

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION UN/SA COLLECTION

*Official Records**

UN LIBRARY

OCT 23



THIRD COMMITTEE
20th meeting
held on
Wednesday, 17 October 1979
at 10.30 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 20th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. SOBHY (Egypt)

CONTENTS

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)

* This record is subject to correction. Corrections should be incorporated in a copy of the record and should be sent *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, room A-3556.

Corrections will be issued shortly after the end of the session, in a separate fascicle for each Committee.

Distr. GENERAL
A/C.3/34/SR.20
19 October 1979

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

79-57577 5104E (E)

/...

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. AZIZ (Afghanistan) said that the principle of self-determination which had become a rule of positive international law, was derived from the concept that all nations were sovereign and equal. The strength of that principle lay in the basic desire of individuals to associate primarily with their immediate fellows and in recognition of the exploitation throughout history of groups ruled by alien peoples. In that connexion, it was important to recognize that the demand for self-determination was often rooted in a desire to create a sense of security. The history of colonialism and imperialism was, in fact, the history of the struggle between self-determination and alien subjugation, with self-determination providing the impetus for the process that led to the end of alien occupation and exploitation.

2. The remnants of colonialism in southern Africa were being challenged by the assertion of the legal right to self-determination of the peoples of that region, who were shaping their identity not on the basis of their ancestral ethnic relationships but on the basis of their common experience of oppression and of struggling for liberation. The sovereignty of a nation did not become void when that nation was politically subjugated; a subjugated nation therefore had the right to wage a national liberation struggle against the oppressor. Consequently, his Government endorsed the struggle of the liberation movements of southern Africa and supported the demand of Non-Self-Governing Territories for independence.

3. If the international community was seriously interested in eradicating institutionalized racism and establishing majority rule in South Africa, it should give due consideration to the statement made by Mr. Donald Woods, a white South African journalist, before the Security Council in January of the current year to the effect that the first priority of Western nations should be an immediate policy of disengagement from existing ties with that country. The international community also had a collective obligation towards the Namibian people and must not lose sight of the fact that there could be no just and lasting settlement in southern Africa without the participation of the genuine representatives of the African population.

4. The situation in the Middle East, which essentially revolved around the question of Palestine, continued to pose a serious threat to peace in that region. It had become increasingly evident that restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, was a prerequisite for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

5. Mr. NYAMEKYE (Ghana) said that his delegation shared the view expressed by the Director of the Division of Human Rights concerning the continued existence of enclaves of colonialism or alien domination in the world. The emphasis placed by the human rights sector on self-determination in the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian senses of the term and on recognition of the right to development marked an important step forward. In that connexion, the administering Powers must create the necessary conditions in their dependent Territories not only for the speedy granting of independence but also for the guarantee and observance of human rights. The decisions of the United Nations system and the various United Nations studies that had been undertaken could serve as a guide for administering Powers in that task.

6. In South Africa, the racist régime had further intensified repressive measures to give effect to its policies, as illustrated by the recent proclamation of the so-called State of Venda. The sham independence granted to Venda demonstrated that the Botha régime was determined to bring the balkanization of South Africa to its logical conclusion, while at the same time depriving the black majority of their citizenship and the wealth of their land.

7. The continued oppression of the people of South Africa was a result of the inability of the United Nations to take effective measures to end such crimes against inhumanity. Certain Member States that had the power to apply necessary pressures had subordinated the interests of humanity to economic gain. In such circumstances, the people of South Africa could only intensify by all available means, including resort to arms, the struggle to recover their dignity and freedom. However, his delegation remained confident that during the current session the General Assembly would resolve to take other measures that would achieve the desired result. In that connexion, his delegation urged the Security Council to take immediate steps to ensure implementation against South Africa of the whole range of mandatory measures prescribed under Chapter VII of the Charter.

8. South Africa continued to perpetrate atrocities against the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and to mount attacks against neighbouring independent countries. Recent measures concerning Namibia which had been taken by South Africa appeared to be a first step in its plot to bring about a unilateral declaration of independence. If that was so, then South Africa, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of his country had stated before the General Assembly during the current session, would have to be warned that the United Nations was ready and willing to frustrate its intentions by effective measures. In that connexion, he noted that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia had also expressed the hope that the Security Council would implement General Assembly resolution 33/182 on the question of Namibia without further delay.

