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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 19th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. SOBHY (Egypt)

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ORGANIZATION OF WORK

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The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 82: IMPORTANCE OF THE UNIVERSAL REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND OF THE SPEEDY GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES FOR THE EFFECTIVE GUARANTEE AND OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS (continued) (A/34/367 and Add.1, A/34/499, A/34/357, A/34/389 and Corr.1)

1. Mr. LAENGLE (Austria) said that the second half of the twentieth century was characterized by the historic process of decolonization and the consequent evolution of the United Nations towards universality. However, the decolonization process had not yet been completed and there were still some enclaves of colonialism. The hopes of the international community that it could soon welcome Namibia, for instance, among the Members of the United Nations seemed again to have been frustrated. Nevertheless, his country remained convinced that the United Nations plan for the establishment of an independent and democratic Namibia was the only feasible way to achieve a peaceful solution of the Namibian problem. Furthermore, Austria welcomed the efforts of the front-line States to facilitate solutions for the benefit of the people of Zimbabwe and hoped that the new initiatives undertaken by the United Kingdom could produce a solution acceptable to all parties.

2. His Government firmly believed that all available peaceful means should be used in the pursuit of the goal set forth in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In that connexion, his country had taken and was prepared to take a number of measures to meet the requirements of resolution 32/14. The Austrian Criminal Code prohibited the formation of any foreign or private armed forces within the country's territory, thus providing Austrian law enforcement agencies with an effective legal tool to use against any attempts to support colonialism and alien domination. Furthermore, it was a crime punishable under Austrian law to establish organizations or other entities aimed at training members for armed combat, which effectively prevented mercenaries from establishing recruitment centres within the country. The recruitment of mercenaries and the levying of contributions for mercenaries were also forbidden, and Austrian nationals were by law deprived of their citizenship if they voluntarily joined the armed forces of a foreign country. Although the full realization of the right of peoples still living under colonial rule to self-determination was undoubtedly of major importance for the enhancement of human rights, it should be realized that self-determination constituted only one step albeit an important one, towards the realization of those rights.

3. Mr. O'DONOVAN (Ireland) said that his country fully supported the right of peoples freely to determine their political status and would be in favour of firm action by the Security Council if South Africa continued to maintain its intransigent opposition to the achievement of genuine self-determination by the Namibian people and sought to promote any settlement within Namibia that was not in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations. With regard to the situation in the Middle East, his Government, in common with

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(Mr. O'Donovan, Ireland)

its partners in the European Community, continued to feel that there must be a comprehensive settlement in which all the parties played their full part, including the State of Israel, which was entitled to exist at peace within secure boundaries that were accepted and adequately guaranteed, and the Palestinian people, who were entitled, within the framework set by a peace settlement, to exercise their right to determine their own future as a people.

4. The Human Rights Covenants established the right of self-determination not only as the right of peoples to determine their own political status but also as the right freely to pursue their economic, social and cultural development. The self-determination of peoples and the self-determination of individuals were complementary and supported each other. He agreed with those who had said that it would not be enough to demand national rights without ensuring human rights within nations. It would likewise be of limited effect if nations demanded change and embarked on the establishment of new international norms without establishing corresponding ones at the national level. The right to self-determination was a positive right, in other words a right to achieve and to develop, to change at the personal level, at the national level and at the international level. International responsibilities were also involved, for there were socio-economic problems, such as the massive poverty existing in certain countries, which could never be fully solved without fundamental changes in world economic relations.

5. Mr. DOMBI (Congo) said that the key problem facing the General Assembly each year was how to protect the right to life in a world which was dominated by powers blinded by economic interests. Thus, the problems of economic liberation were closely linked to those of independence and sovereignty. One might well ask how there could be talk of peace and security when certain countries which claimed to be defenders of the fundamental principles of the United Nations did not hesitate to create new hotbeds of tension and entire peoples were suffering under the yoke of racism, apartheid, zionism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. The General Assembly must take effective action to bring about decolonization and self-determination in South-East Asia, Latin America and southern Africa and northern Africa, wherever peoples remained under foreign domination.

