



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 11th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ZADOR (Hungary)

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

AGENDA ITEM 88: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE SECOND DECADE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (E/1985/16 and Add.1; A/40/3, A/40/173, A/40/320, A/40/398, A/40/416, A/40/694 and Add.1)

AGENDA ITEM 93: 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/40/308, A/40/331, A/40/465 and Add.1, A/40/672, A/40/678)

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- (a) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
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1. Mr. AHMED (Democratic Yemen) said that the establishment of the United Nations, following the victory over fascism and nazism, had been based on the principles of equality and self-determination and on the desire to put an end to all forms of persecution through multilateral co-operation. Much progress had been made in that respect.

2. However, it was regrettable that, despite those achievements and the fact that 40 years had elapsed since the victory over the ideologies to which he had referred, there were still vestiges of those ideologies, which were based on discrimination and manifested themselves in apartheid. The General Assembly had denounced that state of affairs in resolution 39/114. Nevertheless, on the occasion of the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations the opportunity must be taken to mobilize the efforts of the international community against nazism, neo-fascism and all ideologies based on intolerance and hatred. The international community had condemned those phenomena, decided to continue to fight them and declared them a crime against humanity. Effective measures must be adopted to put an end to the practices of all régimes based on racial discrimination. The Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination must be characterized by the struggle against all manifestations of those two phenomena.

3. On 30 September 1985, in his address before the General Assembly, the leader of the delegation of Democratic Yemen had indicated that the United Nations must redouble its efforts to put an end to apartheid, bring about independence for Namibia and ensure that the people of South Africa could exercise their legitimate right to freedom.

(Mr. Ahmed, Democratic Yemen)

4. The Constitution of Democratic Yemen recognized human rights and condemned all racist practices. Democratic Yemen supported the struggle of all peoples for freedom and social progress and cherished the hope that all forms of racism and racial discrimination would be put to an end. Those policies were based on aggression, on the occupation of territory through force, on arbitrary practices and on acts of genocide and torture.
5. Through its brutal practices, the racist régime of South Africa was violating fundamental human principles. Among the practices in question were the torture, the murders, the forcible displacement of population and the arrests to which the majority of the inhabitants of South Africa were being subjected, owing solely to their colour. The South African régime was continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia, despite calls for it to put an end to that occupation. That régime was also continuing its acts of aggression against neighbouring countries, which had produced a tragic situation in southern Africa.
6. A number of countries were collaborating with the South African régime, justifying their collaboration with the aid of meaningless pretexts. The fact that there were countries that were willing to sacrifice men and women for the sake of economic advantages had helped to strengthen the Pretoria régime, which was pursuing its policy of apartheid and plundering the natural resources of Namibia. One example of such collaboration was the United States policy of constructive engagement, which had been repeatedly condemned by the international community.
7. The alliance between the racist régime of South Africa and the zionist régime of Israel manifested itself in many spheres. The two régimes were co-operating closely in their assaults on the legitimate aspirations of the African and Arab peoples and represented a security threat. The Israeli régime was also making use of forcible population displacement, in this case directed against the Palestinians, and also depended on the support of its strategic ally, the United States. The recent act of aggression against the territorial integrity of Tunis provided yet further proof of the way in which Israel resorted to terrorism. That act of aggression had coincided with the attacks carried out by South Africa on the neighbouring countries of Angola, Lesotho and Mozambique. The continuation of the practices of the racist régime of Israel not only affected the Arab countries but also endangered international peace and security.
8. The safeguarding of international peace and security not only required an end to the policies of racial discrimination and apartheid but also a condemnation of all forms of co-operation that ran counter to the resolutions adopted by the United Nations and constituted a challenge to the international community.
9. Mr. SANCLEMENTE (Colombia) said that in the Americas man apparently suffered from a lack of original and germinal definition that was still keeping him in a state of expectation vis-à-vis his own fate. Hispanic settlement had had a humanist, Christian, centralist, homogenizing and unitary inspiration, in keeping with the medieval character of the conquistadores, which had given faithful expression to a Gothic Spain resistant to Renaissance influence. The process of

(Mr. Sanclemente, Colombia)

transplanting a culture in order to promote the development of a new civilization had been brought to an abrupt halt by the victory of emancipatory forces in the nineteenth century which had given republican organization a liberal French orientation.

10. English-speaking predominance in the Americas had, on the other hand, sprung from the need to break with the religious authority and curtailment of freedoms imposed by the defenders of the Reformation in England, Holland and Scotland, and had begun in the form of overt resistance to Europe. That approach had been complemented by the pragmatic idea of giving material success and economic prosperity a moral and religious connotation. Thus had emerged the first capitalist, functional and modern society, which had equated material progress with divine recognition of man's endeavours.

11. Hispanic America had been the result of an impossible spiritual notion of transcendent man and the manifestation of the imperial will of the Spanish Crown, which had transplanted the age-old culture of Europe to the New World. English-speaking America, on the other hand, had been engendered by the upheaval of the Renaissance, the Reformation, Calvinist pragmatism and Utopian illuminism. Consequently, the Americas were not and never could be homogenous.

12. The conquest and settlement of the Americas had been the most formidable vital expression of Western culture which had, in its various forms, found in the Americas an opportunity to reveal its long-standing differences and to acclimatize them and project them with pragmatic syncretism. The settlement of the Americas had provided a framework for the dream of Renaissance humanism and had been a receptive and amplifying medium for the libertarian principles of revolutionary France, which had laid the foundations of the liberal democratic system. It had also been by way of the Americas that an uncontrollable passion for the primacy of technology had taken hold of mankind and the advancement of science had accelerated in order to provide man with suitable resources for his struggle against virgin nature. The most significant phenomenon of the transfer of culture had taken place in the Americas. Columbus had not only begun the epic of Western man but also paved the way for spreading his culture throughout the world.

13. For the pre-Columbian native the discovery of the Americas had been a catastrophe. It had represented the definitive collapse of his ancient way of life, the brutal elimination of all aspects of his culture, the extinction of his identity and the destruction of his past.

14. However, the peoples of the Americas should not renounce their history in favour of an anachronistic predilection for things indigenous that would immerse them in a remote past, while they futilely waited for an unattainable reconciliation of indigenous life with the current era. That was an intellectualizing snare that took refuge in false nationalisms, or in sentimental invocations of the regional ethnic groups, and debased the present. In the course of barely five centuries, the Americas had absorbed, adopted and perfected what it had taken other peoples of the world milleniums to process, in order to progress from the neolithic era to modern times. There was no comparable human exploit.

(Mr. Sanclemente, Colombia)

