to self-determination. No continuing process of internal self-determination, meaning representative self-government, had been considered necessary. Such a rejection of self-determination as a continuing process had serious implications with respect to the problem of post-independence minorities in societies rent by ethnic cleavages. The equating of self-determination with independence meant that the right of self-determination could not apply to distinct peoples in post-independence States without affirming the right of secession. It had been argued, for example, that the right of

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(Mr. Gershman, United States)

self-determination did not apply to peoples which, although already organized in the form of a State, had not been under colonial and alien domination since the General Assembly had condemned any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of a country. Had the right of self-determination been more broadly defined to cover respect for the human and cultural rights of the new minorities in newly-independent States, there would have been no need for a double standard according to which that right was granted to some and denied to others, thus sanctioning in the name of self-determination the subjection of some minorities to a new form of alien rule.

26. Moreover, although resolution 1514 (XV) had declared that all peoples had the right to self-determination, only certain peoples were in practice deemed eligible claimants of that right, namely, peoples under colonial and alien domination. That limitation had been further qualified by restricting the scope of colonial and alien domination to the empires of the Western colonial Powers, thereby raising doubts about the universality of the principle. While insistence on confining the bearers of the right to self-determination to colonial peoples had served the purpose of accelerating decolonization, it was none the less true that the process of politicization so set in motion had had considerable, and perhaps unseen, costs involving the abandonment of universality and the distortion of basic principles of the Charter which, like self-determination itself, had been twisted into conformity with the new political realities. For example, in General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), containing the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, the principle of territorial integrity and sovereign equality had been affirmed, but only for States "conducting themselves in compliance with the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples". Similarly, General Assembly resolution 2787 (XXVI) had condemned any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of a State, provided, however, that it had been "established in accordance with the right of self-determination of its people". Thus, in each instance essentially subjective political considerations had been introduced in order to qualify the presumably universal principle of territorial integrity and sovereign equality of States. The crucial factor had been not the principle involved but the specific identity of the claimants. The Declaration on Friendly Relations among States had affirmed the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of States but it had also extended the same principle of non-intervention to the affairs of peoples by proscribing the use of force to deprive peoples of their national identity. The door was accordingly open to intervention in the affairs of States which used force against "peoples", itself a highly politicized and selectively used word which was frequently equated with organizations using violence in the pursuit of "national liberation".

27. The result had been the steady erosion of Article 2 (4) of the Charter which enjoined all Members of the United Nations to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. That Article was the core of the Charter and the linchpin of the system of relations among States. However, under the new doctrine, the non-use of force was

(Mr. Gershman, United States)

treated as a relative principle, subordinate to the supreme norm of self-determination, as it had been redefined. Favoured "selves" were allowed to use force, but not their adversaries. For States deemed colonial or racist, the use of force was prohibited, even in self-defence, but, under the terms of resolution 3314 (XXIX), peoples or movements in conflict with such States were given the right to use force and to seek and receive support in their struggle.

28. Many factors undoubtedly accounted for the growing disregard of the rule of law in international affairs. It was impossible, however, to overlook the pernicious consequences of a double standard which accorded maximum rights and no obligations to some parties and maximum obligations and no rights to others. That was surely a prescription for international anarchy. Nothing which had happened during the previous quarter of a century, including the dismantling of the European empires, had rendered the principle of self-determination, as set forth in the Charter, less relevant to the fulfilment of the original purposes of the United Nations. On the contrary, as new issues and conflicts emerged, it was becoming increasingly apparent that respect for self-determination as a universal and inherently democratic principle was an urgent requirement, essential both for the strengthening of world peace and for the promotion of human freedom.

29. Mrs. DMITRIEVA (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), speaking on agenda item 79, said that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted by the General Assembly in 1960, had become the manifesto for freedom-loving peoples. In the space of one generation, the colonial empire had crumbled under the assault of the national liberation movements, supported by the countries of the socialist community.

30. Even so, despite all the victories, the right to self-determination was still being denied to the people of southern Africa, the Arab people of Palestine and the people of a goodly number of Pacific Ocean island territories still under colonial domination. In South Africa, the slogan "Divide and conquer" was exemplified, in political and practical terms, by the system of "separate development" (apartheid). The racist régime, not content with allotting only 13 per cent of the total area of the country to the indigenous inhabitants who formed four fifths of the population, had set itself the task of isolating them completely in bantustans, a kind of domestic colony. The Pretoria régime was likewise trying to extend "bantustanization" to Namibia. Following the same principle internationally, it was striving to isolate the front-line States and was committing acts of aggression against its neighbours, Angola, Zambia and Mozambique. The Zionist Israeli régime was displaying the same attitude in trying to frighten the Arab countries by acts of military aggression and genocide. Israel's attack on Lebanon was clearly an attempt to drown the Palestine resistance in blood and so remove from the agenda the question of the exercise by the Palestinian people of the right to self-determination.