9. With regard to the question of Zimbabwe, it was his delegation's expectation that the Government of the United Kingdom would fulfil all its responsibilities by ensuring, among other things, that the Constitutional Conference on Rhodesia produced a settlement acceptable to the black majority of that country and to the international community.

(Mr. Nyamekye, Ghana)

10. It was, furthermore, his delegation's view that any settlement of the Middle East question that ignored the rights of the Palestinian people and did not accord firm recognition to the Palestine Liberation Organization as the authentic representative of the Palestinian people was bound to fail. The Palestine Liberation Organization should participate on equal terms in all negotiations affecting the rights of the Palestinian people. However, while his delegation remained opposed to the Israeli presence on African and Arab land acquired as a prize of war, it believed that all States in the region had a right to a peaceful existence within secure and recognized boundaries.

11. His Government was fully committed to the principle of self-determination and therefore commended the Government of Mauritania for its decision to withdraw its forces from the territory of the Saharan people. It was his delegation's expectation that the international community would offer the Saharan people all the assistance they needed in order to gain their freedom and independence without delay.

12. Mrs. ARIF (Bangladesh) said that the United Nations was to be commended for its achievements in the field of decolonization. However, there were territories that had yet to gain their independence, and the administering Powers had an obligation to speed up the process of their decolonization, since attainment of political independence was a prerequisite for the realization of human rights. The international community also had a duty to take constructive steps to expedite the process of attainment of independence by struggling peoples all over the world.

13. It was a disgrace to the entire international community that there was still discrimination based on race, religion, language and colour. Her country's Constitution set forth the principle of equality of all human beings and stated that Bangladesh would uphold the right of all peoples freely to determine their own social, economic and political system and would support peoples waging a just struggle against imperialism, colonialism or racism.

14. An extreme example of violation of human dignity and denial of the right to self-determination existed in southern Africa. Among the various abhorrent practices of the racist minority régimes of that region was the policy pursued by South Africa of imposing the establishment of bantustans on the African people in an attempt to deny them South African citizenship. While humanitarian considerations alone required the eradication of apartheid, there could be no doubt that, in addition, its continued existence constituted a threat to international peace and security. During the recent Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Havana, the President of her country had pledged firm support for the struggle for freedom and human rights waged by the oppressed people of southern Africa.

15. The Palestinian people were also helpless victims of oppression and alien subjugation, and her delegation therefore firmly supported them in their demand for recognition of their rights, including the right to self-determination and national independence.

(Mrs. Arif, Bangladesh)

16. However, political self-determination was meaningless if it was not accompanied by self-determination in the economic and social fields. Her delegation therefore hoped that specific steps would be taken to remedy existing social and economic imbalances.
17. Mr. SHERIFIS (Cyprus) said that his delegation fully endorsed the emphasis that the Director of the Division of Human Rights had placed, in his introductory statement, on the need for self-determination to be genuine not only in its political and legal aspects, but also in the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian senses. It also supported the view that self-determination must be based on the free and full development of every human being and that self-determination of peoples and self-determination of the individual went hand in hand. His delegation likewise subscribed to the view that the international community should strengthen the right to self-determination by giving added emphasis to the right to development.
18. Seen in the context of the right of peoples freely to determine their political status, the recent establishment by the South African régime of another bantustan was a serious challenge to the international community. His Government considered such declarations of separate independence totally invalid and wished to reaffirm its support for the rights of the people of South Africa.
19. His Government opposed separate independence for ethnic groups or communities in one and the same country, whether in Cyprus, South Africa, the Middle East or elsewhere. To accept separate implementation of that right with respect to different communities and national entities living in one and the same country would be to accept the notion of dual self-determination, which ran counter to the essence of the right in question. Separate independence was, moreover, contrary to the spirit of Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Charter, as defined in the report of Committee 1 to the First Commission of the San Francisco Conference (doc. 885, 1/1/34), which indicated that an essential element of the principle of self-determination was a free and genuine expression of the will of the people. Professor Alvarez, former President of the International Court of Justice, was of the view that the singular was used in that official commentary because "the people" was a single people in the sense of the whole population of the country to which self-determination was to apply. There were no grounds to be found in the Charter, for the purpose of implementation of the right to self-determination, for recognition of "communities", "peoples" or "ethnic groups". As Professor Bourguin of France had pointed out, it would be dangerous to assert that there were such grounds, since the population of States was far from homogeneous. The representative of Ecuador had therefore rightly indicated at the 184th meeting of the Special Political Committee, in 1960, that it would be a mistake to abuse the principle of self-determination in order to justify the separation of population groups. Separate independence for ethnic groups served the interests of oppressive racist régimes and foreign Governments.
20. His delegation supported Mr. Gros Espiell, Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, when

(Mr. Sherifis, Cyprus)

he maintained that the foreign occupation of a territory constituted an absolute violation of the right to self-determination. Moreover, his delegation condemned the uprooting of indigenous populations from occupied territories, the refusal to allow displaced persons to return to their ancestral homes and lands, and the importation of settlers from abroad with the aim of changing the demographic structure of a given territory.