15. The most advanced cultural expressions of pre-Columbian life, which had been lost in the mists of time, had come to a halt upon being confronted with European man. There were only traces of what they had become, and they could be classified as manifestations of an evolving subculture that had eclipsed even more primitive subcultures.
16. The Americas had had between 15 and 25 million inhabitants. Vast expanses of territory had been unpopulated. The Amazon basin, the southern pampas, the Orinoco plains and the frozen regions had still been virgin. In the more hospitable Mexican and Andean tablelands there had been some settlements with a degree of institutional development. The Incas had imposed an indigenous régime of a communist and collectivist nature. The Aztecs had based their aristocratic monarchy on military organization. Those and other peoples had lived almost completely cut off from the world. There had been no unifying principle or any concept of systematically pre-established order to shape sovereignty. History had not been recorded, and there remained only oral accounts of what had taken place in those cultures, which had possessed only rudimentary utensils. Except among the Aztecs and Incas, architecture had barely begun to emerge. Men had been cannibalistic, and the origins of their disputes had lain not in the extent of territorial domains, whose vast size had made such concerns secondary, but in the endeavour to enslave other tribes as a source of labour and victims for sacrifice to the sun and moon. Only one thing had united them: a fear of nature and the prediction of their destruction through the supernatural presence of an alien being, whom they had identified with the European on horseback, by whose mere shadow the cultural stirrings of an embryonic community had been eclipsed.
17. Hispanic colonization had differed from that of the Anglo-Saxons in that the indigenous communities had yielded to the Europeans. The Spanish had mingled and made miscegenation a common denominator in Latin America. The puritan English had avoided sexual intercourse with the indigenous inhabitants, segregating and brutally reducing them. The indigenous population had made no contribution to Hispanic culture other than the human element. There had thus been an ethnic but not a cultural mixing. Yet in both instances there had been a Europeanization of the Americas. In the case of the Anglo-Saxons, as a projection without any break in continuity, and in the case of the Spanish, through the complete absorption of the indigenous population into the Latin way of life. Accordingly, the new continent could not be termed mestizo, given the racist conduct of the Anglo-Saxons, the minuscule white content of some native populations which had remained pure from the ethnic point of view, and, at the present time, the black, sociologically novel, racism of the north and of some peoples of the Caribbean.
18. The Americas was not a continent of mestizos or of any other kind of homogeneous race but contained a heterogeneous mixture of races and cultures, all of which had contributed, in their own way, to shaping its human and cultural distinctiveness. Perhaps the only valid distinguishing feature of the continent as a whole was its adherence to the values, traditions and principles of western culture.

(Mr. Sanclemente, Colombia)

19. The President of Colombia, Mr. Belisario Betancur, in his inauguration of the third meeting of indigenous leaders in November 1982, had pointed to the need to respect all groups living in Colombia, and the obligation to provide them all with the necessary means of progress, without pressure, prejudice or requirements which might jeopardize their freedom and identity.

20. Such principles of respect for the cultural and ethnic plurality of the various communities in Colombia had always guided the policies of successive Governments of the country. The authority of the indigenous councils in legal and internal administrative matters had always been recognized, as had the imprescriptibility of the protected lands. The autonomy of the indigenous authorities, not only political and economic, but also religious and cultural, had been set forth in various laws: Act No. 89 of 1890 on community property, the ratification in 1957 of the ILO convention relating to the protection and integration of indigenous populations and other tribal and semi-tribal populations in independent countries, Act. No. 81 of 1958 on agricultural development, Decree No. 1634/1960 on the establishment of the indigenous affairs section of the Ministry of the Interior, Act No. 135 of 1961 and Act No. 4 of 1973 on agrarian social reform, etc. In addition, various institutions had been established to implement the principles set forth in those Acts: in 1947 the Colombian Institute for Indigenous Studies had been established; in 1980 the National Council for Economic and Social Policy (CONPES) had adopted the first indigenous development programme; and the National Indigenous Congress had been meeting annually since 1982. In addition, the linguistic work of the Caro y Cuervo Institute and of the National Committee on Aboriginal Linguistics, established by the Second Botanical Expedition, and the research programmes of the National University and of the University of the Andes had promoted a new and better understanding of regional ethnic groups by society.

21. In Colombia, the legal system embodied the indigenous code of laws. In addition to the right of free association of citizens, recognized under chapter III of the constitutional charter, other basic laws granted members of indigenous communities special protection so that they might preserve their traditions and customs, their own authorities and exclusive territories. Within those territories they enjoyed complete administrative autonomy and were competent to formulate their own development models in co-ordination with representatives of the State, particularly in the areas of health and education. They also received economic and financial support for their development projects under the self-management system and were exempt from compulsory military service.

22. In a nation like Colombia, which from its origins had made racial integration the ennobling basis of its lineage, it was natural that apartheid should be considered a crime against mankind. The Government of Colombia maintained that the occupation of the Territory of Namibia by South Africa was illegal; reiterated the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence; recognized the United Nations Council for Namibia as the rightful administrative authority of Namibia until the latter attained independence; demanded the withdrawal of South African armed forces and the holding of free elections under United Nations supervision and control; and sought the immediate release of all Namibians

(Mr. Sanclemente, Colombia)

imprisoned by South Africa, an end to political repression and the repeal of racially discriminatory laws.

23. The world was experiencing new forms of discrimination involving as much violence, oppression and brutality as those with a racial basis: economic imbalances, the exclusive use of technology, the egoistic appropriation of science, secrecy in research and the failure to disclose findings, financial subjugation, the arbitrary use of information technology and other discriminatory practices which erected insuperable barriers among peoples. His delegation considered that those equally discriminatory, colonialist and imperialist practices should be ended with the utmost urgency, since scientific and economic progress should be the common heritage of mankind.

24. Mr. SOLOMON (United States of America), with respect to agenda item 93, relating to the importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination, said that self-determination was a continuous process. It consisted of the right of peoples and individuals to determine their relationship to their own as well as to other States, the right of all people to nurture their own cultural, ethnic and religious identities and traditions, and the right of each individual to pursue his own destiny according to his talents. Further, it comprised the accountability and respect that every State owed to its citizens. The distinguishing characteristic of any State that maintained a legitimate social contract with its citizens was the establishment of a political, legal and social system that protected the human dignity of all its citizens without distinction. A State so constituted and so governed would not fear its own people.

25. That concept of self-determination was as old as the American Revolution and as modern as the search for peace in the nuclear era. As the President of the United States had often said, history recorded no example of a situation in which truly democratic nations had gone to war against each other. Self-determination was essential to the realization of world peace and was a prerequisite for fulfilment of the vision that had led to the founding of the United Nations 40 years earlier. That principle had guided the United States for over 200 years. When called upon to defend the rights of mankind, the United States had always responded, even when it had meant going to war, but it had never enslaved a defeated enemy.

26. His delegation did not accept the view, expressed by some, that the right of self-determination could be exercised once and for all, for example through the attainment of independence from colonial rule. The statements of most delegations gave the impression that, when colonial rule ended in Namibia and a few other places, all peoples would have exercised their right to self-determination for all time. His delegation did not believe that independence was the only possible outcome of a genuine process of self-determination. The people of numerous territories had repeatedly exercised their right to self-determination by freely expressing their preference for a status of association with, or incorporation into, another political entity.

27. Further, the right to self-determination could not be considered in isolation from other universally recognized human rights, particularly civil and political

(Mr. Solomon, United States)

rights, since it entailed the continuing right of all individuals to participate in the political process which governed them. As stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 21, paragraph 3: "The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures".

28. A people that expressed its will through periodic and genuine elections exercised its right to self-determination. Unfortunately, many peoples not living under formal colonial rule were only nominally independent because they were controlled by powerful communist countries. That was the case, among others, with the Baltic Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, invaded 45 years ago by the Soviet Union, with a total of 100,000 persons deported or murdered in only 4 days of repression, from 14 to 17 June 1941. Repression and persecution were daily realities for the people of the Baltic Republics in Eastern Europe and other outposts of the Soviet empire. The Baltic Republics were currently undergoing a process of Russification, with the repression of the exercise of indigenous religious, cultural and social traditions. The Soviet Union would no doubt say that those were internal affairs, but what was at stake was the right of the Baltic peoples to determine their own destiny, free from foreign interference.

29. His delegation considered it ironic that the first delegation in the Committee to mention the problem of Afghanistan had been the Soviet Union, which had six years ago launched a massive invasion of that country. But the struggle of the Afghan people to exercise its right to self-determination had continued. The régime installed in Kabul in 1979 had practically no control over the countryside. The Afghan people and the international community were calling for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops, a call which had been echoed repeatedly in the General Assembly. A Soviet withdrawal, as part of a comprehensive solution to the crisis in Afghanistan, would restore the right of the Afghan people to self-determination, preserve Afghanistan's tradition of political independence and its non-aligned status and ensure the right of the refugees to return in safety and honour.

