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Chairman: Mr. CHAVANAVIRAJ (Thailand)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 82: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME FOR THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/38/106)

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AGENDA ITEM 86: 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: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/38/88, 106, 318, 447 and Add. 1; A/C.3/38/6; A/C.3/38/L.3, L.10)

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- (c) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF APARTHEID: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/38/391)

1. Mrs. RANA (Nepal) said that although progress had been made during the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, racism continued to exist, a fact indicating that the goals of the Decade were still unrealized. The international community therefore had an obligation to intensify its efforts to attain the objectives of the Decade, namely, the complete and final elimination of all forms of racism and racial discrimination. The world was still threatened with insecurity and instability. New types of subjugation were appearing in the form of foreign aggression and neo-colonialism, threatening world peace and stability. The Decade had, however, underlined the importance of positive action that could be instrumental in achieving its objectives.

2. The policy of racism followed by South Africa had been universally condemned. That racist policy not only had caused suffering to the black majority in South Africa and Namibia but also had created an atmosphere of tension in the entire region. The South African régime had been committing aggression against neighbouring independent African States and, in defiance of international public opinion, the rulers of South Africa had escalated their inhuman policy of shameless exploitation of the black majority. Her delegation believed that mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter constituted the only peaceful means

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(Mrs. Rana, Nepal)

which could force South Africa to desist from its inhuman policy of apartheid and brutal aggression. Nepal would extend its firm support to the people of South Africa in its just struggle to gain freedom from the oppressive apartheid régime. In addition, Nepal condemned South Africa for its refusal to comply with United Nations resolutions on Namibia and for its increasing repression of the Namibian people. She reaffirmed Nepal's support for Namibians fighting for their national freedom and independence.

3. Despite its linguistic and ethnic diversity, Nepal had never experienced any outburst or riots in the name of religion, language or ethnicity. Nepal believed in the principle of peaceful coexistence and had always opposed the policies and practices of colonialism and racial discrimination. The very concept of racial discrimination was unknown in the history of Nepal. As a party to the International Conventions against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid, Nepal believed that universal accession to those Conventions would not only give support and encouragement to millions of people struggling against policies of racism and colonialism but would also help to accelerate the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. Her delegation believed that the results of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had been, on the whole, positive and significant. Nepal supported the view of the Secretary-General of the Conference that a Second Decade might provide a useful framework for the intensified fight against the evils of racial discrimination. Implementation of the Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted at the Conference would go a long way towards the realization of that objective.

4. Miss JORDAN (Barbados) said that racial discrimination existed in some form in all societies. It was the responsibility of Governments, in her delegation's view, to educate their peoples about the facts and to institute legislation aimed at eliminating that evil. The fact that 128 Governments had sent delegations to the Second World Conference at Geneva indicated their dedication and commitment to the aims and ideals of the Programme for the Decade. Barbados firmly believed that all human beings, regardless of place of birth, colour of skin, economic situation, political persuasion or religious belief, were created equal and none should be subjected to discrimination of any kind. To that end, the international community must continue to fight unflinchingly until the objectives of the Charter were realized. Her delegation hoped that the spirit of co-operation demonstrated at Geneva would continue until the world was free of racial hatred, at least in its institutionalized manifestations.

5. For nearly three decades, the United Nations had been denouncing as abhorrent that institutionalized form of racism known as apartheid. However, that denunciation had not been followed by any action even nearly commensurate with those words. The exploitation and degradation of the black majority in South Africa had been substantially encouraged, at least indirectly, by some Members of the United Nations. It appeared that to powerful countries situated many miles away from South Africa, economic and military superiority under the guise of vital national interests were more important than the most basic rights of the black peoples of South Africa. South Africa was not satisfied to confine its evil

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(Miss Jordan, Barbados)

policies within its own borders but sought to bully neighbouring weaker States in order to maintain dominance at home. Those incursions, which were flagrant acts of aggression and breaches of international law, threatened the stability and peace of the region.

6. By those standards, sanctions should have been imposed against apartheid South Africa many years before. However, the international community was told that sanctions would hurt blacks in South Africa by increasing black unemployment and that Western companies operating there were a force that could bring progressive change by setting an example of how to operate without apartheid. It had also been said that sanctions would hurt the independent African countries surrounding South Africa; however, those independent countries had supported calls for international sanctions and had pointed out that transportation and trade links from their colonial pasts made it impossible for them to close their borders without major international aid. A recommendation had been made for greater international support for those independent countries in their efforts to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa through such mechanisms as the South African Development Co-ordinating Conference. Her delegation believed that that was a plausible solution and one that should be pursued.