31. The struggle of the Namibian people for national independence would long since have been victorious had it not been for the assistance and especially the military assistance, given to the racist régime by the Western Powers, notably the

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(Mrs. Dmitrieva, Byelorussian SSR)

United States and the United Kingdom and the transnational corporations, assistance that had caused so many deaths and so much suffering. Some Western Powers, even while they proclaimed, in demagogic fashion that they were prepared to take steps to eliminate colonialism and racism in southern Africa, were in fact pursuing a policy designed to maintain the status quo.

32. The question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), another facet of the decolonialization problem must be settled on the basis of the General Assembly's resolutions. It should likewise not be forgotten that a number of small Territories and enclaves in the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean, the Atlantic Ocean and the Caribbean were still under the yoke of colonialism. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples applied to the Territories administered by the United States such as the Virgin Islands, Samoa, Guam and Diego Garcia, to say nothing of Micronesia which had been virtually annexed by the United States for use as air force and naval bases and nuclear testing grounds. The United States was pursuing a similar policy towards Puerto Rico which, by its account, had associated itself freely with the United States in 1952.

33. Since they could not justify these acts, the reactionary forces of the world, united in an unholy alliance, were seeking to deflect attention by making completely unfounded accusations against Afghanistan and Kampuchea. It was therefore the duty of the international community to take the effective steps needed to ensure that all the countries and peoples of the world could exercise their right to self-determination.

34. Mr. KHALIFA (Sudan), speaking on agenda items 75, 76, 79 and 80, said that his country had consistently respected the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, supported action to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination and condemned the policies of apartheid, racism and racial discrimination practised in South Africa, Namibia and the occupied Arab territories. His country fully supported the national liberation struggle for self-determination and independence in South Africa by all available means, including armed struggle. It had vigorously condemned the acts of aggression committed by South Africa against its neighbours and expressed its profound solidarity with the front-line States that were the victims of destabilization attempts by the Pretoria régime. The international conference in support of the southern African liberation movements and in solidarity with the front-line States to be held at Lisbon in February 1983 would provide the international community with an opportunity to assess and increase its assistance in that sphere, and to mobilize world opinion in support of the just struggle of the people of southern Africa.

35. His country, which was a member of the Special Committee against Apartheid, was very active in the international campaigns to combat the policy of apartheid and would like to see firmer international support for those campaigns. Although the racist South African régime was resoundingly condemned each year in different forums, it was still perpetuating its inhuman policy of apartheid and denying basic human rights. No major progress had been made in that field during the

(Mr. Khalifa, Sudan)

Decade. The South African racists had apparently not yet drawn lessons from the example of Zimbabwe. The United Nations was not however entirely to blame for that failure. It was the attitude of some Member States, and their disregard of adopted resolutions that was to blame. Only by completely isolating the racist South African régime and imposing on it the sanctions decreed by the Security Council could a just solution be achieved. The International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held at Paris in May 1981, had been a landmark in mobilizing world opinion in favour of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, a step that would be strengthened by the proclamation of 1982 as the International Year of mobilization for sanctions against South Africa.

36. Africans had instinctively realized the organic relations between zionism and racism. They remembered with appreciation that the international community had condemned zionism as a form of racial discrimination, a crime against humanity and a danger to international peace and security. The recent invasion of Lebanon showed that Israel was unmindful of the human cost. Many innocent civilians had been massacred, and the carnage in the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila had aroused horror the world over. The recent Arab summit meeting at Fez had shown clearly that the Arab people was committed to just and lasting peace in the Middle East that would guarantee the security of all States in the region and the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people which included the right to self-determination and the establishment of their own State under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

37. His country supported the convening at Manila in 1983 of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which would review and evaluate the activities undertaken during the Decade and what they had achieved, and seek specific ways of ensuring the universal implementation of United Nations resolutions on racism, racial discrimination and apartheid. His delegation regretted that the Group of Western European and other States had not taken part in the work of the Preparatory Sub-Committee for the Conference, because the participation of all regional groups in the preparations for the Conference was needed to ensure its success. It believed that the Second World Conference should proclaim a second Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination in order to maintain the momentum of international action in that field.

