



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 19th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 67: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME FOR THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued) (A/35/371; A/C.3/35/L.3, L.8 and L.10)

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1. The CHAIRMAN, speaking on behalf of the Committee, expressed his condolences to the Government and people of Algeria in connexion with the earthquake which had struck the town of El-Asram, causing serious material damage and the loss of many lives.

2. Mrs. SEMICHI (Algeria) thanked the Committee for its message of sympathy and solidarity.

3. Mr. CASTRO (Philippines) said that since the establishment of the United Nations his country had always participated actively, in the formulation of principles on human rights, particularly those governing decolonization and the elimination of racial discrimination, and that it continued the crusade to ensure the observance of those rights. The Philippines was therefore gratified that the majority of the Non-Self-Governing Territories had gained independence. His delegation was convinced that Palestine, Namibia and other Territories would soon

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(Mr. Castro, Philippines)

assume their rightful place in the family of nations, as Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines had just done.

4. He was confident that the collective will of nations, as expressed in United Nations resolutions, would succeed in eliminating apartheid and racial discrimination and ensure respect for the right to self-determination of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories. He wished, however, to warn against a tendency to invoke the principle of self-determination in order to intervene directly in the internal affairs of countries by instigating and supporting tribal dissidence and insurrection in violation of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. The third world was particularly vulnerable to foreign intervention because of its ethnic and linguistic pluralism, the geographical configuration of its territories, the different levels of socio-economic development of the various regions, and of traditional intertribal feuds that had been accentuated during the colonial period. Those structural and historical weaknesses continued to be exploited in furtherance of selfish interests.

5. With reference to paragraph 366 of the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (A/35/18) on the subject of the relationship between the national Government and regional governmental institutions of the autonomous regions in southern Philippines, he pointed out that those institutions were vested with powers comparable to those of similar institutions in States that had autonomous regions and that those powers were well defined in Presidential Decree No. 1618.

6. Besides the Agency for the Welfare and Development of Muslims in the Philippines, there were other national offices that attended to the specific needs of the Moslem communities, such as the Philippine Pilgrimage Authority, the Philippine Amanah Bank and the Commission on Islamic Affairs.

7. The Republic of the Philippines, the first to be established in Asia, had a long tradition of participatory democracy, since universal suffrage, enshrined in the Constitution, had been practised regularly in that country since 1935 and since 1976, the Constitution had made provision for a referendum or a plebiscite on important questions. Thus, the overwhelming majority of the population had participated in the referendum-plebiscite held on 17 April 1977, which had decided to establish two autonomous regions in the south of the country.

8. The Tanodbayan or Ombudsman mentioned in paragraph 369 of the report, had considered 5,973 cases and had acted on 1,878 of them during the period January 1979 to July 1980; the Sandiganbayan, a special people's court, had received 1,594 cases during the same period and had decided 418 of those cases.

9. The Philippines had ratified the basic instruments on human rights and abided by its treaty commitments. He hoped that other countries would adopt the same practice for it was the key to peaceful coexistence.

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10. Mrs. KEKEDO (Papua New Guinea) said that the independence of Zimbabwe came at an appropriate time, namely the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and she congratulated all those who had been involved in the peaceful negotiations leading up to the emergence of Zimbabwe as a nation.

11. Her Government condemned the illegal administration of Namibia by South Africa and urged that racist Government to withdraw from Namibian territory and allow the Namibian people to determine its own future through free elections held under United Nations supervision. Papua New Guinea was disappointed that the racist Government of South Africa was stubbornly continuing to deny the black population its rights, an abhorrent policy which was likely, in her Government's view, to have a disastrous effect for both the white and black populations.