7. It had been stated that Western countries were dependent on South Africa for important minerals. However, according to a 1980 study commissioned by the United States Senate, if there were a total cut-off of minerals from South Africa, Western countries could survive by making adjustments in their consumption and marketing patterns over the short to medium term. The reason South Africa was able to flout international law with such impunity lay in the economic and political interests of some countries.

8. Barbados firmly believed in the self-determination of States and regretted the passing of yet another year in which it could not welcome Namibia to the United Nations. South Africa continued to challenge and defy international decisions recommending self-determination, freedom and national independence for Namibia; instead, extraneous issues to delay the process of independence were being advanced. Her delegation was deeply concerned at the fact that the Contact Group had not yet been able to find a viable solution to the Namibian problem and had failed to refute the indictment that it had helped to prolong the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. Furthermore, Barbados shared the anxieties of SWAPO concerning the functioning of the Group with respect to the mineral and other resources of Namibia and the failure to press for an early solution to the problem. Her delegation sincerely hoped that Namibia would be able in the not too distant future to take its place in the United Nations as a free and independent State.

9. Mr. ARNOUSS (Syrian Arab Republic) deplored the fact that two States Members of the United Nations were pursuing racist policies. The Pretoria and Tel Aviv régimes were able to survive because of assistance from a great Power, the United States, which trampled on the rights of peoples to self-determination by using its veto in the Security Council. In addition, those two racist régimes were receiving military and economic aid from some Member States which refused to co-operate with the international community by boycotting them.

(Mr. Arnouss, Syrian Arab Republic)

10. The Second World Conference had recognized the co-operation of some countries with the racist régimes and had therefore condemned any form of co-operation with South Africa and the practices of racial discrimination against the Palestinians and against other inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories. The bantustan policy pursued by South Africa was similar to the settlement policy of Israel, which practised racial discrimination against the Arab populations. For example, the right of return applied only to Jews and not to Arabs. In addition, the laws on nationality and ownership of land were designed to deprive the Palestinians of their inalienable rights. The history of the Arab countries showed that they rejected all forms of racial discrimination and punished all who practised it. Syria had been a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination since 1969 and had also become a party to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. Despite repeated calls by the United Nations for the severing of relations with South Africa, that régime continued its practices of racial discrimination in southern Africa, and the Zionists had established a similar régime in the Middle East. The policies of those two régimes were closely related, since the Zionists too confiscated lands and deprived the Arabs of all resources and rights.

11. His delegation would support every effort aimed at eliminating the scourge of racism so that liberty and independence would prevail. It also reaffirmed its support for the liberation movements in southern Africa, namely, SWAPO, PAC and ANC and the front-line States.

12. Mr. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar) said that the international community had always accorded high priority to the elimination of racial discrimination, the dismantling of the apartheid régime in South Africa and the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. It had also established that there was a link between racial discrimination, racism and apartheid on the one hand and colonialism in all its forms on the other and that racial discrimination had deep economic roots. The Declaration and the Programme of Action that had resulted from the Second World Conference made it clear that the battle against racism was not yet won. More than 30 years after the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, people continued to live under the yoke of oppression and to be denied their fundamental human rights.

13. In South Africa, the inhuman system of apartheid remained in force. It not only jeopardized human rights and moral values but also had an economic aspect that could not be ignored and was a threat to international security. It was in the name of apartheid that an attempt was made to justify the exploitation of blacks in Namibia and South Africa, and it was in the name of apartheid that South Africa violated the territorial integrity of the front-line States. Neither the mobilization of international public opinion against that régime nor the condemnation of its hateful policy against the black African population had put an end to Pretoria's arrogance and cynicism. The international community had on many occasions called for the complete isolation of South Africa and the application of mandatory sanctions against it under Chapter VII of the Charter. It was clear that

(Mr. Rakotomalala, Madagascar)

the South African régime could not perpetuate its domination without the continued co-operation and support of some Western countries. It was therefore imperative that those countries should put an end to their relations with the South African régime in accordance with the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