21. Since human rights must have universal application, it was unacceptable for any Government to proclaim its adherence to the principle of self-determination for one people while it was subjecting another people.

22. Mr. AL-AAMR (United Arab Emirates) said that despite the fact that the item under consideration had been on the General Assembly's agenda for 10 years the struggle of oppressed peoples for self-determination and liberation from imperialist domination, oppression and foreign occupation continued. The General Assembly had always stressed the importance of the right to self-determination for the enjoyment of all human rights. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights made it clear that all peoples had the right to self-determination, the right freely to decide their political status, and the right to economic development and cultural and social progress. In addition, history had shown that no peace was possible or lasting if it was not based on the recognition that Governments must derive their authority from the consent of the people.

23. His delegation welcomed the work done by the United Nations in liberating peoples from oppression and exploitation, but in certain parts of the world, in particular southern Africa and Palestine, odious racist régimes were still inflicting cruel suffering on indigenous populations in defiance of the will of the international community. Since repeated denunciations of such practices had not led to their elimination, it was now necessary to apply strong sanctions against such régimes, as provided for under the Charter. The cynical indifference of some States to United Nations resolutions allowed them to exploit peoples in other territories and deprive them of their basic human rights. His delegation supported the will of the international community and maintained no contact with the racist régimes in southern Africa. On the contrary, it provided material and moral assistance and support for the efforts of the peoples of the region to liberate themselves. Furthermore, his delegation welcomed the new Government in Iran and its policy of terminating exportation of oil to South Africa and Israel, where peoples were being prevented from exercising their right to self-determination.

24. His delegation was pleased to see that most countries now supported the right of the Palestinian people to exercise their right to self-determination and condemned Israeli imperialism and oppression in Palestine. He urged the international community to stand firm against Israel's violations of the rights of the Palestinian people and its defiance of United Nations resolutions; in that connexion, he said that all countries should recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Al-Aamr, United Arab Emirates)

25. The right of all peoples to self-determination was recognized in the Charter and it was not acceptable that some should be denied that right; it was time that the international community took action to give effect to its decisions.

26. Miss OBAFEMI (Nigeria) said that the Government of Nigeria had amply demonstrated both in word and deed that the elimination of minority racist rule in southern Africa was of cardinal importance in its foreign policy. The United Nations had played a vital role in the transition of numerous nations from colonial domination to freedom; its efforts, which had been given impetus over the years by the aspirations and struggle of the dependent people themselves, were inspired by the Charter, which asserted the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and set out the obligations of the administering Powers of dependent Territories. None the less, some 10 million people in various parts of the world were still living under alien rule, and in southern Africa, where illegal minority régimes continued to oppress the peoples of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, the situation was especially grave. It was the duty of the entire international community, and particularly of the Western Powers, to ensure that the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples were implemented with respect to the millions of Africans in those Territories. The double standards and lack of political will demonstrated by some of the Western friends of racist régimes had so far frustrated all efforts by the international community to isolate those régimes and enabled the latter to persist in their defence of the decisions of the United Nations. The support of Western Powers for the perpetuation of racist minority rule in southern Africa would only widen the war in the region. They must also realize that any attempt to install discredited puppet rulers in either Zimbabwe or Namibia was bound to fail.

27. Her delegation commended those Member States, particularly in the West, which had taken unilateral action against the Pretoria régime; it noted with satisfaction the decision by revolutionary Iran to cut off oil supplies to the racists, and the legislative action taken by some Nordic countries, especially Sweden, to freeze their existing level of investment in South Africa and step up humanitarian assistance to SWAPO. It hoped that other countries would take similar action. It should always be borne in mind that the United Nations had legally revoked South Africa's mandate in Namibia; the international community had a moral responsibility to ensure that the legitimate aspirations of the Namibians were fulfilled without delay.