12. Since it had attained independence five years ago, her country had cut off all trade and sports activities with the racist régime of South Africa; the fact that her country had not yet acceded to the Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid was due only to administrative delays. Her delegation was concerned at the contradictory stance taken by many Member States that condemned apartheid as a barbaric practice while maintaining active trade relations with the Government of South Africa and endorsed the imposition of a trade embargo to force South Africa to change its attitude. She hoped that the report of the Special Rapporteur (E/CN.4/Sub.2/383/Rev.2) would be updated each year, so as to cover all States.

13. Papua New Guinea believed that the right to self-determination was not confined to political independence but also covered the economic, social and cultural fields, inasmuch as many countries that no longer suffered from colonialism in the traditional sense continued to suffer from neo-colonialism and imperialism in other forms.

14. On the subject of the Middle East, her delegation, mindful of the rights of all parties to the conflict to a homeland and to recognized and secure frontiers, believed that lasting peace between Israel and Palestine would be achieved only if Israel acknowledged the rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to a separate State. Her delegation deplored the recent action taken by Israel in changing the character and status of Jerusalem and its policy of establishing settlements.

15. The report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (A/35/18) was encouraging. It showed that the co-operation and participation of the International Labour Organisation and UNESCO had had a positive effect on the work of the Committee.

16. Her delegation supported the recommendations in paragraph 7 (a) and (b) of the Secretary-General's report (A/35/414) and hoped that the three draft resolutions, A/C.3/35/L.3, L.4 and L.5, would be adopted by consensus. However, with reference to the words "armed struggle" in paragraph 4 of document A/C.3/35/L.3, her delegation wished to point out that the settlement of disputes should be achieved by peaceful means.

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(Mrs. Kekedo, Papua New Guinea)

17. Her Government believed that all nations were guilty of racial discrimination in one form or another and that it was now time to see each person as a human being, without distinction as to colour, race or religion.

18. Mrs. TASHIBEKOVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) recalled that 1980 marked the twentieth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which had been adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on the initiative of the Soviet Union. During the two decades which had elapsed, the world had witnessed the crumbling of the colonial empires and the emergence of new States after protracted struggles for self-determination and independence. There were still some territories, however, suffering under colonial oppression. The forces of imperialism and colonialism had not abandoned their efforts to use every means to repress the struggle of colonial peoples for national liberation. It was primarily the political, diplomatic, economic and military support of the Western countries, especially the United States of America, that enabled the fascist régime of Pretoria to remain in power, that enabled South Africa to strengthen its economic, military and nuclear potential and that bolstered the South African racists' attempts to perpetuate their colonial domination of Namibia.

19. In addition, many small Territories in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans and in the Caribbean were still under the yoke of colonialism. In violation of the objectives and principles proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Declaration on decolonization, the colonial Powers were attempting to maintain their presence in those Territories and to convert most of them into military bases, thereby showing their utter disregard for the right of the local population to self-determination and independence.

20. Thus, in Micronesia, the United States was flouting the right of the indigenous people to self-determination, adopting unilateral measures aimed at dismembering and annexing the Territory and, for military and strategic reasons, continuing its occupation of the Territory in defiance of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly.

21. As many delegations had rightly pointed out, the international community was gravely concerned over the situation in Puerto Rico, where the United States continued to prevent the Puerto Rican people from exercising their legitimate right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on decolonization.

22. It was also a matter of concern that Israel, aggressively pursuing its expansionist policy, was attempting by every means to deprive the Arab people of Palestine of their inalienable right to self-determination. Attempts were being made in some quarters to decide the fate of the Palestinian people for them without regard for their legitimate interests and to foist upon them separatist arrangements designed to perpetuate the gains of the Israeli aggression instead of a genuine, just and comprehensive settlement of the problem of the Middle East.

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(Mrs. Tashibekova, USSR)

23. The Soviet Union, for its part, had always supported a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem and, above all, the exercise by the Palestinian people of their legitimate right to self-determination, including the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian State. In that connexion, her delegation wished to reaffirm its solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

24. Another example of the total disregard of the imperialists for the right of peoples was the forcible occupation of Guantanamo, an integral part of Cuba, where the United States had established a military base in violation of the sovereign rights of the Cuban people. In contravention of the provisions of international law, the United States also continued to violate Cuba's air space.