14. The legitimacy of the armed struggle carried on by the national liberation movements in southern Africa was recognized by the international community, since persuasion by peaceful means had failed to achieve respect for the inalienable rights to self-determination and racial equality. The initiatives for peaceful change in southern Africa had not succeeded because they had not received from some Governments the unequivocal support that was essential for the eradication of apartheid and the elimination of its harmful consequences. Indeed, the Western countries bore the heaviest responsibility with respect to the violations of human rights in South Africa because it was their culture, their values and their religious heritage on which the justification for the theory of apartheid was based. Those countries which placed their strategic and mercantile interests above the human rights of people in southern Africa had stated that South Africa's legitimate interests for its security with respect to Namibia should be taken into account together with the interests of SWAPO. In other words, South Africa's colonial interests in Namibia were alleged to be as legitimate as those of SWAPO and the Namibian people, and the attempts made by the racist régime to deny the Namibian people its right to self-determination were called legitimate. It was because of such encouragement that the racists could block the implementation of the United Nations Plan for the Independence of Namibia.

15. In the Middle East, the Palestinians were being denied their inalienable rights to life, freedom and their own state in Palestine. The manifold violations of the fundamental rights of the Arab population, such as the establishment of settlements, changes in the cultural, religious, political and demographic make-up of the occupied territories, expulsion of Arabs from their lands, destruction of their houses, exploitation of the natural resources of the occupied territories, disparagement of mayors and local elected officials, mass imprisonment and ill-treatment of prisoners, had always been condemned by the international community. His delegation supported the conclusions and recommendations of the recent International Conference in support of the Palestinian people and invited all those in a position to do so to contribute to an equitable overall settlement that would permit the Palestinian people to achieve recognition of its inalienable right to a homeland.

16. On agenda item 87, he said that his delegation endorsed the suggestions in the report of the Secretary-General (A/38/393) concerning ways of improving the situation with respect to the submission of periodic reports of States parties to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Lastly, he reaffirmed his delegation's support for the Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted at the Second World Conference and called upon all States, United Nations bodies and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to ensure the integral and universal implementation of binding Security Council resolutions and to make efforts to ensure the implementation of other United Nations resolutions by giving special attention to the full and effective achievement of the goals and objectives of the Decade.

17. Mrs. MBOYA (Kenya) said that her country, which opposed any form of racism and racial discrimination, supported all measures by the international community aimed at the eradication of those evils, in order to attain international peace and security. The Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had served as a reminder of the fact that, despite the numerous resolutions and decisions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, that goal was far from having been attained. Her delegation had supported the call for a second Decade to combat those phenomena and hoped that that period would be used to remove the main obstacles which still impeded the elimination of racism and racial discrimination.

18. No country other than South Africa had so pervasively institutionalized the myth that the white-skinned minority was superior to the black-skinned majority, and its racist régime still believed in the colonial concept of a master race. However, some Member States persisted in sustaining the South African apartheid régime in power through bilateral economic and military assistance, despite all international efforts to isolate that régime. It was a sad fact that States which had fought to eradicate racial discrimination at home were among those which sustained apartheid in South Africa. Their assistance had only made the South African régime stronger and more defiant in the face of repeated calls by the international community to cease its inhuman and degrading practices. Her delegation urged those States to halt their activities forthwith and join others in putting an end to the practice of apartheid in South Africa.

19. Her Government believed that the subject of racism and racial discrimination required a universal approach, and it therefore regretted that some Member States had not found it possible to support the Programme of Action adopted by the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Nevertheless, she hoped that Members could still work together to implement the Programme of Action to eradicate apartheid and all forms of legalized and institutionalized racism.

20. Her delegation rejected the assertion by some States that Cuban troops must be removed from Angola before independence could be achieved by the Namibian people, and it urged all States to state their own positions openly on the issue.

21. States must demonstrate the political will to declare once and for all that the world had seen enough bloodshed and suffering, particularly in southern Africa, where millions of people had been sacrificed on the altar of racial superiority, and in the Middle East, where the Palestinian people had no State to call its own.

22. Her country, through the bitter experiences of colonialism, had proved that with tolerance and understanding, different races, ethnic and religious groups could live together harmoniously and could co-operate in the economic, social and cultural and political development of their country. Kenya challenged the Government of South Africa to emulate many such examples around the world and urged Member States to work collectively to accelerate the attainment of that goal.

23. Mr. SOERIAATMADJA (Indonesia) expressed his delegation's appreciation to all those who had made the successful outcome of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination possible, despite the failure to achieve a consensus on the final documents. His delegation had, as a matter of principle, actively participated in the deliberations leading to the adoption of the Declaration and Programme of Action and the other resolutions and decisions of the Conference.