38. Mr. PHEDONOS-VADET (Cyprus) said that the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination adopted by the General Assembly in 1965, which was the subject of agenda item 80, was of vital importance to the contemporary world. Nevertheless, signatures, ratifications and accessions meant nothing if the Convention was not scrupulously respected by the States parties. The provisions of the Convention should receive the widest possible world-wide publicity, especially in multiracial societies. Cyprus joined Belgium and the other sponsors of the relevant draft resolution in appealing to all States which had not yet become parties to the Convention to do so as soon as possible.

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(Mr. Phedonos-Vadet, Cyprus)

39. The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) was certainly to be commended for the work it had done during the period under review. Its task was to assist the States parties in eliminating any vestiges of racial discrimination existing in their territories and to serve as a rallying point in the international campaign to eradicate racial discrimination the world over. His delegation considered that the obligations of States parties did not end at their frontiers; they should contribute to the elimination of racism throughout the world. Unfortunately, racial discrimination was not unique to South Africa. Millions of individuals throughout the world harboured feelings of racial contempt. No society was immune from the virus of racism. The States parties to the Convention should, therefore, regularly submit their reports to CERD and implement its recommendations. A dialogue should be started between CERD and those States which had not yet submitted their initial or periodic reports. Cyprus had already submitted its seventh periodic report, which would be taken up by CERD at its session in March 1983. The struggle against racial discrimination would indubitably gain strength if more publicity was given to the work and achievements of CERD and if the Committee held some of its meetings in cities other than New York and Geneva, especially in third-world countries, making whatever special provisions were necessary to make that possible.

40. Mrs. HYERA (United Republic of Tanzania), speaking on agenda items 75, 76, 79 and 80, said that the States Members of the United Nations had individually and collectively condemned the policies of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid. The Committee had heard representatives state that their countries' judicial, administrative and social systems guaranteed the right of every citizen to live in peace, justice and equality. The States Members of the United Nations had used its various forums and other international conferences to condemn racism, racial discrimination and apartheid - ideologies which negated the oneness of mankind, were an offence to human decency and were incompatible with the very principles of the Organization. The many resolutions adopted on the subject over the years in the Third Committee and others and the fact that many States had recently acceded to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid attested to the international community's concern with the issue.

41. The minority régime in South Africa could not have lasted so long if certain countries, in spite of what they preached and their domestic policies, had not persisted in giving it abundant political, military and economic assistance which they could not conceal however hard they tried. Thanks to the report prepared by the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, those countries were known. They had tried to find excuses; but, whatever their interpretation, her delegation wished to emphasize that the continued flow of investments into South Africa contradicted their claims and helped to perpetuate apartheid. It was only through that military and financial support that South Africa had been able to intensify its oppression and defy the opinion of the international community with impunity.

(Mrs. Hyera, United Republic
of Tanzania)

42. International peace and security, the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the importance of the universal realization of the right to self-determination and the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, far from being mutually exclusive, reinforced each other. The human race did not seem to have learnt from history, which had shown that man had always preferred to destroy peace rather than to suffer in peace. In that spirit, her delegation condemned the recent massacres of innocent Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and the humiliation of the Lebanese people by Israel. While her country had always endorsed the right of the State of Israel to exist, it could not condone Israel's recent actions.

43. Her delegation and all peace-loving nations would continue to support, in the Third Committee and elsewhere, all those who in South Africa and elsewhere had dedicated themselves to the struggle against oppression and tyranny. It therefore supported the decision to hold in 1983 a Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination which would, among other things, propose ways and means of ensuring the universal implementation of the United Nations resolutions on racial discrimination and apartheid. It also appreciated the willingness of the Government of the Philippines to host that important conference.

44. Mr. ABAWI (Afghanistan), speaking on agenda item 79, said that his delegation fully supported the United Nations resolutions relating to the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and believed that the right to self-determination of the peoples of colonial territories, enshrined in the United Nations Charter and in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) should be put into effect immediately. However, although the forces of national independence, peace and progress had recently been scoring fresh victories, imperialism and other reactionary forces had launched counter-attacks and were striving to weaken the national movements and to cause them to deviate from their objectives, while neo-colonialism continued to show its ugly face.

45. For example, in the case of the occupation of the Arab territories by Israel, it was certain that the question of self-determination for the Palestinian people was the crux of the problem in the Middle East. More and more Palestinians were being driven from their lands and supplanted by colonial settlements installed by the Zionist occupation forces. There had been an escalation in the brutal racist repression of the Palestinian people and during the recent Israeli invasion of Lebanon the world had been outraged by the frenzied ambitions of the Israeli leaders, which had reached the extreme of permitting the massacre of refugees in the Sabra and Shatila camps. It was evident that the Israeli aggressor would not have been able to behave so brazenly if it had not been confident of the support of the greatest imperialist Power, which was also its partner in "strategic co-operation". However, Israel had miscalculated in believing that it could win an easy victory over the Palestinians. His country once again expressed its complete solidarity with the Palestinians, and supported their struggle against the Israeli occupiers; it believed that a comprehensive and just settlement of the problem could be achieved only through collective efforts to bring about the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Palestinian and Arab territories.