25. The United States refused to withdraw its troops from the territory of South Korea and continued to disregard the rights of the Korean people, who aspired to the reunification of their country on a democratic basis, free from outside interference, as proposed by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

26. It was therefore urgent for the Third Committee to take effective measures to enable all colonial peoples to exercise their right to self-determination and to eliminate all vestiges of the system of colonial oppression of peoples.

27. She categorically rejected the false accusations made by some delegations which were turning the Committee into a forum for malicious innuendo against peaceful States which systematically supported the struggle of peoples for national liberation and social progress. The Soviet Union had been singled out because of the assistance it was rendering to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in accordance with its policy of supporting the struggle of peoples for freedom and independence.

28. The Soviet Union had come to the aid of the Afghan Government, as everyone knew, in response to the numerous requests made to it in accordance with the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Friendship and the Charter of the United Nations for assistance in repelling incursions of armed bands supported by the United States and China. Those two countries bore a heavy responsibility for aggravating the situation in the region in an effort to destabilize and overthrow legitimate Governments and replace them by puppet régimes against the will of the people. By organizing, training, arming and launching hordes against the territory of Afghanistan, the United States and China were committing a most serious act of aggression against the Afghan people.

29. It was understandable that those States, which were pursuing a policy contrary to the right of peoples to self-determination, should be furious over the failure of their plot against the freedom and independence of the Afghan people and that they should find it difficult to accept the victory of the Kampuchean people who had

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(Mrs. Tashibekova, USSR)

ousted Beijing's puppet régime and were striving to bind up the wounds inflicted by the American aggressors and the bloodthirsty Pol Pot régime.

30. While actively carrying out campaigns of slander about the situations in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, the forces of imperialism and hegemonism continued to commit acts of aggression against those countries. China, for its part, was stepping up acts of armed provocation on the northern border of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, thereby jeopardizing the peace and security of the region.

31. It was evident that, by orchestrating such a campaign against the Governments of Afghanistan and Kampuchea, the enemies of international co-operation were attempting to divert attention from the important and urgent problems on the agenda of the Third Committee.

32. The United Kingdom delegation bore a heavy responsibility for that slanderous propaganda. It had sought to create the impression that the British colonial empire had been a philanthropic endeavour carried on by leaders whose sole concern had been to prepare the colonial peoples for independence. If it was to be taken at its word, the United Kingdom had never oppressed or cruelly exploited the colonial peoples, and those peoples had never had to wage a bitter struggle for independence. The international community knew, however, that the national liberation struggles had cost millions of lives and that the oppressed peoples had endured unspeakable suffering.

33. With regard to the reference made by the United Kingdom representative to article 1 on the International Covenants on Human Rights, it should be recalled that it had been precisely the United Kingdom, together with other colonial Powers, which had opposed the inclusion of provisions on the right of peoples to self-determination in the Covenants. The Soviet Union was proud that those provisions had been included in the Covenants on its initiative, and as a result of its tireless efforts.

34. The United Kingdom delegation had carefully avoided any mention of the tragic situation prevailing in Northern Ireland, where the people were living under what amounted to military occupation.

35. She rejected equally categorically the malicious accusations levelled by the United States delegation against the Soviet Union; they had been intended solely to discredit the policy of isolating and boycotting the South African racists which the Soviet Government had consistently pursued. Unlike the United States, the Soviet Union, as everyone knew, had never maintained, nor would it ever maintain, relations of any kind with the Pretoria régime.

36. The teachings of Lenin on the right of nations to self-determination had lighted the path of oppressed peoples in the struggle for national liberation and social progress and towards independent political, economic, social and cultural

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(Mrs. Tashibekova, USSR)

development. The Soviet State had dealt the first blow to colonialism with the workers' uprising against the oppressive tsarist régime which had culminated in the Great October Socialist Revolution.