24. While it applauded the outcome of the Conference, his delegation doubted that what had been achieved could guarantee the abolition of the inhuman practices of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid during the coming decade. The international community must therefore greatly strengthen its resolve to implement the principles already agreed upon. Each country should strive to apply the practical measures stipulated in the Programme of Action at the national, regional and international levels. It was particularly urgent to implement the measure in paragraph 8 of the Programme of Action requesting the Security Council to consider mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter against the racist régime of South Africa (A/CONF.119/26). It was a matter of deep regret that despite General Assembly resolution 37/39, certain States continued to maintain trade relations with the South African régime while they officially condemned racism, racial discrimination and apartheid in various international forums.

25. The implementation of the Programme of Action would be greatly facilitated if all parties supported the Special Rapporteur in his important task of updating the report on the adverse consequences of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance to the South African régime. His delegation therefore appealed to all Member States to extend their full co-operation in the task of updating the list of transnational corporations having direct or indirect trade relations with South Africa. Indonesia had prohibited such trade with South Africa since 1969 and, among other steps aimed at further isolating the régime, had initiated a policy to prevent Indonesian athletes and sportsmen from participating in international sports events which included South Africa.

26. His country followed a State philosophy which would never tolerate action that was degrading to the dignity of human beings. That philosophy, in essence similar to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, recognized the equality of all human beings and rejected any discrimination based on race, sex or religion; it had been disseminated to all Indonesians through formal and informal education. His country would always be in the forefront of the struggle against racism and racial discrimination, particularly in South Africa, Namibia and the Israeli-occupied Arab territories.

27. Turning to the question of self-determination and human rights, his delegation congratulated Saint Christopher and Nevis, which had joined the United Nations upon achieving independence and self-determination in conformity with the Charter. His delegation looked forward to co-operating closely with that new Member State in the Committee's deliberations.

(Mr. Soeriaatmadja, Indonesia)

28. His delegation also wished to reaffirm its active support for the relevant United Nations bodies concerned with the issue of self-determination; that support had been inspired by his country's experience in its struggle for freedom against colonialism and imperialism. Having fought hard for its independence, Indonesia would always support the struggles of oppressed peoples to attain that goal. That commitment was in keeping with the spirit of the preamble of its Constitution and with the Final Communiqué adopted at Bandung in 1955 by the Asian-African Conference, of which his country had been a founding member.

29. His country would continue to give its staunch support to the struggle of genuine liberation movements, such as the South West Africa People's Organization and the Palestine Liberation Organization, for their national independence and reaffirmed its full support for the Namibian, Palestinian and other peoples in their struggles for freedom and independence.

30. Mr. KAMARA (Sierra Leone) said that the items under consideration had been on the agenda of the United Nations for many years, amply demonstrating how critical they were and what a grave danger they posed to the peace and security of the world. His delegation welcomed the progress made through the efforts of the United Nations in focusing world attention on the problems of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid and hailed the conclusions reached by consensus at the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and the participants' rededication to the struggle to put an end to those evils everywhere.

31. Although strong condemnation of such hideous practices delivered by world leaders in various international forums had resulted in a keener understanding of the problems, new strategies were required to provide a lasting solution. His delegation accordingly welcomed the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The implementation of the Programme could lead to a definite breakthrough in efforts to eradicate the vestiges of racism and racial discrimination in all their forms, and he therefore pledged his country's commitment to co-operate in those efforts.

32. In addressing the items under consideration, one could not avoid singling out for special attention the appalling case of apartheid, the most threatening and abhorrent form of racism. When viewed in historical terms, the situation in South Africa closely resembled the situation which had faced the world in 1939, with the emergence of a totalitarian régime in Germany under the Nazis. The Nazis had been pampered and appeased until their extravagant madness had engulfed Europe and the world in a wave of horror, destruction and carnage previously unknown in human history. The tragic delay in containing nazism had without question been a serious mistake for which the world community as a whole would continue to pay a heavy price.

(Mr. Kamara, Sierra Leone)

33. Today, as the world stood by and watched, the totalitarian South African apartheid régime committed horrors and hideous crimes with impunity. South Africa paid no heed to the call of the international community for a change in its repressive internal policies and impeded the independence of Namibia, in contemptuous defiance of numerous resolutions of the United Nations.