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(Mr. Abawi, Afghanistan)

46. Recent developments in Namibia, with large numbers of South African troops stationed in the territory illegally occupied by the racist régime and the military invasion of a part of Angola, continued to cause concern in the international community. The economic, political, diplomatic and military collaboration of certain imperialist countries with the Pretoria régime had encouraged that régime to continue its policy of occupation and aggression. In fact, that régime, which refused to accept the United Nations plan for Namibia, was seeking to transfer power to a puppet administration in order to maintain its domination and to continue to exploit the human and natural resources of Namibia. His country unreservedly supported the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative. His delegation was of the opinion that further action should be taken to enforce the relevant decisions of the United Nations and in particular those of the Council for Namibia. In order to safeguard the Namibian people's right to self-determination, the Security Council should be requested to consider further measures against the apartheid régime and its illegal occupation of Namibia, including comprehensive sanctions.

47. In another part of the African continent, the people of Western Sahara was also seeking to exercise its right of self-determination, and his delegation once again expressed its firm support for the struggle of the Democratic Arab Republic of Sahara for independence.

48. Puerto Rico, one of the last vestiges of colonialism, was still subject to an imperialist administration which desired to annex the territory and to use it as a strategic platform in its designs against the sovereignty of neighbouring independent States. His delegation believed that the principle of self-determination should be fully applied to the case of Puerto Rico and that, consequently, the administering Power should withdraw immediately and unconditionally from the territory and recognize its inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The same applied to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, where the colonial authority, instead of promoting political, economic and social progress, had violated the unity and territorial integrity of Micronesia and deprived its population of independence.

49. He also reaffirmed his country's full support for the sovereignty of Mauritius over the island of Diego García, and the return to the Democratic Republic of Madagascar of the Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India Islands. His delegation also regarded the Malvinas Islands as an integral part of the Argentine Republic. Lastly, it fully endorsed the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus.

50. His delegation had been surprised that during the discussion of item 79 some ill-intentioned representatives had made false insinuations about a sovereign and independent State, a full Member of the United Nations. Experience had shown that the sole intention of those concerned was to interfere in the internal affairs of his country and to use the so-called "situation in Afghanistan" to divert the attention of the international community from the extremely grave problems for which the imperialist and hegemonist quarters were primarily responsible: the

(Mr. Abawi, Afghanistan)

situation in the occupied Arab territories and in Lebanon; the plight of the Palestinians; repression in South Africa and Namibia; apartheid; acts of aggression against Angola and other countries; interference in the internal affairs of the countries of Central America and the Caribbean; acts of aggression against the Malvinas Islands; the build-up of the imperialist military arsenal and the mounting danger of a nuclear holocaust; plots against sovereign independent States; the denial of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence and the explosive economic situation in the developing countries which was a direct result of unjust international economic relations.

51. The victory of the glorious April Revolution had set Afghanistan on the path of radical social, economic and political transformation. However, the imperialists, and in particular the United States and China, were shamelessly continuing to intervene in the internal affairs of his country, on the pretext of "defending Islam", and to commit numerous crimes against the population. They were dispatching to the country bands of mercenaries who had destroyed schools, burned down hundreds of buildings and bridges and murdered a great number of peasants who had received land. Their propaganda machine issued a stream of lies on the situation in Afghanistan in an attempt to divert world public opinion from their plans of aggression in Asia and other parts of the world.

52. The Afghan people were determined to defend their freedom and sovereignty and to determine the social and economic system in which they wanted to live. At present, stability had been restored and that had led to the speedy recovery of economic and social activities. In response to the call by President Barbak Karmal, large numbers of Afghan nationals who had gone to neighbouring countries had returned to their homes. But for the financial and material aid supplied by external sources, the banditry of the mercenaries in the pay of the imperialists would long since have vanished from the country. It was those interventions which caused instability in the region and gave rise to differences which could and must be tackled by peaceful means, through negotiations. The initiatives taken by Afghanistan in that connection were flexible and realistic enough to be a sound basis for settlement leading to normalization of relations with neighbouring countries.