37. Most of the world's oppressed peoples had thrown off the colonial yoke. Nevertheless, some young States still had to struggle against imperialism in order to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism in every area. The imperialist forces were attempting to imprison those peoples in the chains of neo-colonialism and to impede their development. The imperialist monopolies continued to plunder the natural resources of those countries and prevented the restructuring of international economic relations on a democratic and just basis.

38. The Soviet Union supported the legitimate aspirations of the developing countries to overcome the difficulties inherited from their colonial past, to free themselves of neo-colonialism and to achieve economic independence.

39. The Soviet delegation was prepared to join in efforts at the current session of the General Assembly to develop effective measures for promoting the struggle of peoples still living under colonialism, racism, apartheid, foreign occupation and oppression, eliminating colonialism in all its forms and enabling colonial peoples to exercise their inalienable right to determine their own future.

40. Mrs. MONTEIRO (Mozambique) welcomed the two new Member States, Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. She stressed the importance of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the twentieth anniversary of which was being commemorated at the current session of the General Assembly. Mozambique had won its independence following a long, hard war in which thousands of lives had been lost; however, it felt that victory would always be incomplete as long as there were people dominated by colonialism and imperialism. The accession of Zimbabwe to independence was a source of inspiration to the people of Namibia and South Africa.

41. The apartheid régime continued to challenge the international community by refusing to implement the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The illegal occupation of Namibia continued as did the repression; SWAPO, the legitimate representative of the people, had been struggling heroically for many years to liberate the Territory. She appealed to the international community to increase its political, diplomatic and material support for SWAPO so that it could fight the occupying Power more effectively, and strongly denounced the apartheid régime and all South Africa's puppet groups for their constant military aggression in the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Zambia and the front-line States.

42. There was an analogy to be drawn between the methods used by the Pretoria régime, which massacred those who demonstrated peacefully against its policy of segregation, and those of nazism, and her delegation condemned the military and nuclear co-operation of certain Western Powers with South Africa and reiterated its solidarity with the people of South Africa, under the guidance of the ANC, in their struggle against apartheid.

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(Mrs. Monteiro, Mozambique)

43. In other regions, the people of Palestine, Western Sahara and East Timor were also being denied the opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination.

44. The right to self-determination of the people of those three Territories had to be recognized and the sovereignty of the Democratic Saharan Arab Republic confirmed. She assured the Frente POLISARIO and FRETILIN of Mozambique's solidarity.

45. Mrs. PETER (Bahamas) deplored the fact that, after so many resolutions and decisions adopted by the United Nations over the years, racism and racial discrimination continued. In southern Africa, in particular, despite world opinion and the struggles of the indigenous people apartheid continued as strongly as ever. South Africa continued to occupy Namibia where it was likewise pursuing its policy of segregation and perpetrating acts of aggression against the front-line States. The Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had therefore done nothing to change the situation in South Africa in any way. Only renewed international commitment and political will could assure independence for Namibia, force South Africa to abandon its apartheid policy, ensure the territorial integrity of the front-line States and contribute significantly to the eradication of racism and racial discrimination.

46. As part of its commitment to the eradication of racial discrimination, the Bahamas had become party, in 1975, to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. It was in the process of preparing its third periodic report for submission to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Ratification of or accession to any international instrument was significant only in so far as the State Party was totally committed to implementing its provisions. With that in mind, her Government was currently reviewing the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and other human rights instruments. Until it was a State Party to those instruments it would attempt to be guided by their principles.

47. Although South Africa remained unique in its overt policy of apartheid racism was, unfortunately, not confined to southern Africa. More attention should be directed to other regions where policies of segregation were more covert and discrimination more subtle. She felt that it was safe to say that, even after 300 years of white rule, virtually no discrimination existed in the Bahamas.