34. Not content with its brutal oppression of the peoples of South Africa and its illegal presence in Namibia, the racist régime had now embarked on a dangerous policy of destabilization and blatant aggression against the neighbouring African States of Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho and Zimbabwe and was thus setting a dangerous course of action for itself and for the entire international community. In that connection, he cited a recent statement in South Africa by former United States Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, who had said that if South Africa failed to deal justly and effectively with its internal racial problem, that failure not only would result in immense damage to South African society but also would impose heavy economic, military and political penalties on other Western societies, and particularly on the United States. His delegation therefore called upon the United States to take the lead in halting the policy of appeasement now being applied to South Africa, as exemplified by the so-called codes of conduct, the Sullivan principle and the theory of constructive engagement. It must be recognized that South Africa was a totalitarian régime which could be effectively contained only through strong action on the part of the United States and other Western countries having considerable influence over South Africa. The alternative was prolonged, large-scale violence, the blame for which would lie with the countries of the West, particularly the United States, and from which the world as a whole would suffer.

35. Mr. BUTALE (Botswana) said that the evil institution of apartheid was hated by all civilized people, for it was an insult to human civilization and a contradiction of the proposition that human beings were born equal. In southern Africa, more than anywhere else, racism had become a deep-rooted cancer. Apartheid and racism had brought untold suffering to millions of black South Africans who were denied all the good things of life because of the colour of their skin. They were the victims of job restrictions, were held back by inferior education and had been reduced to statelessness in their own country. That situation had engendered hatred, frustration and desperation among the races in South Africa.

36. He called on the Members of the United Nations to live up to the principles of the Charter and appealed to States which were allies of South Africa to put pressure on that country to abandon its dangerous course. South Africa and Namibia would be free, whether Pretoria liked it or not.

37. The continuing breakdown of law and order in South Africa would inevitably exacerbate the violence which had caused thousands of innocent South Africans to flee to neighbouring countries in search of political asylum. South Africa often pursued refugees in order to kill them in their place of refuge, thereby not only violating international law on the status of refugees but also committing acts of aggression against the host countries. The massacre of innocent South African refugees and Lesotho nationals at Maseru in 1982 was a case in point. It could only be hoped that one day the voice of reason would prevail in South Africa.

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38. Mr. BYKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that respect for the right of peoples to self-determination had been the cornerstone of the Soviet Union's policy from the first days of that State's existence. The constant application of the principles of equality and sovereignty, the elimination of all privileges and restrictions based on nationality or religion and the guaranteeing of the free development of minorities and ethnic groups had facilitated the solution of the nationality question in the Soviet Union. The total equality and free development of each of the Soviet Republics within the framework of their fraternal union had been embodied in the multinational Soviet State. That historic achievement could be neither discredited nor disparaged by any efforts of the enemies of socialism, including the United States Administration, which had recently indulged in slanderous fabrications concerning the Soviet Baltic Republics.

39. The Soviet Union's active and decisive role in eliminating colonialism and its unswerving support for the liberation and equality of peoples was smoothing their way to freedom and progress. The peoples of Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America were well aware of that.

40. Since the adoption of the 1960 Declaration, dozens of peoples had achieved independence. The Soviet Union's vigorous defence of the victims of aggression and its material support had often assisted young States in resisting imperialist intervention in their internal affairs. The newly independent States were making ever greater contributions to the solution of vital contemporary problems. The great achievements of national liberation movements should stimulate the United Nations and the international community to make new and vigorous efforts to eradicate colonialism in all its forms.

41. In recent decades, the political map of Africa had changed beyond all recognition. Today, nearly the whole of the African continent was made up of liberated sovereign States. In the south, however, the strongholds of colonialism and racism were preserved in Namibia and South Africa. Peremptorily violating the right of peoples to self-determination, the South African racists were attempting, through mass terror, to thwart the invincible striving of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia for freedom and independence. The racists were scorning the many United Nations resolutions designed to protect the legitimate interests of the Namibian people and its right to self-determination, keeping the Namibians in colonial thrall and pursuing a policy of aggression against the front-line States.

42. South Africa could hardly behave in such a provocative manner without the support of the imperialist Powers, which had publicly proclaimed the racist clique to be their "historically". Despite United Nations demands for the international isolation of South Africa, the United States, certain other members of NATO, and Israel continued to provide that criminal régime with political, diplomatic, economic, military and other support and assistance. The neo-colonialist Powers wished to have a policeman in Africa who could be used at any time to destabilize the progressive African régimes. The intensified militarization of South Africa was turning that country into a constant source of tension and potential explosion in southern Africa. The Soviet Union gave steadfast support to the struggle of peoples against the final stronghold of colonial and racist oppression in Africa and was in full solidarity with Angola, Mozambique and the other African countries which were the targets of South African aggression.