28. Nigeria applied political and economic sanctions against the racist régimes; it provided, both of its own accord and on request, moral, financial and material support to liberation movements, groups and individuals, and would continue to do so until the goal of self-determination and sovereignty was attained. The people of Nigeria also made voluntary contributions to the Southern Africa Relief Fund to assist the victims of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

29. Nigeria upheld the principle of the inviolability of the territorial integrity of States and maintained its traditional support for the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinians for the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination.

/...

(Miss Obafemi, Nigeria)

Israel must recognize that the question of Palestine was at the heart of the Middle East problem and that no solution in the region could be envisaged which did not take into account the interests of the Palestinian people.

30. Her delegation appealed to the Western Powers to demonstrate the political will which would ensure faithful compliance with United Nations measures against the racist régimes in southern Africa. The international community must continue to focus world attention on southern Africa and all areas where people were being denied their inalienable right to self-determination and sovereignty until a lasting solution based on justice, equality and human dignity was found.

31. Mr. ADAM (Observer, League of Arab States) noted that there had been three stages in the history of the principle of self-determination: the first, following World War I, had mainly affected Europe; the second had come after World War II, when the United Nations had been established and had, unlike the League of Nations, made self-determination one of the corner-stones of its purposes and principles for the entire world, thus giving inspiration to oppressed peoples all over the globe; the third, the present stage was characterized by the most dangerous form of imperialism, namely settler imperialism, practised by white racists in South Africa and Zionist racists in Palestine.

32. Oppressed peoples had first to struggle for political independence and then to fight the battle of development in an unjust world economic system imposed on them by the colonial Powers. There was to be an end to oppression, the peoples who were its victims must be supported and efforts must be made to bring about fundamental changes in the international economic system. Opposition forces were seeking to divide and conquer by disrupting the relationship between the national liberation movements and their supporters through devious manoeuvres, as could be seen in the cases of Zimbabwe and Egypt, and by attempts to weaken the firm stand of developing countries and divert the North-South dialogue to side issues. Although the League of Arab States welcomed the changes, however timid, in the positions of some Western countries, it still felt it was inexcusable that the major Western countries, while preaching human rights on the one hand, continued to support racist régimes on the other.

33. The racist régimes showed great similarity. They sought to maintain the racist system while condemning the indigenous population to an inferior status without national or political rights. They tended to regard the land which they had usurped as having been empty before the settlers arrived. They branded opposition forces as terrorists and claimed that they had to take strong measures to defend their own right to exist, although it could be seen that the racists, themselves did not recognize the right of any others to exist. The national liberation movements, on the other hand, called for non-sectarian States and pointed out that theirs was not a violence of action but one of reaction to the obsolete and harmful policies of the racist régimes.

34. The Palestinian people had a long struggle ahead of them before their right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State would be

(Mr. Adam, Observer, League
of Arab States)

realized. Under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, recognized by the United Nations as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the struggle against Israel and its supporters, in particular the United States, was continuing. The United States must not keep on frustrating the realization of the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination - a right eloquently championed by its own President Wilson - by failing to pursue a consistent and moral policy with respect to Palestine and engaging in diversionary manoeuvres, such as the Camp David formula and accords, which had been rejected by the overwhelming majority of the international community. The impotence of the United States political will to deal with the cause of the problem, namely the right of the Palestinian people to a national State, had only led to a perpetuation of the problem and the continued danger of war in the region. The prevalence of racist and chauvinist forces among the Israeli policy-makers, who simply refused to recognize or negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization, was a further impediment to a solution of the problem. Israel was seeking in vain to establish a puppet government in Palestine; the people were united and rejected such manoeuvres. The Zionists had resumed their former policy of buying and confiscating Arab land, terrorizing the population, committing individual and mass murders and engaging in expansionist military actions with the goal of further uprooting and dispersing the Palestinian people. Israel was clearly not concerned at the merely verbal condemnation of its actions on the part of the United States or Egypt, for it was sure of a continued flow of economic and political support from the United States. On the other hand, the idea of recognition of the right of the Palestinians to self-determination struck fear into the hearts of the Zionists, for whom such a step would be suicidal. Zionist theory, by no means accepted by all Jews, implied the total eradication of the Palestinian people and its national character.