48. Turning to item 66, she noted that the Special Rapporteur's revised report on the adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa (E/CN.4/Sub.2/425) contained a realistic picture of current collaboration between certain Powers and the racist régimes. In spite of the short-comings her delegation had noted, the Special Rapporteur was to be commended on his very detailed report.

(Mrs. Peter, Bahamas)

49. Her Government adhered to the principles of justice and equality for all and it opposed policies which encouraged racial discrimination and racial segregation. Consequently, it maintained no diplomatic, economic or other relations with South Africa. Her delegation reiterated the appeal it had made at the thirty-fourth session to those Powers which continued to support the racist régime to realize that such collaboration did not serve their long-term interest.

50. She welcomed the two new Member States, Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and affirmed her delegation's support for the right of the people of Belize to self-determination, independence and territorial integrity in accordance with the United Nations Charter. Her delegation urged the parties concerned to continue negotiations with a view to achieving a just solution. In the same spirit, she expressed support for the struggle of all peoples still under domination, including the Palestinian people; the Bahamas looked forward to the time when every former colonial Territory would assume its rightful place in the community of nations.

51. Mr. GOBIR (Nigeria) associated himself with those speakers who had called on the Governments of countries which house the headquarters of the companies mentioned in the provisional list of banks, firms and other organizations collaborating with the South African régime prepared by Mr. Khalifa to take the necessary measures to end the activities of those companies in South Africa.

52. He paid a tribute to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination for the effective manner in which it had carried out its mandate. Nigeria would submit its sixth periodic report when it became due. His delegation was in favour of the idea that future sessions of the Committee should be held in various regions, at the invitation of States Parties. It was happy to note the increase in the number of States Parties to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; it was disheartening, however, to note that there were still 101 States which had not ratified the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

53. As was clear from the scores of reports prepared by the United Nations the South African régime could not flout United Nations resolutions without the support of the Western Powers. Those Powers should learn from the recent history of Zimbabwe that a determined people fighting for a just cause would ultimately triumph.

54. The President's Council being set up by the Prime Minister of the racist régime to advise him on race relations was to include whites, Asians and Coloureds, but no blacks. It was heartening to note that prominent leaders of the Asians and Coloureds had wisely rejected the offer to serve on the Council unless blacks were brought in, thus repudiating the South African Government's attempts to rule

(Mr. Gobir, Nigeria)

the various races by pitting one against the other. The racist régime had therefore been forced to recruit unknown members of the Asian and Coloured communities into the Council: those people were inviting the wrath of their own community and the contempt of the international community.

55. In spite of the attacks on the SWAPO forces, SWAPO could not be neutralized militarily. The delaying tactics of the racist occupation Power in Namibia had not impressed anyone, and the time had come for the South African régime and the Western Powers to agree to let Namibia become fully independent.

56. The elimination of apartheid and racism in South Africa should be the goal of the current decade, and no one should refuse to support the South African nationalists. Nigeria would give them its support, as should all Members of the United Nations that were truly committed to the eradication of all forms of oppression and humiliation, in order to bring about the complete isolation of the racist régime and thereby the total destruction of the criminal system of apartheid.

57. Mr. GURAKAN (Turkey) said that his country associated itself with the efforts the United Nations had been making for more than two decades to combat racism and racial discrimination, in particular their institutionalized form, apartheid, which constituted a flagrant violation of fundamental human rights and of the moral values of the contemporary international community.

58. Although a great deal of progress had been achieved in the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, racial prejudice and discrimination in the political, economic and cultural spheres still persisted. Apartheid, which was the worst form of racial discrimination, continued to prevail in South Africa, despite unanimous condemnation of that abhorrent policy. The racist régime of Pretoria was constantly challenging the international community, rejecting the elementary demands of the black majority and intensifying its oppressive measures against opponents of apartheid, including church leaders, school-children and trade union organizers. South Africa's aggressive policies also extended to neighbouring countries, where armed attacks were causing heavy losses and endangering the stability of the region. That intolerable state of affairs demanded more energetic action by the international community. His delegation believed that the arms embargo against South Africa (Security Council resolution 418 (1977)) should be complemented by further effective measures.