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

43. His delegation supported the resolutions adopted at the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence and roundly condemned the South African racists for their crimes. The manoeuvres of the "contact group" were a cause for justified concern. That group promised to reward patience, but Pretoria's blandishments had gone on for many long years, becoming a travesty of good sense. The Soviet Union supported the demands of the African countries for the adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

44. The 1960 Declaration related directly to all colonial Territories, irrespective of their size or geographical location. It was intolerable that many of the so-called small Territories and enclaves located in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans remained under colonial domination to the present day. The administering Powers followed a policy of impeding, or indeed halting, the social and economic development of those Territories and of perpetuating their control over them. The United Kingdom alone kept over a dozen colonial Territories under its rule, while Diego Garcia remained a colony that was being transformed into a strategic United States military base. If the United States was truly concerned about the right of peoples to self-determination, it should immediately withdraw from that occupied Territory. The attempt to consolidate the colonial status and militarization of the Falklands (Malvinas) Islands also directly contradicted United Nations resolutions on decolonization.

45. An especially eloquent reminder of imperial disdain for the right of peoples to self-determination was the situation in Micronesia. Hardly had the United States received its mandate when it had begun to use the Trust Territory to serve its military and strategic interests. It had evicted Micronesians from a number of islands and turned some atolls into a nuclear-weapons testing ground. By expanding its military activities in Micronesia, the United States was seeking to acquire the right to an exclusive military presence there. It sought to make the islands once and for all into a colonial appendage and a military and strategic staging area in the western Pacific Ocean, threatening the other countries in the region. For that reason, it was breaking up the Trust Territory and denying its inhabitants their sovereign rights. That was nothing more than an illegal attempt to settle the fate of peoples through methods which had been characteristic of the worst times of colonial plunder and had been strenuously rejected in numerous United Nations resolutions. No "plebiscite" or "referendum" forced on separate parts of Micronesia and no attempts to legalize the results in the Trusteeship Council could hide the fact that the United States was using the most refined tactics of diktat and blackmail to prevent the Micronesian people from realizing its inalienable right to authentic self-determination, freedom and independence.

46. The resolutions of the relevant United Nations bodies concerning Puerto Rico, where the legitimate rights of the people, including the right to self-determination and independence, were ruthlessly being suppressed, were also being studiously ignored.

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

47. The dangerous situation in the Middle East gave rise to deep concern. Israel's large-scale aggression in Lebanon, accompanied by acts of genocide against the Palestinians, was the direct result of its "strategic co-operation" with the United States. Washington had adopted the tactic of flagrant intervention in Lebanon's affairs, an intervention which had led to direct armed incursion. By supporting Israel's aggressive intentions, the United States was obstructing a Middle Eastern settlement and was seeking to transform Lebanon into a United States-Israeli protectorate, in essence partitioning the country. The vital interests of the peoples of the Middle East and the prospects for international security were suffering as a result.

48. The Soviet Union unswervingly advocated the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression, supported the legitimate right of the Arab peoples, including the Palestinian people, to create States of their own and called for a just and comprehensive settlement in and the convening of an international conference on the Middle East, with the participation on an equal footing of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. It supported the resolutions adopted at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine.

49. The militaristic course pursued by the United States Administration in an attempt to gain dominance throughout the world represented a growing threat to the rights and interests of all peoples. Various regions were being declared spheres of "vital interest" to the United States, and a campaign of threats against sovereign States and national liberation movements in Central America and the Caribbean basin had been unleashed. Nicaragua, whose people had decisively expressed its preference for the progressive development of the country, was under heavy pressure. It was being threatened from the sea, its territory was being overrun by bands of mercenaries, pirate airplanes were harassing it and its neighbours were being incited against it. Socialist Cuba was also being subjected to open threats and subversive activities. It was essential to abandon the policy of constant threats and provocation against Cuba and Nicaragua and to end the infringement of the right of peoples to settle their own fate.

50. The "command" formed for incursion into dozens of States in the Middle East, South-West Asia and Africa served the hegemonistic policy of "vital interests". A "rapid deployment force", designed to avert internal change in any given State if such change did not suit Washington, was being held in constant readiness. A far-flung network of United States military bases was being used against the peoples and countries fighting for freedom and sovereignty.