35. Only when the national liberation movements in southern Africa and Palestine had succeeded in liberating their peoples from racist oppression and could embark on economic and social development would the principles of the United Nations Charter have been given effect in the regions concerned.

36. Mrs. FLOREZ (Cuba) said that the continued existence of colonial régimes in various parts of the world, which meant that the peoples of those regions could not exercise their right to self-determination, constituted a major obstacle to the enjoyment of human rights by those people. The United Nations had on several occasions affirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence, national unity, territorial integrity and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and occupation by any available means, including armed struggle. However, as national liberation movements gained strength and the struggle grew in intensity, so also the opposition of the imperial Powers, striving to protect their interests and enormous profits, increased. That situation was particularly serious in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia. The latest report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Violations of Human Rights in Southern Africa exposed in great detail the record of terrorism and oppression by the racist régimes and their attempts to establish puppet states which would serve the interests of the racist

(Mrs. Florez, Cuba)

minority while destroying the cultural identity of the black people. The practices and manoeuvres of the racist régimes had only one goal, namely to perpetuate minority racist control. The use of mercenaries, not only against the national liberation movements but also against neighbouring independent States, continued, despite condemnation by the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights.

37. The recent Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Havana had devoted considerable attention to the situation in southern Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean, where administering Powers were denying the human rights of the peoples concerned and seeking to create divisions in the anti-colonialist and national liberation movements. The Conference had expressed its support for the national liberation movements in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Palestine and East Timor. It had also expressed its concern at the situation in Western Sahara, the Comorian Island of Mayotte and the Malagasy Islands in the Indian Ocean. The Conference had reaffirmed its support for the Palestinian people and had called for the restoration of all of their inalienable rights, including the right to return to their homeland, the right to self-determination and the right to establish an independent State in Palestine. The Conference had also affirmed its support for the struggle of the Puerto Rican people and their inalienable right to self-determination, independence and territorial integrity, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The recent release of the four Puerto Rican independence fighters held in the United States for 25 years had been greeted as a triumph of the progressive forces of the entire world. The colonial situation in Puerto Rico was of particular concern to her Government; she noted that the Special Committee of 24 had also expressed its concern that the Government of the United States, the administering Power, had taken no specific steps to enable the Puerto Rican people to exercise its right to self-determination. Finally, the Conference had expressed its support for the anti-colonial struggle of the people of Belize and its concern that Guadeloupe, Martinique and French Guyana still did not have their own governments, and had requested the Special Committee of 24 to consider the matter.

38. Mrs. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) said that since the item under discussion had been debated at length at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly and the official position of each Member State was well known, the Committee should now strive to advance along the course outlined in General Assembly resolution 33/24 so as to avoid creating confusion and enabling trouble-makers to continue their manoeuvres sabotaging the freedom of the peoples and fundamental human rights. Her delegation denounced the attempts made by some speakers to frustrate the progress of the discussions by dwelling on points of detail.

39. General Assembly resolution 33/24 had very clearly reaffirmed the 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 and the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence and had condemned the practice of using mercenaries against national liberation movements and sovereign States. In April 1979 Benin, by presidential decree, had introduced radical punitive measures against all mercenaries. Certain countries, particularly the

(Mrs. Hougavou, Benin)

imperialist Powers of the capitalist West, were trying to deceive international public opinion by posing as champions of human rights; their silence on the question of the use of mercenaries was particularly reprehensible. Benin denounced their collusion with the racist régimes in southern Africa and with the Zionist régime in Palestine and the Arab territories, and their interference, threats and pressure against the freedom, independence and territorial integrity of defenceless countries. The centres which existed in the United States and in Europe for the recruitment and training of mercenaries to fight against the liberation movements and the territorial integrity of independent countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America constituted a permanent threat to all States; Benin would not forget the tragedy caused by the mercenaries who had entered its territory on 16 January 1977 to commit mass crimes. By failing to take any measures to suppress mercenary activities, the imperialist countries were violating the United Nations Charter and endangering international peace and security. The Western Powers talked of peace but continued to create a situation of crisis and commit unspeakable crimes against the rights of peoples. For the African and non-aligned States, among which Benin played an active part, the total liquidation of colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, racism and apartheid and the elimination of exploitation and the use of mercenaries constituted a priority objective and a patriotic obligation.