30. The situation in Kampuchea was another tragic example of a people which had been kept from exercising its right to self-determination. Viet Nam largely had to bear the responsibility for the tragic tyranny of the Khmer Rouge, since it had provided critical support to their 1975 victory. Viet Nam's later invasion of Kampuchea had not been aimed at liberating the Kampuchean people from that tyranny but at guaranteeing its control over the country. In order to guarantee that control, Viet Nam quickly installed a puppet régime largely comprised of former followers of Pol Pot, including Heng Samrin himself. The Kampuchean people faced the risk of the extinction of its culture, as a result of the massive influx of Vietnamese into its country (more than 500,000, according to independent observers), who had reportedly received Kampuchean citizenship. At the same time, 250,000 Khmer civilians remained encamped along the Thai-Kampuchean border, unable to return to their homes. The international community was obliged to assist them. His delegation sincerely appreciated the efforts made by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative on behalf of the Kampuchean people. It also appreciated the important work done by the United Nations Border Relief Operation, the World

(Mr. Solomon, United States)

- Food Programme, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other specialized United Nations agencies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and various other voluntary organizations. His country supported the programme of the countries belonging to the Association of South-East Asian Nations for a peaceful solution: complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and restoration of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea under a Government chosen in free elections.
31. Political solutions existed to all the problems mentioned. His country was prepared to work towards such solutions and invited the Soviet Union and its allies, who were primarily responsible for the situations mentioned, to do the same.
32. Mrs. EMARA (Egypt) regretted that the number of States having signed or ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and the other human rights instruments, including the Covenants, decreased from year to year, and she associated herself with the call to Member States to ratify or accede to those instruments.
33. Only through the ratification or accession to both Conventions, and the implementation of their provisions, could the objectives of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination be achieved. Her country also closely observed the activities of the Group of Three and the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. In connection with the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, Egypt made an urgent appeal to all Member States, United Nations bodies and governmental and non-governmental organizations, to redouble their efforts to ensure the realization of the aims of the Decade, in particular the eradication of the crime of apartheid.
34. The right to self-determination was one of the basic principles of contemporary international law and an indispensable condition for the safeguarding and effective observance of human rights. Her delegation joined previous speakers in their condemnation of the persistence of foreign occupation, colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in certain parts of Africa, the Middle East and Asia. The international community was reaching the end of its patience. Political will had to be shown in order to ensure the implementation of United Nations resolutions, in particular those relating to Palestine, Namibia, South Africa, Afghanistan and Kampuchea. The Palestinian people should enjoy its right to self-determination, in order to establish its own State. The Namibian people also should be allowed to exercise its right to self-determination and to obtain its independence. Apartheid should be abolished so that the people of South Africa could enjoy their inalienable rights.
35. The racist Government in Pretoria would continue to disregard United Nations resolutions and world public opinion as long as mandatory sanctions were not imposed against it under the Charter of the United Nations. Her country considered that it was time for action in that regard.

36. Mr. HEGYI (Hungary) said that the right of peoples to self-determination was one of the basic principles of contemporary international law as embodied in several important international instruments, and was a prerequisite for the exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms. However, 25 years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it could not yet be claimed that that right was exercised worldwide.

37. His country fully supported the concepts embodied in General Assembly resolution 39/17 concerning the struggle of the peoples for their independence. All States and international organizations should support the people of Namibia through their sole and authentic representative, SWAPO, in its struggle to gain its right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter.

38. His delegation considered that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be speedily and completely implemented. The progress achieved in that respect over the past 40 years had been chiefly due to the heroic struggle waged by the oppressed peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. That process was, however, stalled in South Africa and the Middle East, while attempts were being made in other parts of the world to reverse the march of history.

39. The racist régime of Pretoria, acting in defiance of numerous United Nations decisions and resolutions, had persisted in extending its hateful apartheid system and bantustanization policy to Namibia. His country was deeply concerned at the delay in the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Since the adoption of that resolution seven years ago, the political situation in the region had further deteriorated. His country fully agreed with the statements that the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa constituted an act of aggression against the Namibian people, in accordance with the definition of aggression contained in General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX). The people of Namibia, in exercise of its inherent right to self-defence, was therefore entitled to use all means at its disposal, including armed struggle, to repel South Africa's aggression and to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

40. Since no country questioned in general terms the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, it was time to adopt comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa in the Security Council. Lack of such sanctions encouraged the Pretoria régime in its defiance of international law. The acquisition of nuclear capability by that régime, another element which threatened and terrorized independent States in the region, also posed a threat to all mankind.

41. There could be no doubt that the question of Namibia was one of decolonization which must be resolved in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and other relevant United Nations instruments. Distorting the nature of the Namibian problem by portraying it not as the struggle of a long-suffering people for liberation, but as part of global East-West confrontation could be of no help. The same was true for the attempts of the South African régime and its supporters to obstruct the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and to establish a linkage

(Mr. Hegyi, Hungary)

between the independence of Namibia and extraneous, irrelevant issues, in particular the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. Hungary was fully in agreement with the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which drew attention to South Africa's continuing suppression of the political rights of the people of Namibia and its attempts to negotiate an internal solution with the so-called Multi-Party Conference with the aim of creating an internal Government, in direct contravention of Security Council resolution 439 (1978).

42. Hungary was also of the opinion that the air and ground attack South Africa had launched against Angola about a month previously, using the international territory of Namibia, constituted a flagrant violation of international law and a serious threat to international peace and security. That act of aggression against Angola should serve as a warning to the defenders of the Pretoria régime that it had no intention of joining international efforts to create peaceful, just and stable economic and political conditions in southern Africa.

43. Israel's denial of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination had been repeatedly condemned. Its aggressive policy in the Middle East had even had adverse effects on the long-term interests of the Israeli people. Without external support, Israel could not implement its expansionist policy. The Hungarian people and Government lent their resolute support to the Palestinian people and the PLO, its sole legitimate representative in its struggle for self-determination and independence. The core of the problem in the Middle East continued to be the denial to the Palestinian people of the right to self-determination, as pointed out in numerous United Nations resolutions. The existence of Israel, as an expression of the Jewish people's self-determination, was an established fact. Urgent steps were needed in order to allow the Palestinian people to exercise its right to self-determination and to establish its own independent State.

44. Regrettably, the recent terrorist attack on PLO headquarters in Tunis showed that Israel had no intention of seeking a solution based on principles that were just and fair to all concerned. That air attack was a flagrant violation of all norms of civilized behaviour and an inadmissible act against Tunisia and the Palestinian people that had shocked the conscience of mankind.

45. His Government favoured a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East crisis and the question of Palestine that would ensure the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including the right to establish its own State, and create the conditions and guarantees necessary for all States of the region to live in peace and security within internationally recognized borders. In order to arrive at such an agreement, it was necessary to convene an international conference in which all the parties concerned would participate.

46. But the right of peoples to self-determination had been jeopardized not only in those regions. No State, irrespective of its military strength, should determine the political system of another country. No country was entitled to impose its own values on another people, and the fact that a people did not espouse

(Mr. Hegyi, Hungary)

those values did not justify attempts to topple the Government of a sovereign State. That principle was also part of self-determination. Hungary regretted that tension had been further exacerbated in Central America and the Caribbean region, and that in recent years actions had been taken that threatened the sovereignty of Cuba and Nicaragua. His Government was increasingly concerned at developments that endangered the independence and peaceful progress of the peoples of the region. It therefore supported efforts aimed at solving the problems by peaceful political means, especially the implementation of the commendable proposals made by the countries of the Contadora Group.