51. As a result of the presence of United States forces in South Korea, the right of the Korean people to unite the country on a peaceful and democratic basis was still being violated. Another example of the imperialist policy of intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign States could be seen in the incessant and dangerous intrigues against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The insinuations in which several representatives had indulged concerning the situation connected with Afghanistan and Kampuchea were totally false. The struggle of the peoples of those and other States to decide

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(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

their own future without any foreign intervention would always have his delegation's full support. Aspirants to the role of rulers of the world's fate had started out with allegations of a "Soviet military threat" and had then declared a crusade against socialism. They could not, however, hide the truth about who was violating the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and championing the racist and colonialist order that had been condemned by all mankind.

52. The completion of the decolonization process and the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination were among the most pressing tasks facing the United Nations. The Soviet Union would continue to contribute to the resolution of those problems.

53. Mr. NGUYEN LUONG (Viet Nam) said that at the end of the Second World War, the world had seen far-reaching changes towards peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. Nevertheless, the forces which opposed those inexorable changes were seeking by all available means to preserve the anachronistic order of international relations based on aggression, domination, hegemony, exploitation, oppression and inequality. They were working to preserve their remaining strongholds and to recover those which had been "lost", trampling the right of peoples to self-determination and national independence.

54. A Second Decade must be declared, and the international community must strive to remove the obstacles to the elimination of the crime of apartheid, to facilitate Namibian independence, to enable the Palestinian people to exercise its inalienable national rights and to provide for the self-determination of the peoples of Territories that were not yet independent.

55. Together with all the forces of peace and progress in the world, the Vietnamese people resolutely supported the just struggle of the Namibian and Palestinian peoples under the leadership of their authentic representatives, the South West Africa People's Organization and the Palestine Liberation Organization, and of the peoples of South Africa under the direction of their national liberation movements. Through its own experience, the Vietnamese people were convinced that they would be able to surmount the difficulties and to advance their just cause until the final victory was assured.

56. Viet Nam also firmly supported the African countries, especially the front-line States, and the Arab countries which had made great sacrifices to meet their obligations of solidarity with their brothers in conflict.

57. Welcoming the positive results of the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, Viet Nam supported the appeal made at Geneva for a comprehensive solution to the Middle Eastern problem through an international conference with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Soviet Union, the United States and other countries involved. It supported the declaration of a Second Decade and the strengthening of the direct responsibility of the United Nations for Namibian independence.

(Mr. Nguyen Luong, Viet Nam)

58. The problem before the United Nations was to determine why and how the apartheid and Zionist régimes could have stubbornly persisted in their reprehensible policy with impunity for decades despite unanimous condemnation from the peoples of the world. As had been pointed out by earlier speakers, instead of taking sanctions against South Africa, the United States had intensified its collaboration in all domains with the apartheid régime, the most recent example of that collaboration being the supplying of services by seven transnational United States corporations to nuclear installations in South Africa. Washington had adopted a similar policy towards Israel, that of aiding and encouraging the Zionist régime to intensify its acts of aggression, annexation, occupation, repression and genocide against the Palestinian people and other Arab peoples. Indeed, the support and assistance of the United States to South Africa and Israel had been reinforced by the attempt to establish an aggressive bloc in the South Atlantic and a growing military build-up in the Mediterranean and in the Persian Gulf.

59. The same economic and military interests were also the rationale for the policy of annexation towards Puerto Rico and Micronesia, whose right to independence had been denied by the fallacious theory of so-called "free association". Other cases of similar policies were that of Diego Garcia, which demonstrated the need for the international community to concern itself further with small Territories entrusted by the United Nations to certain trustees, and that of the Malvinas, whose return to Argentine sovereignty had been prevented by the collusive imperialist forces.