6. The situation in southern Africa was explosive. The racists in Pretoria were still attempting to resist the course of history by imposing solutions which ran counter to the fundamental interests of the black majority. His delegation vigorously denounced the reactionary systems of apartheid and racism and the domination of entire peoples by minorities which depended for their survival on the support of some Western countries. It was difficult to see how those countries could preach a policy of respect for human rights when at the same time they sought to circumvent binding economic sanctions, maintain foreign bases in colonial territories and organize the intervention of foreign troops and mercenaries. Furthermore, his country vigorously condemned armed aggression against the front-line States. His delegation was confident that final victory would come to those struggling for freedom in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa under the leadership of their liberation movements, SWAPO, the Patriotic Front and ANC.

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(Mr. Dombi, Congo)

7. Similarly, the people of Western Sahara must fully exercise their right to self-determination and independence under the leadership of their national liberation movement, the Frente POLISARIO. The struggle of the Saharan people had received the support of the Organization of African Unity and the recent meeting of the non-aligned countries in Cuba. With regard to the Middle East, a lasting peace in the region implied respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, national independence and the establishment of a sovereign State under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Israel must unconditionally and fully withdraw from occupied Arab territories. In that connexion, his country condemned the Camp David accords, which ran counter to the fundamental interests of the Palestinian people. Furthermore, the explosive situation in the Middle East was endangering the sovereignty and integrity of Lebanon; Israel's aggressive acts against the Lebanese people must cease immediately.

8. In conclusion, he said that his country supported without reservation the national liberation struggle of the people of East Timor under the leadership of FRETILIN.

9. Mr. JAIN (India) said that his country, which had been one of the first to throw off the shackles of colonial oppression after the Second World War, regarded it as a moral obligation to give all possible assistance to peoples in other parts of the world who were fighting the evils of colonialism and racial discrimination. The right of peoples to self-determination was enshrined in various United Nations instruments, and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations among States established the close link between the principles of equal rights and self-determination and the other principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States. However, the right of peoples to self-determination was a complex concept. It was a collective right which also concerned each individual, since a deprivation of that right would entail the loss of individual rights. Furthermore, it was a fundamental right without which other individual rights and freedoms could not be enjoyed. Nevertheless, that fundamental right must be considered in conjunction with certain other fundamental principles of the United Nations, such as the sovereign equality of nation States, their territorial integrity, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, principles which constituted the basis for the co-operation upon which the United Nations rested. It was the view of his delegation that the right to self-determination as set forth in common article 1 of the Human Rights Covenants applied only to peoples under foreign domination and not to sovereign independent States or to a section of a people or a nation. As Mr. Cristescu, Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, had observed in his study on the historical and current development of the right to self-determination, the incorporation of the right to self-determination in the various international instruments in question was not intended to encourage secessionist or irredentist movements or foreign interference or aggression. Noting that reference had been made at an earlier meeting to the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir, he said that the people of that State had exercised the right to self-determination; they had expressed their free will in five general elections and would go to the polls for the sixth time in January 1980. His delegation would, however, continue to stress the special responsibility of the United Nations for peoples in areas

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(Mr. Jain, India)

of the world suffering from domination that resulted from colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, where the exercise of the right to self-determination was not permitted.

10. Mrs. LUANGHY (Zaire) said that her country was deeply committed to respect for human rights and believed firmly in the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial, foreign and racist domination. Respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and independence was one of the indispensable conditions for the promotion of peace and progress in the world. The situation prevailing in southern Africa constituted a flagrant violation of that right. The new régime recently installed in Zimbabwe through sham elections served only to perpetuate racist domination and did not reflect the aspirations of the people and it must be rejected. Her Government supported all efforts to arrive at a just final solution with the full and effective participation of all parties concerned, both inside and outside the country. The racist South African authorities in Namibia would sooner or later realize that the inalienable rights of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence could be effectively established only through free elections under the auspices and control of the United Nations and with the full participation of SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people. Her delegation therefore joined others in rejecting the sham elections of December 1978, which had only sought to perpetuate the South African racist policy. The transfer of power must be accompanied by full respect for the territorial integrity of Namibia, including Walvis Bay.