47. Mrs. ITOH (Japan) said that equality and freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion constituted one of the most fundamental principles of the United Nations. Nevertheless, discrimination, particularly racial discrimination, existed in various forms throughout the world. Racism was a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Preamble to which reaffirmed faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person.

48. As it had repeatedly explained on previous occasions, Japan had consistently opposed racism and racial discrimination and had made it unequivocally clear to the South African Government that that evil policy, which trampled on the rights and dignity of the overwhelming majority of the population of South Africa, must be abolished. Her Government had no diplomatic relations with the Government of South Africa, did not recognize the so-called bantustans and did not co-operate in the military or nuclear fields with that régime. In addition, it refrained from extending economic co-operation to South Africa. Furthermore, Japan had prohibited such direct economic investment in South Africa as the establishment of corporations in that country by Japanese nationals or corporate bodies under its jurisdiction, and had urged Japanese banks not to extend loans to South Africa. Cultural, educational and sports exchanges with South Africa were restricted. At the same time, Japan had made substantial contributions to those United Nations funds and programmes which were providing humanitarian and educational support to the oppressed people of South Africa.

49. Her delegation had followed with grave concern developments in South Africa in recent months. Since the so-called constitutional reform in September 1984, there had been a surge of anger and dissatisfaction which the South African Government had been brutally suppressing; the result had been over 700 casualties. In July a state of emergency had been declared in many areas and a curfew imposed; 1,700 people had reportedly been arrested. Japan deplored the South African Government's decision to take such action and deplored its tragic consequences.

50. The South African Government should know that it could not sustain itself indefinitely through the use of force, and it should abandon its futile attempts to quell unrest in that manner. It should be clear that apartheid must be abolished, not reformed. There was a need for that Government to state in no uncertain terms its intention to dismantle apartheid and to enter unconditionally into discussions with the leaders of the black community with a view to the adoption of specific measures to end apartheid.

(Mrs. Itoh, Japan)

51. On 9 October, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs had announced the measures that Japan intended to take to put pressure on the South African régime to abolish apartheid. Those measures included a prohibition on the export to South Africa of computers that might assist institutions which enforced apartheid, such as the army and the police force. Her Government had called for co-operation in the voluntary halting of imports of krugerrands and other gold coins from South Africa. Lastly, it had called on companies with offices in South Africa to follow equal and fair employment policies.
52. Japan believed that a peaceful solution to the problem of apartheid must be sought through the combined efforts of all mankind. The entire international community should share responsibility for achieving the liberation of South Africa from apartheid.
53. Her Government would spare no effort to ensure the success of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. It therefore welcomed the successful conclusion of the media round-table on international legal issues related to apartheid, racism and racial discrimination, held in Europe, and the seminar on community relations commissions.
54. In Kampuchea, Vietnamese military intervention continued in violation of the Kampuchean people's right to self-determination. Japan had consistently favoured a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem on the basis of the withdrawal of all foreign military forces and the exercise by the Kampuchean people of their right to self-determination.
55. In Afghanistan the fight continued unabated more than half a decade after the Soviet invasion of that non-aligned State, an invasion that had violated the human rights of the Afghan people and had caused a mass exodus of defenceless refugees, including women and children. Japan once more called for the prompt withdrawal of Soviet troops, the restoration of self-determination to Afghanistan and a safe and honourable return to their homeland by all refugees.
56. In the Middle East, a solution could be achieved only through recognition of and respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. It was necessary to recognize their right to self-determination, which included the right to establish an independent State, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. At the same time, the right of all States in the region to exist must be respected.
57. In order to work out solutions to those difficult problems, it was essential to promote trust among the parties by whatever means possible. In that connection, her Government deeply regretted and strongly condemned the recent cycle of violence in that region. Her Government earnestly hoped that such acts of violence would never be repeated and that the Middle East peace process would not be undermined by those incidents.
58. Her delegation noted that South Africa continued to deny the Namibian people the right to self-determination. Japan hoped that Namibian independence would be

(Mrs. Itoh, Japan)

attained speedily through the complete implementation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). Japan therefore considered null and void the establishment of an interim Government through the Multi-Party Conference, and any other measures taken by the Government of South Africa in contravention of those resolutions.

59. Mrs. RODRIGUEZ (Cuba) said that the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination was an important contribution to efforts aimed at the total eradication of all forms of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid. First, however, the adoption of concrete measures at the national, regional and international levels was required for the effective implementation of the Programme of Action.

60. The concern of the United Nations over the serious problems related to racial discrimination, racism and apartheid had no doubt contributed to the existence today of a greater level of rejection of those phenomena by international public opinion and to the adoption of a set of legal provisions related to the inhuman and brutal racist régime of apartheid. There still persisted in South Africa, however, a racist régime which outraged human sensibility, disregarded the most elementary humanitarian norms and defied numerous resolutions of the General Assembly.

61. Since South Africa would never voluntarily abandon its policy of repression or concede to the people of Namibia the independence to which they were entitled, it was necessary to isolate the Pretoria racists totally and definitively. In that regard, Cuba was of the view that the General Assembly should pronounce itself in favour of the imposition of mandatory sanctions, in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter. There was no doubt that it was only because of the assistance received so far from the United States and some of its allies through their transnational corporations that the racist régime in South Africa had been able to survive and entrench a system of discrimination which constituted an affront to the international community.

62. His Government attached high priority to the liberation of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa and therefore reaffirmed its support for the activities of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Since 1972, Cuba had been a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; it had also signed the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. It therefore regretted that some States failed to pursue policies consistent with their statements and had not decided to accede to those Conventions.

63. It must be recognized that there was not a single continent on which the principle of self-determination was not threatened. A number of situations which had been pending for years continued to await solutions, and further violations of that principle had occurred, although it was undeniable that the overall balance sheet was positive. The presence in the United Nations of dozens of peoples who had been liberated from colonialism was proof of that; no doubt other peoples who were currently suffering from imperialist aggression would also be free of such interference one day.

(Mrs. Rodriguez, Cuba)

64. Cuba noted with concern the increase in tension in Central America as a consequence of the interference and intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of the region. Such intervention was aimed at preventing the peoples of the region from finding a solution to their conflicts which might be prejudicial to the interests of the United States, and it enabled that country to continue the aggression with which it sought to reverse the revolutionary process of the people of Nicaragua. Cuba supported the efforts of the Contadora Group and demanded the cessation of the acts of aggression committed by the Government of the United States against the legitimate Government of Nicaragua. It was also in favour of a negotiated political solution to the conflict in El Salvador without foreign interference.
65. Despite the efforts of the international community to eradicate colonialism, there persisted off the American continent a colonial situation in Puerto Rico. That country had been constantly denied its right to self-determination and, since early in the century, its national values had been subverted as a result of the expansionist policy of the United States. The people of Puerto Rico, moreover, had the sad privilege of being victims of the system of discrimination to which the black population in the United States was being subjected.
66. In addition, Israel, with the support of the United States, had intensified its policy of expansionism and aggression, and continued to prevent the Palestinian people from exercising their most basic rights, while making the achievement of peace in the region impossible. The most recent example of its policy of aggression was the destructive raid on Tunis.
67. The policy of apartheid practised by the South African régime also enjoyed the complicity and support of the United States. That policy not only affected the long-suffering black population, but also maintained the illegal occupation of Namibia and of a part of the territory of Angola. Furthermore, South Africa was extending its aggression to the front-line States.
68. Finally, Cuba wished to call attention again to the military presence of the United States in an area of the territory of Cuba which it held against the will of the people of Cuba and in flagrant violation of their right to self-determination. Other acts which violated the principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations were the maintenance of the economic blockade imposed on Cuba by successive Governments of the United States; the constant violations of its airspace by American spy planes; and the recent establishment of a counter-revolutionary broadcasting station directed against Cuba, which, in the 26 years of its Revolution, had demonstrated its capacity to respond to imperialist aggression.
69. José Martí had said that depriving people of their freedom was like robbing men of their dignity. In the opinion of his delegation, therefore, the violations by the imperialists of the right of peoples to self-determination must be a cause of great concern and must be denounced. It was necessary to react to them because the exercise of all other fundamental human rights depended on the realization of that right.