60. Another current obstacle to the universal enjoyment of the right of peoples to self-determination was neo-colonialism, which was used to keep the newly independent countries in a state of unilateral economic dependence, underdevelopment and poverty. In southern Africa, in the Near and Middle East and in South and Central America, the States which had opted for democracy, social progress and profound economic and social changes had been and still were the target of that hostile policy. In South-East Asia, such had been the case of Viet Nam in the 1960s and 1970s and was still the case of the peoples of Indo-China, the most typical example being the brave people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Kampuchean society had been completely uprooted politically, economically, culturally, morally and socially, and more than a third of the population had been massacred; Kampucheans had been denied even the elementary right to live as human beings. Since January 1979, the Kampuchean people had taken its fate in its own hands and had won its right to self-determination, choosing its own road to development outside the orbit of Peking and successfully pursuing its miraculous renaissance. Those who denied the reality of the situation in Kampuchea and who were opposed to the renaissance of that heroic people were those who had invaded Kampuchea in the 1970s. They were the same ones who continued to denigrate Kampuchea and Viet Nam, spreading calumny about so-called attacks against the "refugee camps" on the Kampuchean-Thai border which in fact sheltered the armed bands of Pol Pot and other Khmer reactionaries, about the so-called "yellow rain" and about the so-called "demographic changes aimed at Vietnamizing Kampuchea". It was no accident that China was making a great uproar over that subject. It could not hide its bitterness at the liberation of Kampuchea, which it felt to be a loss of a bridgehead for carrying out its hegemonist plans in South-East Asia.

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(Mr. Nguyen Luong, Viet Nam)

61. Viet Nam had helped the Kampuchean people to survive; it had met an obligation of solidarity which it had decided to continue to meet as long as the Chinese continued to threaten the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people, and the sovereignty and security of the countries of Indo-China. His delegation therefore rejected all erroneous United Nations resolutions on that question.

62. The struggle against racism and racial discrimination and for the universal right of peoples to self-determination and independence necessarily went hand in hand with the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and hegemonism. It was ironic that those who claimed to be champions of human rights were the same ones who were driving mankind towards annihilation by pursuing an adventurist and unrealizable dream of a possible victory in a nuclear war and who were also proclaiming themselves to be allies and friends of racist régimes. Such an abnormal situation, especially in the United Nations, could not last indefinitely for it did not reflect the reality of today's world.

63. Mr. KITTIKHOUN (Lao People's Democratic Republic) said that despite the efforts of the international community, racism and racial discrimination still existed in various forms such as apartheid, zionism and neo-nazism. South Africa, a shameful citadel of institutionalized racism, was stubbornly perpetuating the inhuman system of apartheid. By thus keeping the black population of South Africa enslaved, the racist régime was prolonging at all costs the illegal power it exercised over Namibia, creating obstacles to the struggle of the Namibian people to win self-determination and independence. Everyone knew that the survival of the Pretoria régime fundamentally depended on the aid and support of the imperialist forces and their NATO allies. Only such actions as isolation, boycott of the racist régime and application of comprehensive sanctions against it by all countries could force South Africa to yield to the demands of the international community.

64. In the Middle East, with the support of the United States Government, Israel stubbornly pursued its policy of denying the right of self-determination to the Palestinian people. The Lao Government and people supported the Palestinian people completely in its heroic and legitimate struggle to recover the land from which it had been expelled.

65. In Kampuchea, from 1975 to 1979, the unfortunate people had been systematically subjected to imprisonment, torture, forced inhuman labour, hunger and disease. The aid given to the suffering Kampucheans, who had risen up heroically en masse to overthrow the infernal Pol Pot régime, had simply preserved the meaning of people's right to life. For reasons of historical ties and geographical proximity, the Lao, Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples had come together in a common struggle for national independence and freedom against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism, in a close relationship of friendship and solidarity. He invited all the delegations present to be more realistic in dealing with the question of Indo-China, for the era of rhetoric must give way to an era of comprehension and realism.

66. Miss DEFFON (People's Republic of Benin) said that for several decades the Organization had been studying the scourge of racial discrimination without finding a solution to it. Benin had been, was and would always be a tireless defender of equal rights for all human beings, whatever the colour of their skin, and it had therefore signed and ratified the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and would soon ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. It was deplorable that the first United Nations Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had not attained its objectives. Her delegation stressed the need to proclaim a second Decade with a concrete programme of action, and it was ready to work for any initiative in that direction.

67. The People's Republic of Benin had participated actively in the work of the Conference held in August at Geneva. Unfortunately, for reasons beyond its control, the Beninese delegation had been forced to leave Geneva before the Conference had voted on the adoption of the Declaration and the Programme of Action. Benin supported all the relevant decisions emanating from that Conference, and it would have voted in favour of the two texts. Her country deplored the non-participation of certain States Members of the Organization in the Conference, for without the application of binding comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, the terrible scourge of apartheid would continue to do the greatest harm to the dignity of Benin's South African brothers. Benin also condemned the abuse of use of the right of veto, which had thus far prevented the adoption of various resolutions in the Security Council. She appealed to all the delegations which had boycotted the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination to share the suffering of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and help the United Nations to do away, once and for all, with racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.