53. Mr. AL-OUTAISH (Democratic Yemen) said that items 75, 76, 79 and 80 were particularly important for the work of the Third Committee and reflected the interest taken by the international community in the implementation of the principles of the United Nations Charter. Some people were still being denied the right to self-determination and the racist régime of South Africa continued to pursue its inhuman policy of apartheid, despite the denunciations formulated by the General Assembly in various resolutions and by other governmental and non-governmental organizations. It was a grave violation of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

54. Likewise, in Palestine and in the Arab territories, the Zionist entity was pursuing its policy of terror and appropriation of land in an attempt to alter the history and culture of the region. It had tried to wipe out the Palestinian people

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(Mr. Al-Qutaish, Democratic Yemen)

by committing an odious crime against women and children in the camps of Sabra and Shatila thereby shocking the entire world. It was because of the economic and strategic relations between those racist régimes and the imperialists, particularly the United States imperialists, that those régimes were able to continue to exist and to pursue their intransigent policy in defiance of the world community.

55. As was clear from the report prepared by the Special Rapporteur, the racist régime of South Africa was able to survive only thanks to the collusion with Pretoria of international imperialists and their monopolies.

56. Accordingly, in order to contribute to the complete elimination of racism and racial discrimination, that report and the list of companies contained therein should continue to be updated.

57. The right to self-determination was one of the basic elements of modern international law. That right, which included the right to freedom and the right to economic independence, was closely linked to the will of peoples to fight against oppression and to found their international economic relations on a democratic basis.

58. The people of Democratic Yemen, a country which had itself suffered under the yoke of colonialism, knew very well that the will of the people could never be crushed. Despite that, in Namibia, neo-colonialists were seeking to side-step the people's will for independence as had been demonstrated by the latest manoeuvring of the Contact Group to link implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. That constituted flagrant interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State and an infringement of its rights.

59. Democratic Yemen associated itself with Mozambique and Angola and the other African States which had become the targets for South Africa's continuing acts of aggression. Urgent and effective measures should be taken to end the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, to guarantee the withdrawal of the South African troops and to hand over power to SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

60. Similarly, in the Middle East, although the world community had recognized the legitimacy of the struggle waged by the Palestinian people under the leadership of its sole and authentic representative, the PLO, the Zionist entity continued to disregard the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly, and to deny the right of Palestinians to return to their homeland and to create a State on their own territory.

61. That intransigence was possible only because of the political and military assistance provided by the United States which had supplied the Zionist entity with the latest weapons, including weapons which had been banned by the international community. Those same weapons had claimed hundreds of thousands of innocent victims in Lebanon. The extent of that aid attested to the strategic role of Israel, which was charged with subjugating the entire region for the benefit of American interests.

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(Mr. Al-Qutaish, Democratic Yemen)

62. The Arab, Palestinian, Namibian and other peoples had suffered too long. The international community must take steps to put an end to the intransigence of the racist régimes.

63. Democratic Yemen, for its part, had been one of the first to sign 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. It had always fought against all forms of racism and would continue to support all peoples in their struggle for the right to self-determination and national independence. Accordingly, it welcomed the convening, in Manila, in 1983, of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and would participate actively in it. In accordance with article 9 of the Convention, it would submit its fifth report to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination before the end of 1982.

64. Mrs. KABA (Guinea) recalled that the four items under consideration had already been the subject of several resolutions in the Third Committee. Those questions had been central to the preoccupations of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea since its accession to independence; indeed the struggle against all infringements of the rights of individuals and peoples had been the theme of an international seminar organized in Conakry in November 1978.

65. The effective guarantee and observance of human rights were inseparable from the collective freedom of society. Realization of human rights presupposed exercise of the inalienable right of every people to national existence, to the affirmation of its personality, to dignity and to development. The adoption, by the African States under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity, of the Charter of Human and People's Rights reflected the political will of those States to work towards the affirmation of their collective personality and towards the recognition of Africa's creative genius.

66. Human rights provided each individual in a society basic guarantees: respect for his life, the right to expand his property, the right to become responsible for the affairs of the country, without any discrimination. In the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, the guarantee of the rights of the individual and the protection of the common good were at the forefront of the State's main concerns. Moreover, Guinea paid great attention to the legitimate aspirations of the colonial countries and peoples for freedom and independence. Guinea demonstrated its active solidarity with those peoples who were struggling against foreign domination and it continued, inter alia, to give support and assistance to the freedom fighters of southern Africa. Moreover, within the framework of African solidarity, the information services of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea were helping to sensitize national and international public opinion to the activities of the national liberation movements and to the crimes of the odious system of apartheid.