11. A just solution to the problem in the Middle East could be found only with the participation of the Palestinian people, whose legitimate struggle for self-determination her delegation supported.

12. Mr. RAZZOQI (Kuwait) said that one of the main purposes of the United Nations under its Charter was to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. The principle of self-determination found concrete expression in the various resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations bodies. It had political, economic, social and humanitarian aspects. The rights to self-determination must be exercised wherever a people was subject to any kind of colonial and alien domination, racism or racial discrimination, including zionism, and implied the right of people to choose the political system they preferred and to establish a sovereign and independent State. The economic aspects of self-determination involved the sovereignty of peoples over their natural wealth and resources, while the social aspects related to the protection of social rights and the guarantee of cultural and educational freedom. Disregard of any of the aspects of self-determination constituted a serious violation of human rights and posed a threat to the well-being, political independence and security of States. His delegation supported the attainment of the peoples' right to self-determination through various ways and means, including even the use of armed struggle. The relevant General Assembly resolutions endorsed the legitimacy of the struggle for self-determination and liberation from alien occupation. Efforts to eliminate the remnants of colonialism and alien occupation and abolish apartheid and racism, including zionism, must be accelerated if the right of peoples to self-determination was to be realized.

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(Mr. Razzooqi, Kuwait)

13. Certain racist colonial régimes were clearly violating the principle of self-determination. South Africa was a colonial Power whose internal racial policies were based on denial of the basic rights of the black majority and were designed to provide cheap black labour for the benefit of the white minority. There was little indication that the South African Government would desist from its policy of denying the right of self-determination of the black majority, despite repeated appeals by the United Nations; it was continuing to expand its bantustan policy and only recently had created the so-called State of "Venda" that the Security Council had declared illegal. South Africa had supported the sham elections in Namibia only because Namibia served as a buffer zone between South Africa and the independent African States. It was also supporting the illegal racist régime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia. Only when the black majority exercised their inalienable right to self-determination, based on the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, would there be peace in that country. Any peace initiative would have to conform with the just demands of the Patriotic Front; it, and the front-line States, had made great sacrifices. The people of Zambia, Mozambique, Angola and Botswana were to be commended for their determination in resisting the forces of colonialism. Similarly, unequivocal support must be extended to SWAPO in its just struggle for self-determination and efforts to liberate the people of South Africa from the racist régime which was exploiting the country's human and natural resources. A just and lasting peace in Namibia could be achieved only by the withdrawal of South Africa and by United Nations supervision during any transitional period to permit the holding of free elections with the participation of all parties concerned.

14. The most cruel injustices had been inflicted upon the Palestinian people; Israel had been created with the assistance of colonial Western Powers, and was pursuing a policy of genocide against the Palestinians. The essential aim of the Jewish Zionists, before and after the creation of the State of Israel, was to transplant Jews from all over the world to Palestine and to uproot from the territory the indigenous Arab Palestinians. Israel was continuing to expand Jewish settlements in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. There would be no peace in the Middle East without the realization and recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinians to self-determination, including the right to their own State and the right of the refugees to return to their homes. No partial agreements, such as the Camp David Accords, could serve the cause of peace in the Middle East since they only helped Israel to consolidate its racist Zionist policies. The policies of the racist régimes of South Africa, Rhodesia and Israel linked them closely with one another.

15. Mr. ANTÓNIO (Mozambique) said that Mozambique attached particular priority to the question under discussion in the light of the experience gained by FRELIMO and the Mozambican people during 10 years of courageous struggle against Portuguese colonialism, oppression and exploitation. It had always considered that its independence would not be complete while other peoples remained under colonial, racist or foreign domination; the Constitution of Mozambique stated that one of the country's fundamental objectives was to continue the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, and Mozambique declared its solidarity with the struggle of the peoples for national liberation. There were still vast areas under colonial and

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(Mr. António, Mozambique)

racist domination in neighbouring Zimbabwe, where the Patriotic Front was waging a just and courageous struggle, in Namibia and in South Africa. The international community was unanimous in considering that the situations in Western Sahara, East Timor and Puerto Rico were colonial in nature, despite the political subterfuges of the occupying forces. The United Nations and the Organization of African Unity were making a valuable contribution to the elimination of those iniquitous situations.