70. Mr. EDAFE (Madagascar) said that the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which coincided with the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, had special significance since it provided an opportunity to examine the extent to which the right of peoples to self-determination had been realized worldwide. It should be pointed out that decolonization and the promotion of international principles relating to human rights were among the major achievements of the United Nations. That was demonstrated by the fact that since the adoption of the aforementioned Declaration, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), more than 70 States had achieved independence or had recovered their sovereignty. Also, the United Nations had adopted various international instruments for the purpose of guaranteeing all people the enjoyment of their civil and political rights as well as the economic, social and cultural rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

71. Despite the efforts made to ensure the genuine enjoyment of the right of peoples to self-determination, vestiges of colonialism still remained. There were millions of human beings who were still victims of discriminatory racial practices, and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of small and medium-sized States still continued to be threatened.

72. In open defiance of world opinion, the racist authorities in Pretoria were stopping at nothing to preserve the domination and privileges of the white minority in South Africa. The gratuitous deaths of peaceful and defenceless demonstrators, arbitrary detention, torture and political assassination continued to be the daily lot of the oppressed people of South Africa. In July 1985, the Pretoria régime had declared a state of emergency in some areas of the country for the sole purpose of legalizing the terror employed by its forces of repression. In reality, the enforcement of the state of emergency had revealed the bewilderment of the South African authorities in the face of the multiplication of the flash-points of disorder and the determination of the demonstrators.

73. While Madagascar welcomed the fact that some countries which had been considered allies of the racist régime in South Africa were beginning to exert pressure against the defenders of apartheid, it was of the view that only concerted international action in imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions could bring about peaceful change in South Africa.

74. Furthermore, the racist South African régime continued to occupy with impunity the Territory of Namibia, where it blatantly implemented its policy of annexation, using all kinds of delaying tactics with the sole objective of hindering independence. An example of that was the decision taken in June 1985 by the Pretoria authorities to instal a purportedly provisional régime in Windhoek.

75. His country resolutely condemned the blind repression by the South African police and armed forces of the black population which was merely asking for recognition of its inalienable rights. It called for the immediate lifting of the state of emergency and for abolition of the Internal Security Act. It also reaffirmed its solidarity with the heroic and legitimate struggle of the South

(Mr. Edafe, Madagascar)

African and Namibian peoples under the leadership of their authentic representatives, namely, the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and requested the Security Council to impose complete and mandatory sanctions against South Africa with a view to eliminating the apartheid régime.

76. Moreover, the inability of the United Nations to guarantee the rights of the Palestinian people was an important obstacle to the universal achievement of the right of peoples to self-determination. However, even though the United Nations had already defined the conditions and machinery to achieve a definitive settlement of the Palestinian question, there were some who, desiring to preserve their interests in the region, attempted to confuse that question with conflicts of a strategic or ideological nature, without considering that an entire people had been deprived of its rights. Meanwhile, the Israeli authorities were following a policy designed to change the physical character and the demographic composition of the occupied Arab territories. In order to achieve their objective, they encouraged Israeli settlements and resorted to the expropriation and massive displacement of the Arab population.

77. His Government reaffirmed the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including its right to establish a State in its homeland. The previous and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, was essential to the enjoyment of that right. His country was in favour of the urgent convocation of an international conference to achieve peace in the Middle East in which the Palestine Liberation Organization would participate on an equal footing with the other parties.

78. Finally, efforts must be redoubled to eliminate the negative elements that obstructed the full enjoyment of the right to self-determination of peoples and to support peoples who were still under colonial and foreign domination and struggling to recover their liberty and national independence.

79. Mrs. BAZAROVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that she was amazed by the United States representative's reference in his statement to the right to self-determination. It was well known that the United States of America had trampled on Grenada's right to self-determination. It was currently involved in an undeclared struggle against Nicaragua through the use of mercenaries. The United States Congress had approved appropriations of millions of dollars for mercenaries and assassins combating against the Afghan people. The entire history of United States imperialism was characterized by war, armed intervention and aggression. Cases in point were its aggression against Cuba, Viet Nam and Puerto Rico. The racist régime of South Africa aided and abetted by the United States of America, was causing bloodshed and violating the right to self-determination of the African population. Such examples abounded and no one was deceived by hypocritical statements.

80. On the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, efforts to achieve the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination were among the

(Mrs. Bazarova, USSR)

Organization's primary activities aimed at eradicating the most flagrant human rights violations. The United Nations had arisen at the end of the most devastating war ever experienced by mankind, a war which had annihilated two systems based on racial supremacy: nazism and fascism. As a result, among the purposes of the United Nations enshrined in the Charter was respect for the principle of the equal rights and self-determination of peoples. The struggle against racism and discrimination thus maintained a very close relationship with the other purposes of the Organization, in particular the maintenance of international peace and security.

81. Racism clearly prospered when an ideology of racial supremacy and a policy of exploitation of peoples were adopted. Like Hitlerian racism, modern forms of racial oppression catered to the policy of domination of the most reactionary imperialist interests of various countries, in particular the United States of America, thus explaining the persistence of capitalism and imperialism.

82. In its 40 years of existence, the United Nations had made very important contributions to the struggle against racism and racial discrimination. Historic international instruments had been adopted against colonialism, genocide, State racism and zionism. One of the most noteworthy instruments was the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which expanded on the provisions of the Charter. That Convention constituted a milestone in the defence of human rights. Many States had already adhered to or ratified it, and the fact that their number had reached 124 attested to its vitality and validity.

83. Her country, which was faithful to the principles of its foreign policy, was struggling courageously for the complete eradication of racism and racial discrimination. Not only was it a party to the relevant international instruments but it also supported the Declaration and had ratified the Convention. It had accepted the Convention's legal obligations and participated actively in their application. It was also punctual in submitting its periodic reports on the implementation of the Convention to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

84. Listening to the representative of the United States of America gave one the impression that its exploitation of migrant workers, its encouragement of the occupying Israeli settlers, and its constructive participation in South Africa and the apartheid regime did not constitute a violation of human rights, but favoured the elimination of racial discrimination. Such an attitude was a contemptible attempt by the United States of America to justify itself and to conceal the shameless characteristics of its imperialist policy based on injustice, discrimination and oppression. The truth had been made patently clear at the ceremony a few months ago when the President of the United States had laid a floral offering at a German cemetery containing the tombs of a group of Nazis as well as in the hypocritical words spoken before the Third Committee, in which reference had been made to the sacrifice of millions of lives. Some representatives in the Third Committee had repeated the time-worn slogans of imperialist propaganda in vain, because it was undeniable that racism and racial discrimination affected all aspects of the political, economic and social life of countries.

(Mrs. Bazarova, USSR)

85. Nowhere in the sovereign republics of the Soviet Union did inequality, discrimination or intolerance exist. In all of them, people exercised their right to self-determination. The régime of socialism had initiated its struggle for the freedom and equality of all peoples and races at its inception 60 years ago. Lenin had enshrined the need for liberty and equality in the first decree of Soviet power. Sixty years ago, the Soviet Union had started to create the first workers' State in which all individuals enjoyed equal rights. The October Revolution had annihilated not only social but also national oppression. As a result, the independence of more than 100 peoples had been made possible. One of the first laws of the Soviet Union had provided for the elimination of all national, religious and other types of privileges. The elimination of all social inequalities had enabled a solid foundation to be laid for the free development of all nations and all peoples. The efforts of socialism had helped to develop the economies of various peoples and nationalities, which had long been backward, and had encouraged their science and culture to flourish. There were no other historical examples of such a complete development of an entire nation and people in so short a period of time. However, her country had been the object not only of propaganda but also of aggressive imperialist intervention.