67. Thanks to the mobilization of international public opinion, the struggle against racism and racial discrimination was having encouraging results and 116 Member States had already ratified or adhered to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

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(Mrs. Kaba, Guinea)

68. However, the effective implementation of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination still called for sustained effort on the part of the international community. In that connection, she reaffirmed that her country firmly supported the convening in Manila, in 1983, pursuant to resolution 36/8 adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session, of a Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination as well as the programme for that Conference and the draft resolutions relating thereto.

69. Finally, her delegation once again urged the international community to implement fully General Assembly resolution 33/100, dated 16 December 1978.

70. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia) recalled that the right to self-determination was the most important principle enshrined in the United Nations Charter and that it had been elaborated clearly in the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in resolution 1514 (XV) adopted in 1960.

71. Through collective efforts at the United Nations, especially in the Committee, and more particularly as a consequence of the heroic struggle waged by the oppressed peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East, the exercise of the right to self-determination had made steady progress over the past 36 years and, having attained their national independence, numerous countries had swollen the ranks of free and sovereign States.

72. However, that historic process was stalled in southern Africa, where, in defiance of United Nations resolutions and the will of the international community, the racist Pretoria régime continued its exploitation and oppression of the black population and its illegal occupation of Namibia. The abhorrent system of apartheid and the illegal occupation of Namibia would undoubtedly have long since ended, if it had not been for the support and assistance given to the terrorist régime of South Africa by the major Western Powers.

73. It was no less saddening to note that the right to self-determination and statehood continued to be denied to the Palestinians. The brutal invasion of Lebanon, with all its consequences for peace and stability in the region, demonstrated Israel's total disregard for the decisions of the United Nations and for international public opinion. The massacres of Palestinians in the refugee camps were one of the most tragic and unforgettable crimes committed in the turbulent history of that region. Her delegation therefore firmly condemned those responsible for the criminal acts in question.

74. Recent developments in southern Africa and the Middle East were the result of the assistance given by the major Western Powers to the Pretoria and Tel Aviv régimes. The arguments put forward at the current session advocating so-called "evolutionary change in South Africa" and a code of conduct for transnational corporations were merely a defence of apartheid. Moreover, the contention that investment in South Africa would benefit the majority of the population was unacceptable.

(Mr. Deressa, Ethiopia)

75. In view of the aid given to the oppressors in South Africa and the Middle East by international imperialism, it was important that the international community should consider whether it was not time to put a stop to exploitation of other countries' natural resources by the Powers that were placing weapons in the hands of the aggressors. Investment in South Africa and Israel and the policy of trade and military co-operation with the enemies of the peoples of South Africa and the Middle East should indeed be condemned and denounced, but such action was not enough. So long as the military/industrial complexes and transnational corporations of some Western countries continued to get material and financial resources from the best-endowed third-world countries, they would go on strengthening those two enemy régimes and abusing the resources put at their disposal. It was therefore imperative that all countries with good will should see to it that their resources and their earnings from strategic resources did not strengthen the hands of those who collaborated with racists and oppressors.

76. It was equally important that States should refrain from any form of interference in the internal affairs of other States and that they should respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries. Unfortunately, some States were attempting to use the principle of self-determination as a pretext for interfering in the internal affairs of independent nations. That practice must cease, if the international community's objectives were to be attained.

77. At the point where the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination was drawing to an end, it was sad to note that racial discrimination was still rampant, that it had been elevated to the level of an institutionalized policy and that the Pretoria régime, encouraged by the strategic alliance it had established with certain Powers, had undertaken to destabilize the legitimate Governments of a number of sovereign States in southern Africa and, twice in the past year, the Government of the Republic of Seychelles. South Africa's policy of repeated acts of aggression against Angola and Mozambique was a matter to which the Committee should pay particular attention.

78. While the world was endeavouring to promote the ideals of the United Nations, certain Powers that sacrificed their principles for profits, were doing their best to strengthen the edifice of apartheid. As the Special Rapporteur had succinctly put it, it was the economic foundation of apartheid, nurtured by imperialism, that had become the source of strength of that system of slavery and exploitation. Her delegation therefore unreservedly supported the decision taken by the Sub-Commission to continue to update the list of corporations, organizations and banks giving assistance to South Africa.

79. Mr. HEGELAN (Saudi Arabia), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, challenged the illusions and insinuations made by the representative of Israel with regard to slavery in Saudi Arabia. He pointed out that his country had strict and severe laws against any form of slavery and that, as in the case of any country where Islam prevailed, it advocated universal brotherhood towards all people, irrespective of race or colour. The representative of Israel seemed to be overlooking the fact that racism, racial discrimination and oppression were an

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(Mr. Hegelan, Saudi Arabia)

everyday practice of the Government of Israel, as established by the Commission on Human Rights, Amnesty International and other international organizations, and even the United Nations General Assembly. President Carter, himself, had referred in his memoirs to the wilful dehumanization of the Palestinians by Mr. Begin, the Prime Minister of Israel, who refused to refer to them in any other manner than as "terrorists". The laws promulgated by Mr. Begin and his clique were the worst witnessed since the early days of colonialism.