16. His delegation reaffirmed its total commitment to the principles set forth in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It believed that the guarantee of and respect for human rights were possible only in an atmosphere of peace and security, trust and mutual respect among peoples. National independence and the liberation of peoples was the condition sine qua non for the freedom and dignity of the individual. Support for the national liberation struggle therefore involved establishing the necessary conditions for the development of the free creative initiative of the peoples and the exercise of human rights. In Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, where the culture, customs and even the history of the majority were being rejected, it would be cynical to talk of the exercise of human rights. Unfortunately, the efforts made by the international community and particularly by the front-line States had repeatedly been frustrated because certain States Members of the United Nations were continuing to provide financial, technical and military assistance to the racist régimes of South Africa and Zimbabwe, and were allowing the recruitment and training of mercenaries in their territories to combat the national liberation movements. In Mozambique, mercenary activities were severely punished. It was high time that an international convention against mercenary activities entered into force. Mozambique considered it essential to provide assistance of all kinds to the national liberation movements to enable them to free their countries as soon as possible and build just societies in accordance with the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter. Mozambique could not accept pseudo-liberalization, bantustanization, internal settlements or administrative autonomy because they were simply covert manoeuvres of the colonial, racist and Zionist régimes aimed at perpetuating situations of exploitation, injustice, poverty and oppression.

17. Mrs. SEMICHI (Algeria) said that the principles set forth in the United Nations Charter relating to the rights of peoples had resulted in the drawing up of the International Covenants on Human Rights. In that connexion, she noted that article 1, paragraphs 1 and 3, of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights reflected the spirit of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Thus the work of the United Nations, which had led to the adoption of the relevant international instruments, constituted an effective basis for putting an end to colonial and foreign domination.

18. It would soon be 20 years since General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) had been adopted but the fundamental rights of the individual were still being disregarded in certain parts of the world. The international community was therefore devoting increasing attention to the anachronistic colonial situation of

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(Mrs. Samichi, Algeria)

certain peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. That situation was at its most acute and extreme in the case of the peoples of southern Africa because there colonialism was aggravated by institutionalized racism. There was no better illustration of the violation of human rights and disregard for freedom of the individual than that provided by the policies of the South African régime. The black population of South Africa and the people of Namibia, whose territories were still illegally occupied by that minority racist régime, lived under conditions that approximated planned genocide stemming from the savage exploitation of the individual. Similarly, in Zimbabwe another minority racist régime was pursuing a policy of exploitation of the black African majority. That policy endangered peace and security in Africa because it involved constant aggression against independent neighbouring States in response to the solidarity they showed for the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle to exercise their fundamental rights.

19. In the Middle East, whether living in their own country or as refugees, the Palestinian people, who had been expelled from their land by the Zionist invader, had been deprived of their dignity and their most basic rights, even the right to existence as a people. Recent attempts to solve problems in the Middle East, particularly the question of Palestine, altogether ignored the Palestinians. In that connexion, she observed that the signing of separate accords that disregarded the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people, the Palestine Liberation Organization, prolonged the sufferings of an entire people and encouraged the Zionist State's policy of aggression.

20. The situation of the Saharan people was extraordinary in the history of the emancipation of peoples in that the decolonization process had been interrupted by a new colonial situation. That situation was all the more unacceptable considering that the country responsible had itself experienced colonial occupation and domination. Consequently, the Saharan people, who were struggling to regain their national rights, would not be in a position to enjoy their most basic rights until the policy of occupation and territorial expansion of which they were the victims had been brought to an end.