86. The USSR Constitution enshrined the equal rights of citizens in all spheres of economic, political and cultural life. Its legislation stipulated that nations had a right to free development and any incitation to racial hatred was considered a punishable offence. That was associated with a policy to foster friendship among the nations of the Soviet Union. It was important to guarantee the equality of all peoples not only from a legal point of view but also in practice, which could not be achieved except through socialism.

87. Her country now contained more than 100 different nationalities which were guaranteed absolute equality by the Constitution in all political, social, cultural and economic rights without any discrimination whatsoever. In the Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen Republic, more than half of the deputies were workers and peasants, which was especially significant since prior to the October Revolution only 7 of each 1,000 inhabitants of Turkmen knew how to read and write. That Republic had its own Academy of Sciences, in addition to universities and technological, agricultural and other types of institutes which provided training to advanced scientists and technicians of not only Turkmen nationality but also such other nationalities as Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian, and Azerbaïdzhani.

88. In short, in the Soviet Union the various national cultures blended together in harmony for the common purpose of building socialism. She recalled that the British historian Arnold J. Toynbee had said that the harmonious whole of the many different peoples, languages and cultures that made up the Soviet Union offered a model for the entire world. She stressed that, although the Soviet Union did not claim to be a unique example in that respect, what counted was not empty statements but practical results, and it must be remembered that the Soviet Union was one of the countries in which most had been done to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination.

(Mrs. Bazarova, USSR)

89. Finally, she stressed the need totally to isolate the main centre of racial discrimination in the world - the apartheid régime of South Africa - by applying the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The United States was also under that obligation. She wondered why the United States had not ratified the conventions on genocide, apartheid and racial discrimination. It was time for the United States to move on from empty words to practical deeds in that area.

90. Mr. NGO (Zambia) said that, while it was true that during the 40 years of the existence of the United Nations the world had avoided a major war, it could not be said that the world had been peaceful. Mankind still had to confront serious problems, one of which was the system of apartheid in South Africa. The people of South Africa had been denied their fundamental human rights and chased away from the land of their birth into concentration camps called homelands. A number of persons had been deprived of their citizenship and many had fled the country and were now refugees in independent African States. The racist régime had continued to imprison without trial, to murder innocent men, women and children and brutally to suppress those who wanted to see the elimination of the abominable system of apartheid by peaceful means.

91. South Africa continued to cling to a system which sowed seeds of hatred among its people. That system had been condemned by the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Commonwealth, the Organization of African Unity and the Islamic Conference. It had also been condemned by the churches and by all peace-loving nations. Moreover, in resolution 39/21 of 1984, the General Assembly had described the policy of apartheid of the South African minority as a crime against humanity.

92. It was not sufficient for the United Nations to condemn the system of apartheid in resolution after resolution; the Organization should also take practical steps to ensure that the apartheid system was completely eliminated. His delegation strongly believed that the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations was the surest way of bringing about meaningful and peaceful change in South Africa. It was not true that comprehensive mandatory sanctions would hurt the majority of the people of South Africa. Those who said so were merely trying to protect their own economic interests. Zambia therefore appealed to all States to strengthen their co-operation at the international level in order to implement fully the decisions taken by the Security Council and other competent organs of the United Nations aimed at the prevention, suppression and punishment of the crime of apartheid.

93. The people of South Africa would very soon have no alternative but to resort to an armed struggle. They had all along been willing to negotiate, but each time the racist régime had responded by killing innocent men, women and children. When someone was deprived over a long period of his most fundamental rights and had lost everything, including hope, he reacted in a supreme and final effort and resorted to violence. When the people of South Africa reached that stage, it would be too

(Mr. Ngo, Zambia)

late to avert a catastrophe. The people of Zambia expressed its solidarity with the oppressed and militant people of South Africa and Namibia.

94. The Government of South Africa could no longer be trusted. It had demonstrated its bad faith in regard to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on the independence of Namibia and it had betrayed the people of South Africa. Nor had it acted in good faith in connection with regional arrangements and it had continued to pursue a dangerous policy of destabilization in the region. South Africa was indeed a threat to international peace and security. It was therefore amazing that some Western countries should say that South Africa was the custodian of Western values in the region of southern Africa. Despite everything, his country believed that it was still not too late to take steps and establish contacts which might avert the worst.

95. Mr. DAVANE (Mozambique) said that his country had always believed that colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and apartheid were an insult to the conscience of humankind and, above all, a great threat to international peace and security. Accordingly, their elimination had been one of the foremost preoccupations of the United Nations since its inception. The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid had been adopted to provide the legal basis for the attainment of that aim.

96. Despite all those efforts, racism and racial discrimination remained a deplorable reality in many parts of the world. Racist theories and practices, responsible for so much suffering and destruction in the Second World War, had been elevated in some countries to the level of official policy. In that respect, South Africa's institutionalized policy of apartheid was the most scandalous example.

97. In order to safeguard the privileges of the white minority, South Africa had embarked on an unprecedented campaign of terror and was adopting repressive measures against all those opposed to apartheid and especially against the black population.

98. The eradication of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid in South Africa would only be feasible when the entire international community lent its support to the just struggle of the people of South Africa. The military, political and economic assistance which some countries gave to South Africa served only to strengthen further the racial foundation on which that State's structure was built and to encourage the régime to perpetuate its policy of segregation and violence. With the assistance received, South Africa had been able to build a huge apparatus to suppress the people and to foment its crusade of terrorism against the neighbouring countries. Furthermore, South Africa had become the biggest military power in all Africa because some countries were not observing the arms embargo imposed against the Pretoria régime. As if that was not enough, South Africa had been able to acquire, with the help of certain Western countries, sufficient technical know-how to produce nuclear devices. There was no need to elaborate on the danger which that posed.

(Mr. Davane, Mozambique)

99. Some of the countries which gave assistance to South Africa were now trying to convince the international community that their activities would work for the benefit of the black population. However, his Government was convinced that, like nazism, apartheid could not be reformed; it must be abolished.

100. The People's Republic of Mozambique had won its independence after 10 years of armed struggle against colonialism. At that time the people of Mozambique had fought to win its freedom and the sovereignty of its country and to build a society free from exploitation and discrimination. Mozambique had remained true to those principles, and in his country today racism and racial discrimination, regardless of their forms, were treated as crimes against the security of the people and the State.

101. With regard to the right of peoples to self-determination and independence, it was regrettable that, despite much that had been achieved, that right was not a reality in many cases. The question of Namibia was one of the challenges confronting the international community. In flagrant violation of United Nations decisions and resolutions, South Africa persisted in its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia. With the help of certain countries, the Pretoria régime had been able to build up a massive military infrastructure to prevent the Namibian people from exercising its inalienable right to self-determination and independence. It was no coincidence that the countries which helped South Africa were the very same countries which were actively involved in plundering Namibia's natural resources. His country firmly believed that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) constituted the sole basis for the solution of the Namibian problem. Those countries which tried to incorporate extraneous elements in that universally accepted resolution were doing nothing but boost the intransigence and arrogance of South Africa.

102. Mrs. WANDEKA (Kenya) said that the Constitution of Kenya under section 82 forbade any type of discrimination on the basis of race and it embodied the objectives of the two Decades for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. In her country's opinion racial difference and racial discrimination had been a powerful impediment to the attainment of self-determination by peoples in different parts of the world, in Africa in particular. Her country's own bitter experience showed that it was morally wrong for a person to be denied his fundamental human rights, his right to freedom, his right to freedom of speech and movement, and his right to live, as a human being, merely because of differences of colour.