80. Saudi Arabia was an open society, with over 2 million foreign workers, in which the practice of slavery had no place.

81. Mr. FURLAND (United Kingdom), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, noted that the representative of Argentina had devoted almost half of his statement to the Falkland Islands issue, speaking at some length about aggression and his personal definition of the right to self-determination, which differed in certain essential respects from that given in resolution 1514 (XV) and repeated in other United Nations documents.

82. He would not dwell on the Falkland Islands issue, which was to be debated in plenary meeting the following month. Furthermore, the members of the Committee knew very well who had made themselves guilty of aggression in the South Atlantic by launching an invasion characterized by the Security Council as a breach of the peace, at which it had described itself as being "deeply disturbed"; they also knew very well who was seeking to suppress the right to self-determination by making over-sophisticated distinctions between the concepts of "people" and "populations".

83. It was therefore ironical to hear the representative of Argentina disparaging the Falkland Islanders as mere "settlers" and brushing aside 150 years of history during which they had peacefully inhabited the islands in question, before the ancestors of much of the current population of Argentina had even emigrated from Europe.

84. In accordance with the arguments put forward by the representative of Argentina, the Argentines, along with the Falkland Islanders, should go back to their countries of origin, and the two territories should be handed back to the indigenous population. However, such a course of action would be rather impractical, since there never had been an indigenous population on the Falkland Islands and, in the case of Argentina, there were few descendants of the original indigenous population left.

85. Mr. GERSHMAN (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that in the course of the current debate a number of countries had singled out his country for criticism, which was not at all unusual, either from the point of view of the nature of the charges made against the United States or from the point of view of the provenance of those charges. What the Committee had heard were routine denunciations by totalitarian States that were distorting the truth out of political necessity. States that oppressed their own peoples and threatened other States must inevitably lie about the behaviour of others, if only to conceal, and divert attention from, their own misdeeds.

(Mr. Gershman, United States)

86. To respond directly to the charges made by the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Viet Nam and the Soviet Union and several other paragons of international virtue would be to dignify lies and might suggest that those lies should be regarded with something less than complete contempt.

87. However, his delegation wished to comment on the statement made by the representative of the Soviet Union, which was a good illustration of that process of inversion of the truth.

88. The representative of the Soviet Union had charged that the rights of the people of Puerto Rico continued to be "cruelly suppressed", a charge that was, of course, a deliberate lie. The Puerto Rican people had repeatedly exercised its right to self-determination, a fact which the General Assembly had recognized in 1953, when it had removed Puerto Rico from the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories, and had reaffirmed on 24 September 1982 in plenary meeting. The Puerto Rican people had exercised its right to self-determination in two referendums, conducted in 1952 and 1967, and in the general elections held every four years. The most recent elections, held in 1980, had clearly revealed the preferences of the Puerto Rican people. The Commonwealth and statehood parties together had received over 94 per cent of the vote, while the party favouring independence had received less than 6 per cent. In the 1967 referendum, the independence option had received less than 1 per cent of the vote. To insist on independence for the Puerto Rican people when that people itself did not wish independence was, quite literally, to deny it the right to self-determination.

89. It was not surprising that the representative of the Soviet Union should deny the Puerto Rican people that right, since it had denied the same right to its own people and to the peoples of so many other countries throughout the world. In that connection, he mentioned only the case of the Baltic peoples of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, which offered a vivid contrast to the case of Puerto Rico.

90. Those States, each of which had been a full Member of the League of Nations and had signed non-aggression treaties with Moscow, had been forcibly integrated into the Soviet Union as a result of the pact between Hitler and Stalin dividing Eastern Europe into Nazi and Communist spheres of influence. Far from applying principle VII of General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV), which dealt with self-determination, after the annexation of the Baltics, the Soviets had embarked on a policy of ruthless Sovietization, which had encountered universal opposition. On 14 June 1941, the Soviets had deported almost all the Baltic intelligentsia to Siberia, where most of them had perished. Massive, spontaneous uprisings had occurred in all three Baltic States, which had actually liberated a large part of their territory from the Soviets before the Nazis had occupied it.