21. In the light of those examples, it was easy to see why peaceful solutions that were suggested were not always the solutions that would best enable peoples to assert their rights. It was for that reason that peoples under colonial and foreign domination often resorted to armed struggle. In that connexion, she observed that it would be necessary to continue to stress the responsibility of the international community as long as such problems existed. The struggle that the liberation movements were waging was all the more legitimate in that it was within the context of the principles laid down by the Charter.

22. Mrs. KOMAROVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that, as was stressed in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union, the subjugation and exploitation of peoples constituted a denial of fundamental human rights. The right of peoples to self-determination had been confirmed as one of the underlying principles of contemporary international law. The victory of the Great October

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(Mrs. Komarova, USSR)

Socialist Revolution, the rout of the Fascist aggressors in the Second World War and the downfall of the colonial empires under the pressure of the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples had been the basic stages in the struggle to achieve self-determination. The emergence of a large number of newly independent States in Africa, Asia and Latin America had radically changed the political map of the world. Nevertheless, vestiges of colonialism still remained, and the international community must make further vigorous efforts to achieve the universal implementation of the right of the peoples to self-determination and the speedy attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples. Favourable conditions were created for achieving that goal by the development and deepening of détente which, despite all the intrigues of its opponents, was still the dominating trend in the world arena.

23. The facts showed that the forces of imperialism, colonialism and racism were continuing to encroach on the right of peoples to self-determination and suppress the national liberation struggle of the peoples. In particular, the racist régimes of southern Africa were subjecting millions of people to cruel repression and humiliation and trampling on their right to self-determination and independence. Relying on the wide-ranging aid and assistance they received from certain Western countries, they were stubbornly ignoring the legitimate demands of the United Nations for an end to apartheid and the illegal occupation of Namibia and for the elimination of the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. By intensifying the use of terror as a weapon against the peoples of those countries and committing acts of violent aggression against neighbouring African States they were creating a serious threat to international peace and security. The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries had stated that the main reason for the persistence of colonialism and racism in southern Africa lay in the military, technological, economic, political, diplomatic and other forms of support provided by imperialism to the racist régimes. The United Nations had received a large amount of data about the close ties with the racist régimes of foreign monopolies and of the Western countries which backed them and their exploitation of the human and natural resources of southern Africa. The latest report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (A/34/23) noted that between one third and one half of the gross national product of Namibia was repatriated to foreign shareholders every year. In the face of universal condemnation of the racist régimes, their supporters and protectors were resorting to all kinds of manoeuvres and, under various pretexts, avoiding the implementation of the demands of the United Nations for the international isolation of those régimes, opposing the adoption of effective measures for the elimination of racist and colonial systems and trying to divert attention from the crimes of the racists. The attempts to impose a neo-colonial solution in southern Africa and install puppet régimes arose from the desire to perpetuate colonialism in that area. It was high time for all countries to implement the relevant General Assembly resolutions, particularly resolution 33/24, providing for concrete measures for the speedy attainment of the independence of colonial countries and peoples. The Soviet Union unfailingly advocated the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and the speedy granting of independence to

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(Mrs. Komarova, USSR)

all colonial peoples. That position had been confirmed in the information transmitted by the Soviet Union to the United Nations Secretariat (A/34/367/Add.1). On 25 May 1979, in his congratulatory message to the States and peoples of Africa on the occasion of Africa Liberation Day, Mr. L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, had stressed that the Soviet Union steadfastly advocated the immediate realization of the inalienable rights of the peoples of southern Africa to self-determination and independence. The Soviet Union believed that effective measures must be taken to achieve the speedy elimination of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. Mr. A. A. Gromyko, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, speaking at the 7th plenary meeting of the Assembly on 25 September 1979, had said that the General Assembly must clearly declare its resolute support for the liberation struggle of the peoples of southern Africa and ensure that its decisions were implemented.

24. The 13 years of occupation of Arab territories by the Israeli aggressors constituted a flagrant violation of the right of peoples to self-determination. The aggressors had deprived the long-suffering Palestinian people of their homeland, and Israel was engaged in systematic annexation and colonialization of the lands it had seized. The recent decision of the Israeli Government to allow Israelis to purchase Arab land was typical of its actions. The separate deals between Israel and Egypt, completed behind the backs of the Arab peoples, gave rise to heightened concern. It was clear that just and lasting peace in the Middle East could be achieved only through a comprehensive peace settlement providing for the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the guarantee of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and the establishment of its own State.