103. Apartheid as practised in South Africa by Pretoria's racist régime through perpetuation of racial superiority or segregation was among the most alarming and serious violations of human rights in the contemporary world. It was also a form of genocide and totally unacceptable despite the fact that it had an institutional framework to perpetuate it. The untold sufferings brought about by apartheid laws in that region of the world should not be allowed to continue. The declaration of a state of emergency by the racist régime was a fresh blow to the black majority and Kenya therefore joined others who had requested that it be lifted.

(Mrs. Wandeka, Kenya)

104. Mr. Botha was apparently attempting to defuse the internal and international outrage and pressure on him and his Government by announcing so-called political reforms which had not only arrived too late but had fallen short of the expectations of the blacks in South Africa as well as of the international community. What the Pretoria régime had failed to see was the need by black people of South Africa to govern themselves in their own country.

105. The racist régime of South Africa must be told in no uncertain terms that the will of the majority of the people of South Africa and of the international community would one day prevail. That called for sustained and concerted efforts and the adoption of measures to prevent further slaughter and suffering.

106. Her delegation joined all those who had earlier called for the unconditional and immediate release of Nelson Mandela and all political detainees. It also supported the holding of a constitutional conference in which all South Africans would participate for the achievement of self-determination for all the people of the country.

107. The international community had continued to face persistent obstacles in its efforts to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and to the use of that State as a base for South Africa's continued illegal acts of aggression against the neighbouring States, particularly Angola, which had recently been invaded without justification. The friends and allies of the racist régime of South Africa should cease to aid South Africa in such acts. Kenya would continue to give support to SWAPO, the national liberation movement of Namibia, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people and the national liberation movements of ANC and PAC in their just struggle for self-determination and majority rule in South Africa. Kenya fully supported all United Nations, OAU and Non-Aligned Movement resolutions which aimed at isolating South Africa and depriving the régime of the means to continue to perpetuate its arrogant and racist policies.

108. The Palestinian people had also been denied the right to exercise their inalienable human rights by the refusal of Israel to implement the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. No lasting peace could be achieved in the Middle East until the legitimate rights of the Palestinians to self-determination and an independent state of their own in the region were realized. Likewise, the right of others in that region to live in peace within secure and internationally recognized boundaries must be respected.

109. In the view of Kenya, it was the duty of all Member States to combat all forms of racism and racial discrimination, including discrimination against minorities, particularly migrant workers and their families. Their labour should not be exploited while at the same time treating them as lesser human beings. In that connection it should be noted that the first preliminary study on the effects of racial discrimination in the fields of education, training and employment as it affected the children of minorities and migrant workers had already been completed.

(Mrs. Wandeka, Kenya)

110. Her delegation was confident that the observance of the two Decades to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination was helping to bring about good-neighbourliness and peaceful co-existence among different races. Her Government urged all Member States to make every effort to implement the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and to guarantee the right of peoples to self-determination.

111. Mrs. MOIZ (Pakistan) said that 38 years ago, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan had achieved its independence and sovereign nation status by exercising the right to self-determination. It had therefore always supported the just struggle of peoples suffering under colonial or foreign domination to exercise their legitimate right to self-determination recognized in General Assembly resolution 2649 (XXV).

112. It was a matter for regret that many peoples and communities around the globe still remained deprived of that right at the time of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the unanimous adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Her delegation acknowledged the praiseworthy efforts undertaken by the United Nations in accelerating the process of decolonization and thus enabling a large number of peoples to take their rightful place in the community of independent nations by exercising their right to self-determination.

113. The most striking example of the denial of the right to self-determination was that of the Palestinian people. The question of Palestine had been discussed in the international forum for almost four decades and the solution of the problem was no nearer than it had been 38 years earlier when the issue had first come up for consideration in the General Assembly. Attention had always been focused on the two inseparable aspects of the Palestinian question, namely, the plight of the Palestinians in the occupied territories and the reaffirmation and realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national independence. The Palestine question continued to be a serious threat to international peace and security as Israel continued its illegal occupation of the Arab and Palestinian lands, including Jerusalem, and persisted in its refusal to restore the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The Israeli policy of systematic annexation of the occupied territories had frustrated all international efforts to seek peace and tranquillity in the region. Pakistan reaffirmed its resolute support for the just cause of the indomitable Palestinian and the Arab peoples under the leadership of their sole and legal representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization and called on the international community to take all necessary steps to enable them to exercise their inherent right to self-determination.

114. The Namibian people continued to be subjected to domination and exploitation by the minority régime in South Africa. Even though the United Nations had terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia and had assumed direct legal administrative responsibility for the Territory in 1966, the South African racist régime was continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia. The people of Namibia were carrying on their heroic struggle for self-determination under the able

(Mrs. Moiz, Pakistan)

leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) with undiminished vigour. Pakistan has always supported the just struggle of the Namibian people for liberation.

115. Her delegation also firmly supported the people of South Africa in their struggle against the inhuman system of apartheid which had deprived the black majority of that country of its fundamental human rights. Pakistan condemned the recent repression inflicted by the South African régime on the innocent black population and called for the immediate release of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, and for the return of those patriots who had been exiled.

116. Afghanistan and Kampuchea were examples of two other distressing situations where foreign military intervention and occupation had deprived the people of their right to self-determination. In both cases, thousands of people had been forced to leave their homes and to seek refuge in neighbouring countries. The Islamic Republic of Pakistan had given refuge to more than 3 million Afghans, most of them women, children and old people, on purely humanitarian grounds and as part of its Islamic and international duty. Her Government considered that a viable solution of the Afghanistan problem could be found on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement and urged the international community to take steps to enable the Afghan people to exercise their right to self-determination free from coercion or a foreign presence and their right to return to their homeland in safety and dignity.

117. Her delegation reiterated its support for the General Assembly's repeated calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea with a view to enabling the Kampuchean people to choose their own Government free from outside interference.

118. Her delegation would also like to draw attention to the unresolved question of Jammu and Kashmir. Her country's position on that issue was well known and did not require reiteration or further argument.

119. For the past few years, Pakistan, along with many other countries, had been responsible for introducing a resolution on the subject of the right of peoples to self-determination, incorporating the important principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. She hoped that, in keeping with established practice, the Committee would once again adopt that resolution by consensus.

120. Miss GITENS (Trinidad and Tobago) said it was a stigma on contemporary society that millions of people the world over still suffered because of racism and racial discrimination practised against them. The victims of racism included persons belonging to national or ethnic minorities, indigenous populations, migrant workers and their families and, in the case of South Africa, the non-white majority.

121. Efforts by the United Nations to eliminate all forms of racism and racial discrimination had undoubtedly played a valuable role in the struggle against that

(Miss Gittens, Trinidad and Tobago)

scourge on humanity by arousing the consciousness of the international community. Her delegation felt that priority should be given at the national and international levels to the dissemination of information on racism and racial discrimination, which were among the most serious violations of human rights. All necessary measures should be adopted to extirpate racist policies and ideologies, and all Governments which had not yet ratified or acceded to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and other related international conventions should do so.

122. One of the most positive contributions towards the attainment of the objectives of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination would be the total eradication of the apartheid system of the South African racist régime. It was tragic that the institutionalized racist policy of apartheid continued to exist 40 years after the victory over nazism. Although it had been condemned for over 30 years by the United Nations, the Pretoria régime continued to flout United Nations resolutions and the pleas of the international community for a peaceful change in South Africa. Accordingly, all policies, practices or relations which supported, sustained or encouraged that system were irreconcilable with the commitment to the elimination of racial discrimination and must also be condemned.