91. The Red Army had recaptured the Baltics, precipitating an exodus of some 200,000 people who had feared the return of Soviet rule. The Soviets had consolidated their control with killings, repression and mass deportations. Between 1944 and 1949, some 600,000 Balts, out of a population of slightly over 4 million, had been deported to Siberia. Guerrilla resistance to the Soviet occupation had continued until 1952.

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(Mr. Gershman, United States)

92. Since that time, the Soviets had pursued a conscious policy of cultural Russification, aimed at the denationalization of the Baltic States, which had provoked broadly based dissent movements. In Lithuania, where there was an active underground Church, one tenth of the population had recently submitted a protest petition to Moscow. Instead of granting the inhabitants self-determination, the Soviets had sent the dissidents to prison, exile or confinement in psychiatric institutions.

93. Through the Helsinki Declaration (1975), the Soviet Union had however recognized that all peoples always had the right, in full freedom, to determine, when and as they wished, their internal and external political status, without external interference, and to pursue as they wished their political, economic, social and cultural development. The United States respected that principle, and the world would be a far safer and freer place if the Soviet Union did so too.

94. Mr. CORTI (Argentina) observed that the representative of the United Kingdom had correctly understood the sense of the statement his delegation had made the previous day, but expressed surprise that the only solution which that representative envisaged was to return the inhabitants of the Malvinas Islands to the United Kingdom. Actually, it would be enough to send back the officials of the Falkland Islands Company, since they constituted the majority of the population and monopolized the island. Those who wished to continue to live on the island could do so, as thousands of British subjects were already doing in other parts of Argentine territory, without any threat to their cultural identity. As to the forcible removal of the inhabitants, the United Kingdom had no want of experience in that regard: presumably, the United Kingdom had not asked the Government of Mauritius whether that Government could take in the inhabitants of Diego Garcia, when it had decided to uproot them from their homes and to turn the territory over to the United States for use as a military base.

95. Mr. OGURTSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he would have hoped that the representative of the United States, in exercising his right of reply, would have answered the questions asked and responded to the irrefutable facts mentioned during the course of the discussion. However, not only had he not said a word about the strategic alliance which the United States maintained with South Africa, on the one hand (which permitted apartheid to be perpetuated and enabled the South African régime to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia), and, on the other hand, with the Israeli aggressor in the Middle East, or about the assistance granted by his country to the racists of the two countries, or about the colonization of territories which, in accordance with the 1960 Declaration, should have been granted freedom and independence, but he had asserted that those facts were deliberate lies. Actually, it was the United States that was guilty of telling deliberate lies by putting forward lies instead of facts and by slandering the Soviet Union. The peoples of the Soviet Union, and in particular the peoples of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, had of their own free will decided the question of self-determination during the struggle against the Fascist aggressor.

(Mr. Ogurtsov, USSR)

96. The representative of the United States had asserted that Puerto Rico had exercised its right to self-determination. If that was true, how did he explain the fact that those who had fought for that right were in prison? Moreover, the representative of the United States had failed to mention Micronesia or Diego Garcia or many other territories. Since the United States was posing as the champion of the right to self-determination, it should be remembered that it had voted against article 1 of the International Covenants on Human Rights, an article that dealt precisely with the right of peoples to self-determination. The negative American attitude towards that right had not changed in any way. The United States did not want to be bound by the provisions of the Covenants and had not acceded to them. The reason for that was clear: one need merely look at United States foreign and domestic policy.

97. It was sufficient to cite the example of the Indians, who currently numbered only 800,000 - there had been 12 million at one time - and who had been stripped of their land, confined to reservations, exploited by monopolies and deprived of medical and social services. Abroad, the United States continued to aid racist régimes, even though the United Nations had adopted resolutions declaring that racism was a crime against humanity. Furthermore, the foreign policy of aggression pursued by the United States clearly reflected its complete contempt for all the principles of international law, including the right of peoples to self-determination and equality.

98. Mrs. FLOREZ (Cuba) observed that the United States delegation did not like to hear the truth about questions directly affecting it, such as racism and racial discrimination. That was why it tried to defend the indefensible and why it attacked a number of countries, including Cuba. She asked how much credence one could give to those who, the previous week, had effusively and shamelessly defended the racist South African régime, trying to paint a captivating picture and using lies and trumped-up statistics to make people think that the living conditions of the black South Africans had been improved through an alleged change in the policies of the Pretoria régime. Because it was South Africa's principal ally, the United States defended it and encouraged it to subjugate neighbouring countries, in a sinister alliance that imperilled the peace of mankind.

99. Her delegation wished to assure the United States delegation that, sooner or later, the Puerto Rican people would attain full independence and free itself from the Yankee yoke.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.