25. The aggression perpetrated against Viet Nam six months earlier clearly showed that the great-Power expansionist policy adopted vis-à-vis the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos, Kampuchea and other countries of South-East Asia by a State which believed it had the right to lecture other States was creating a threat to peace in that region and constituted a direct encroachment on the right of the peoples to determine their own future. The situation in many small colonial possessions where the administering Powers were trying to retain control and use the Territories for their military and other purposes gave rise to serious concern. Such actions, which infringed the right of colonial peoples to independence, must be condemned.

26. The imperialist Powers were resorting to various economic, political, military, propaganda and other means to keep newly liberated countries dependent on them. That constituted a direct continuation of colonialism, but in more covert and refined forms. The newly liberated countries were having to make great efforts to overcome the burdensome consequences of the colonial past and free themselves from the fetters of neo-colonialism. The USSR supported that legitimate aspiration of developing countries. The Programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation, freedom and independence of the peoples, adopted at the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, stressed that one of the most important international goals was the complete elimination of all

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(Mrs. Komarova, USSR)

vestiges of the system of colonial oppression and infringement of the equality and independence of the peoples and of all hotbeds of colonialism and racism. The Soviet Union's position on that question was confirmed in the Soviet Constitution as one of the most important principles of Soviet foreign policy. Her delegation was prepared to contribute to the formulation at the current session of the General Assembly of new and effective measures for the speedy elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid. The preparations for the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be marked by the mobilization of international efforts for the full and final elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

27. Mrs. NICOLAIDON (Greece) said that, as a result of its own national struggle, her country attached great importance to the principles of self-determination and national independence, without which no other rights could exist. General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 33/24 on the right of self-determination implied that colonial peoples and peoples under foreign and colonial domination, as well as peoples under foreign occupation, had the right to fight for their liberation and freely to choose their path of political independence and economic and social development.

28. Whereas fundamental rights were necessarily the same everywhere, in practice they were not recognized everywhere and they were not exercised to the same degree everywhere. Respect for the right of peoples to political, economic, social and cultural self-determination was closely linked to the efforts they made to rid themselves of foreign domination and colonial and racist exploitation and to re-establish their right to self-determination on an egalitarian basis.

29. Her country supported the Palestinian people and the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia in their national struggles. The Palestinian people had a right to self-determination and to a homeland recognized within the framework of a global settlement. The United Nations resolutions that specifically concerned the questions of Namibia and Zimbabwe must be implemented immediately. The same applied to resolutions concerning peoples under foreign domination or occupation; such peoples had the right to demand withdrawal of foreign military forces illegally present in their territory, as in the case of Cyprus.

30. If the political will to respect the principles of the Charter and comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions could be found, it would be possible to put an end to the suffering of peoples deprived of the most fundamental human rights and world peace could thus be consolidated.

31. Her delegation joined those who supported peoples fighting for their national liberation as well as peoples who were defending the independence that they had gained. At the same time, it supported the efforts of peoples to eliminate colonialism, racism, apartheid and foreign domination.

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32. Mr. ABDUL-AZIZ (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) said that, while his delegation welcomed the fact that yet further States, such as Saint Lucia, had gained independence, it also hoped that other peoples who were still suffering under the yoke of racism and imperialism would be able to attain independence and sovereignty. Although the international community was devoting increasing attention to the right to self-determination, progress was very slow. In southern Africa, the white racist régimes were still denying the black majority its legitimate right to self-determination. The black majority was, furthermore, still being denied the basic right to enjoy the natural wealth of its territories. The relevant United Nations resolutions had failed to meet the aspirations of the peoples of southern Africa and occupied Arab Palestine because the will to implement them was lacking.