40. The existence of Zionism in Palestine and of the illegal racist régimes of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa constituted a threat to the enjoyment of human rights and the inalienable rights of peoples. The imperialist Powers, by supporting those régimes in the economic, financial, political and diplomatic fields, were contravening the principles of the Charter. The right of peoples to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty was an inalienable right which was not negotiable. It was the duty of the international community to provide all moral and material assistance to the peoples still under colonial and foreign domination and to their liberation movements so as to enable them to throw off the yoke of their oppressors. In Zimbabwe, all negotiations must lead to the accession to power of the legitimate representative of the people, the Patriotic Front. In Namibia, only the strict implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, and particularly the United Nations plan for Namibia, could bring about the accession to independence and national sovereignty of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative. The independence of Zimbabwe and Namibia would inevitably promote the liberation process in the territory of South Africa itself where a colonialist, racist and Fascist régime was imposing its rule on the indigenous population. Her delegation called upon the international community to afford no recognition, diplomatic or otherwise, to the bantustans.

41. The fundamental problem in Western Sahara was the inalienable right to independence and self-determination of the Saharan people. Benin had recognized the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and would continue to support the Frente POLISARIO, the sole legitimate representative of the Saharan people, until it realized fully its legitimate aspirations to self-determination and national sovereignty. In the Middle East, it must be recognized that the separate peace agreement had achieved nothing and that only negotiations among all the parties

/...

(Mrs. Hounouvou, Benin)

concerned, including the PLO, could restore peace to the region. The Zionist State of Israel must withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories and the Palestinian people must regain their legitimate rights, including the right to self-determination and the right to their homeland. In East Timor, the right to self-determination and independence must also be realized, thus ensuring the victory of the people who for long years had waged a heroic national liberation struggle under the leadership of FRETILIN.

42. Benin had always supported all peaceful solutions in southern Africa and elsewhere in the world. However, if negotiations failed, the oppressed peoples in southern Africa, Palestine and elsewhere would have no choice but to resort to armed struggle, and the international community would have the moral duty to assist them. Benin would continue to provide moral, political and material support to the national liberation movements until their full and final victory.

43. Mrs. HATEGA (Uganda) said that it was surprising to find that 19 years after the adoption of the historic resolution 1514 (XV) a number of countries still persisted in their policies of colonialism, racism and racial discrimination. Uganda supported the struggles of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa and fully endorsed those peoples' inalienable rights to independence and human dignity. Her country condemned the illegal internal settlement schemes which South Africa sought to impose in Namibia. It was the responsibility of the United Nations to protect the territorial integrity and independence of that Territory. Furthermore, Uganda had consistently refused to extend recognition to the puppet administration in Zimbabwe and continued to support the Patriotic Front.

44. However, there were countries other than those in southern Africa where the situation with respect to enjoyment of the rights to self-determination and independence left much to be desired. To suffer injustice at the hands of one's own Government was just as painful as to suffer injustice under an alien racist régime. Nations should therefore not close their eyes to the existence of injustices in their own societies.

45. Uganda reaffirmed its support for the Organization of African Unity resolution recognizing the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence; for that reason her country had decided to recognize the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic set up by the Frente POLISARIO as the legitimate government of Western Sahara. With regard to the Middle East, the Palestinian question was at the core of that intractable problem and any effort to find a solution which did not include the Palestinians had very little chance of success. The United Nations should therefore endeavour to increase the involvement of all parties concerned in any peace initiative.

46. Finally, it should be realized that genuine self-determination could not be attained in a nation whose economy was in the hands of alien interests. The economic investments of Western nations in southern Africa supported the racist régimes and prevented the peoples of the region from having any effective control over their national economy. The tendency of those same nations to ignore or

(Mrs. Hatega, Uganda)

oppose resolutions adopted by the United Nations, which, if heeded and fully adhered to, would have led to a solution of the problem, was sabotaging United Nations efforts in that area.