123. The ruthless violence perpetrated for decades by the South African régime against the non-white population had sown the seeds of self-destruction of the apartheid system. The administration in Pretoria recognized that the system was crumbling and had adopted more repressive measures in a futile attempt to perpetuate its unjust racist policy. Its repeated incursions into neighbouring States had a destabilizing effect on the region and threatened international peace and security.

124. Her delegation was of the view that the eradication of apartheid remained one of the most urgent tasks facing the international community and offered its unconditional support for the struggle being waged by the oppressed black people of South Africa. The time had come for the Security Council to adopt measures against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter in order to demonstrate its abhorrence of apartheid and its determination to put an end to that atrocious system. Her Government had imposed a ban on all diplomatic, political, trade, sporting and cultural ties with South Africa and continued to offer moral and material support to the victims of apartheid. Her country supported all attempts to establish in South Africa a democratic society in which human rights and fundamental freedoms were enjoyed by all, on the basis of equality, without any form of discrimination. Her delegation hoped that apartheid in South Africa would soon be eradicated and that it would become just a memory of a regrettable epoch in history. If that became a reality, it would be a significant achievement to celebrate the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

125. Her delegation wished to reiterate its solidarity with, and its support of the heroic struggle of, the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and national independence. It condemned the establishment of the so-called provisional government of Namibia and rejected all linkage of Namibian independence with other

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issues. It reaffirmed that the only viable solution to the Namibian question was the full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

126. Ms. NGUYEN BINH THANH (Viet Nam), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that her country had had the honour of being mentioned several times by the United States representative, who had sought to present a totally false picture of the true situation in Kampuchea.

127. All members of the Committee could understand the bitterness felt by the United States owing to its defeat in the Viet Nam war. If the people of the United States and Viet Nam wished to look to the future and establish a new type of relationship between the two countries, there was no reason for the United States delegation to display such hostility towards the delegation of Viet Nam.

128. Mr. SOLOMON (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had launched a series of predictable verbal attacks against the United States. The Soviet representatives used the usual tactic of combining truths, half-truths and falsehoods to concoct an imaginative tale of evil acts - domestic and external - by the United States.

129. Contrary to the Soviet Union, the United States did not claim to have a perfect society, but it did have an open society, with a popularly-elected Government, a free and vigorous press, an independent judiciary and many other safeguards that protected human rights and provided for reparation in case of abuses. He trusted that most of those present at the meeting could, on the basis of their personal experience, distinguish between the exaggerations of the Soviet delegation and reality as it existed in the United States.

130. His delegation, which had no interest at that moment in engaging in lengthy polemics with the Soviet Union, would confine itself to certain cases of the denial of the right to self-determination which it felt should be brought to the attention of the international community. Solutions did, however, exist and his delegation once again urged the Soviet Union to participate in the task of finding them.

131. The Soviet and Cuban delegations, disregarding the many explanations already given with respect to Puerto Rico, had once again referred to that Territory. He reminded the Committee that Puerto Rico elected its own leaders and had selected the type of relationship which existed between its Government and the United States Government. The movement in favour of complete independence for Puerto Rico was free to pursue that objective, but had never obtained more than a small number of votes. His delegation would be interested to know when was the last time that the Baltic peoples in the Soviet Union had had the opportunity to express their wishes in free elections.

132. The United States had been surprised that the representative of Cuba should consider the broadcasting of accurate information to Cuba as aggression. The United States Government did not have any objection itself to its citizens

(Mr. Solomon, United States)

listening to the programmes of Radio Havana, which broadcast noisy propaganda and which probably did not have much of an audience. Why did the Cuban Government fear the right to freedom of opinion and expression which, according to article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, included freedom to "seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers"?

133. The United States was not at war with Nicaragua nor, indeed, with any other country in Central America but it felt it had a particular obligation to defend the rights not of States but of peoples. The Sandinists had seized power in Nicaragua in 1979 and had formed part of a coalition which had promised repeatedly to maintain a pluralist political system, a mixed economy and a social system that would guarantee the exercise of fundamental human rights of the entire population. Those promises had not been kept. The United States Government and the Governments of many democratic countries did not consider that the elections held the previous year could be called genuinely free elections, since much of the political opposition had been unable to participate because of the restrictions imposed by the Sandinist Government.

134. The Soviet Union's charge that the United States was interfering in the conflict in Afghanistan was unfounded; everyone was aware of the nationality of the only troops that had really intervened in Afghanistan's internal affairs.

135. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he should have asked for the floor on a point of order when the representative of the United States had referred to the question of Afghanistan, since that had nothing to do with self-determination. Moreover, the United States representative did not have the moral authority to speak about self-determination.

136. There was no need to go very far to find proof that the United States could not speak about the right to self-determination. The island of Puerto Rico was close to the United States but had nothing in common with it in so far as history, culture, language and traditions were concerned. The only tie between Puerto Rico and the United States was the bond of colonial subjugation.

137. In Micronesia, the United States was stifling the aspirations of the people to independence. The policy pursued by the United States Government - of dividing the Territory and gradually bringing it under its sway - was a betrayal of the trust which the international community had placed in it. Micronesia's political and economic situation was currently much less favourable than it had been when the Trust Territory had been placed under the administration of the United States.

138. However, what was most surprising was the fact that the United States representative had made no mention of South Africa, Namibia or the Middle East whereas the vast majority of delegations had referred to those issues stating that they were the most flagrant situations of denial of the right to self-determination.

139. Looking at the history of the United States it was clear that the latter lacked the moral authority to speak about the right to self-determination. The United States had attacked sovereign States, had set up military governments and

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

had overthrown constitutionally-elected governments in the Pacific, Korea and Viet Nam among other places. All that demonstrated that it did not fulfil its international obligations. That had been true since the beginning of the century and even earlier. Currently, the Government was involved in similar activities against Angola and Nicaragua.

140. According to a report published in The New York Times the United States Congress had approved an appropriation of over \$530 million for a covert war against Afghanistan. That was far more than the total amount the United States had provided to Afghanistan by way of assistance.

141. Mrs. RODRIGUEZ (Cuba), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, pointed out that during the past 26 years the United States had repeatedly attacked Cuba, a small country of 10 million inhabitants, with all the means at its disposal. The latest form of United States aggression was the so-called "Radio Martí" broadcasting station. The name of the station was offensive because Martí had been one of the men in the American continent who had done the most to warn of the danger which the United States and its policy of expansion posed for the peoples of the continent. It was sponsored by the United States and it used tendentious information against Cuba in an attempt to influence a people which had decided to revolt against the system of exploitation and poverty which the United States had set up with the help of dictatorial régimes.

142. The Cuban people had defeated the United States every manoeuver and had demonstrated its readiness to continue defending its revolution to the bitter end. Anger at its failure to wipe out the example of Cuba was prompting the United States to continue to practice new forms of aggression. The Cuban people would continue to chant its motto "Motherland or death; we shall overcome" not only as a watchword but also to prove its determination to confront the United States.

143. Cuba had always made common cause with Puerto Rico. In the nineteenth century José Martí had established the Cuban Revolutionary Party with a view to securing independence for Cuba and for Puerto Rico. He had succeeded in the case of Cuba but unfortunately not in that of Puerto Rico. Defending the interests of the Puerto Rican people, who lived under the exploitation of the United States system, was a matter of principle for Cuba.

144. Mr. KHAN (India), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that in his statement the representative of Pakistan had referred to Jammu and Kashmir which, as everyone knew, were integral parts of India. The right to self-determination was not applicable to integral parts of a sovereign and independent State. India's position was very well known and did not need to be explained further.

145. Mrs. MOIZ (Pakistan), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that her delegation had stated its views on the question of Jammu and Kashmir; it had no intention of discussing an issue on which its position was well known.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.