33. His delegation looked forward to the day when there would no longer be any economic, political or military collaboration with the racist white minority régimes. Those who supported such régimes must surely be aware that their attitudes had a worse impact on the African peoples concerned than did the inhuman practices of the régimes themselves. Without the support they received, the white minority régimes would have succumbed in the face of the determination of the black population. The States that provided the imperialist and colonialist régimes of southern Africa and occupied Arab Palestine with assistance were, in reality, covertly waging a genocidal war against the African and Arab peoples. If there was but one concept of freedom, there was no justification for the biased attitude displayed by the States in question.

34. Like other peoples throughout the world, the Palestinian people had embarked on their struggle against colonialism at the beginning of the century. As a result of an imperialist manoeuvre, the Palestinian people had come to represent a small minority where they had previously been a majority. The Zionist entity had been able to implement the right to self-determination solely as it saw fit, and the result was that the majority of the Palestinian people were living in refugee camps and was being subjected to bombing attacks by Israeli aircraft.

35. When the international community had recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the Zionist entity had maintained that that body was a terrorist organization, disregarding the fact that the Palestinian people were engaged in a legitimate struggle for independence. A parallel could be drawn between the racist minority white régimes of southern Africa and the racist régime in occupied Palestine in that the Zionist entity denied the Palestinian people the right to self-determination just as the white minority régimes in southern Africa denied that right to the black African population. Moreover, the Zionist entity attacked the territory of neighbouring Arab countries just as the white racist régimes of southern Africa carried out attacks against neighbouring African countries.

36. The sufferings of different peoples were the same irrespective of race, religion, colour or origin. Peace and justice could be established only on the basis of recognition of the right of the black majority in Africa and of the Palestinian people to self-determination. The Palestinian people had the right to return to their territory and establish their own homeland in the form of a democratic Palestinian State in which Palestinians, Christians and Jews could

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(Mr. Abdul-Aziz, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

coexist. The current era of injustice could not continue in the face of the determined struggle waged by the African and Arab peoples, with the backing of those countries of the world that were devoted to justice and freedom.

37. Mr. HASSAN (Pakistan), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he wished to respond to the references made by the representative of India to the question of Jammu and Kashmir. No party to that international dispute could claim Jammu and Kashmir as an integral part of its territory. The relevant United Nations resolutions provided that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan would be determined through a free and impartial plebiscite under United Nations auspices. Both India and his country had accepted those resolutions, which could not cease to be relevant, as recognized in the study on self-determination prepared by Mr. Gros Espiell, Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (E/CN.4/Sub.2/405 (vol. I)). The Simla Agreement provided for the final settlement of the question of Jammu and Kashmir. Under that Agreement almost all pending disputes had been resolved through friendly negotiations. His delegation hoped that a just and honourable solution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute would be achieved in the same spirit.

38. Mr. JAIN (India) said that his delegation wished to reserve its right to reply to the statement made by the representative of Pakistan for a later stage in the debate.

39. Mr. WANG Jie-chen (China), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that consideration of the item before the Committee should be centred on how to help the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Palestine realize the right to self-determination.

40. Since there were other items that could be considered relevant to the question of Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea, his delegation had made its first statement in a corresponding spirit. However, the previous afternoon a representative of one delegation had acted as an instigator, and during the current meeting its backstage boss had come out into the open. It was the Soviet Union that was the backstage boss of Viet Nam, supporting it in its aggression against Kampuchea and in its denial to the people of Kampuchea of the right to self-determination. The Soviet Union had sent military advisors to the Kampuchean battlefields to conduct the massacre of Kampuchean soldiers and civilians. Furthermore, the Soviet Union had also sent a henchman to Africa to create trouble there.

41. It could thus be seen that the Soviet Union was a hypocrite as far as the question of self-determination was concerned.

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ORGANIZATION OF WORK

42. The CHAIRMAN said that, although the Secretariat had made facilities available for a meeting that evening, the Committee would not be able to avail itself of that offer as only two delegations would be ready to take the floor.

43. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 33/55 on the pattern of conferences, he reported on how the Committee had used the conference services allotted to it.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.