47. Mr. NSAHLAI (United Republic of Cameroon) said that his delegation wished to express its profound gratitude to the international community and members of the United Nations for their continuing moral and material support for the African peoples and their commitment to the liberation struggle. The African countries were convinced that with that assistance they would soon be able to eliminate from the continent all traces of racial discrimination, apartheid, colonialism and neo-colonial domination. The United Republic of Cameroon was deeply concerned about the repression imposed by the minority racist and apartheid régime of Pretoria on the black people of Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia, and considered that Pretoria's frequent incursions into neighbouring peace-loving countries posed a serious threat to the security of Africa and of the world. It was because of that situation, and the Pretoria régime's obstinate refusal to comply with United Nations resolutions calling for an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia and the abolition of apartheid, that his country had come to the conclusion that the United Nations was wasting its time in trying to reason with that régime in peaceful terms; the international community should be aware that it was dealing with a régime which did not belong to the civilized world, but understood only the language of war. How long would the United Nations continue to try to resolve the tragic situation in southern Africa by peaceful means while suffering millions waited to achieve the barest minimum needed for human subsistence? The United Republic of Cameroon had always believed that peaceful means were the best way of solving any human conflict, but it was clear that peaceful negotiations alone could not change the tragic situation in southern Africa; the African people wanted their liberty immediately, and unanimously believed that no African could be considered free until all Africans were free; they appealed to all peace-loving peoples of the world to assist them in their armed struggle for liberation. It was important to note that the longer the struggle lasted, the more human lives would be lost. The issue at stake in southern Africa was the survival of mankind in general and, in particular, of the millions of blacks who were being denied their sacred right to self-determination and human dignity. His delegation appealed to all countries to implement the United Nations resolutions calling for sanctions against South Africa and to use every possible means to bring the prevailing situation in southern Africa to an end. The countries which, directly or indirectly, were collaborating with the racist minority régimes in southern Africa, in defiance of United Nations resolutions, were doing very serious harm to all humanity and were endangering their own national interests.

48. The situation in the Middle East was also a cause of concern to the Government and people of the United Republic of Cameroon; they had always believed that the Palestinian people should be allowed their right to a homeland, and his country's Minister for Foreign Affairs had reaffirmed that position in the plenary Assembly. If the situation in the Middle East persisted, it could engender a major world conflict; the United Republic of Cameroon had repeatedly called upon all the parties involved in the conflict to demonstrate wisdom and mutual understanding,

/...

(Mr. Nsahlai, United Republic
of Cameroon)

and the first step was for Israel to recognize the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people with which it had to negotiate. If a peaceful and lasting solution was to be found for the Middle East conflict, all States Members of the United Nations must adopt a positive African philosophy of friendship.

49. As to other peoples under colonial domination, the United Republic of Cameroon did not have reason to doubt the good faith of the administering Powers concerning the granting of speedy independence to the peoples still dependent upon them; nevertheless, it was anxious to see the dependent colonial peoples emerge rapidly to nationhood and to the exercise of the fundamental human right to self-determination.

50. The United Republic of Cameroon was making every effort to ensure full human rights within its own territory. His delegation noted with satisfaction the growing interest in schools and universities, and particularly in the Western press in recent times, in the disturbing situation in southern Africa and in many other parts of the world; it hoped that that would help to influence public opinion in favour of the peoples striving for self-determination and encourage States Members of the United Nations to take all possible measures to eliminate all forms of domination in southern Africa and other parts of the world.

51. Mr. BEKELE (Ethiopia) said that on the eve of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples the Committee's consideration of the item before it should focus even more closely than in the past on the reasons why the racist régime of South Africa was continuing to subjugate the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, the puppet régime in Salisbury was perpetuating minority rule over the people of Zimbabwe, and the Palestinian people and the people of Western Sahara were being denied the exercise of their basic human rights. The main reason for that situation was the direct and indirect assistance of some of the Western countries to the racist régimes in southern Africa coupled with imperialist plots and conspiracies motivated by strategic considerations against the effective application of the principle of the right of self-determination. Numerous studies and reports, including some from the Western countries themselves, had shown the intimate connexion over the years, in the economic, diplomatic, military and cultural fields, between the racist régimes and their protectors in the West. Those links must be vigorously condemned. Empty rhetoric by the friends of the racist régimes, the self-appointed advocates of human rights, should not be allowed to disguise their intentions of reaping enormous profits and safeguarding their economic and strategic interests. The opposition and reservations expressed in certain quarters when draft resolutions came before the Committee was a more accurate reflection of attitudes towards the exercise of human rights than was hollow rhetoric.

(Mr. Bekele, Ethiopia)

52. During the Committee's discussion of the item in the previous year, he had drawn its attention to the dangers of the cynical misuse of the lofty principle of self-determination. He reaffirmed Socialist Ethiopia's strong commitment to the total independence of the people of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia; Ethiopia was vigorously implementing the special pledge it had made to the oppressed peoples of southern Africa at the fourteenth OAU Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government held at Libreville, Gabon.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.