59. With regard to Namibia, the efforts made during the 14 years since the General Assembly had terminated South Africa's mandate over that Territory had unfortunately been futile. His delegation hoped that South Africa would eventually realize that the plan proposed by the Secretary-General within the framework of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which it had so far obstructed under various pretexts, was the only option for resolving the question peacefully.

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(Mr. Gurakan, Turkey)

60. Referring to the principle of self-determination, one of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, he said that Turkey was proud to have been one of the first countries to free itself from colonialism and therefore fully supported the right of peoples to determine their political status freely. The process of decolonization had helped to ensure the universality of the United Nations. His delegation welcomed the two new Member States, Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and hoped that the same spirit of compromise that had led to the peaceful settlement of the situation in Zimbabwe would prevail in the case of Namibia.

61. Unfortunately, the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination was being hindered in other parts of the world. The situation in the Middle East was of particular concern to his Government. The policy pursued by Israel, which continued to occupy Arab lands, to deny the Palestinian people their right to self-determination, to establish settlements in the occupied territories and recently to proclaim that Al-Qads was its indivisible and eternal capital, had aggravated the already tense situation in the area. His Government's views concerning the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East were well known. Recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian peoples, including their right to establish an independent State, was one of the prerequisites for any settlement capable of restoring peace to that region.

62. In his statement in the General Assembly on 1 October 1980 the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey had made reference to the situation in Afghanistan, and his delegation emphasized the need for a speedy political settlement of that situation through the withdrawal of all foreign troops, the cessation of all foreign interference, and the restoration of independence and the right to self-determination. The same principle should likewise be the basis for a solution to the situation in Kampuchea.

63. Mrs. SEMICHI (Algeria) said that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights had been inspired by lofty principles embodying acceptance of the common destiny of mankind, despite differences of colour, race, sex, religion and opinion. However, in a complex modern society, national selfishness and great-Power interests tended to run counter to the exercise of the rights of peoples and, consequently, of the rights of individuals.

64. The accession to independence of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and the New Hebrides, which had become Vanuatu, was gratifying, but with only a few weeks to go before the General Assembly celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the status of other peoples still under domination remained disquieting. Of course, the victory of the people of Zimbabwe over a reactionary racist régime was bound to give fresh impetus to the heroic struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia against the apartheid régime. However, the situation in southern Africa continued to trouble the international community. Her delegation had already denounced the policy of

(Mrs. Semichi, Algeria)

repression pursued by the Pretoria régime against the black people of South Africa, but it could not sufficiently stress the fact that that régime could not continue to apply its policy of repression if all Member States, without exception, adopted the measures recommended by the United Nations for completely isolating the apartheid régime. Those observations also applied in the case of Namibia.

65. In another part of the African continent, the normal process of decolonization initiated in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) had been blocked for the benefit of another African country, although it itself had formerly been the victim of colonialism. The people of Western Sahara had so far enjoyed the unconditional support of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, which had confirmed the legitimacy of its struggle under the leadership of its sole representative, the Frente POLISARIO, and the illegality of the annexation of its territory as a result of Moroccan expansionism.

66. The tragic fate of the Palestinian people could not fail to arouse world opinion and it had been the subject of a special session of the General Assembly. It was clear that efforts to settle that particularly complex problem, far from accelerating the peace process, were making a settlement even more difficult because of occupier's deliberate intention to deny the Palestinian reality.

67. Her delegation paid a special tribute to the people of South Africa, Namibia, Palestine and Western Sahara and to all people struggling to regain their inalienable national rights.

68. Mrs. ITGEL (Mongolia) said that the Mongolian People's Republic had always attached great importance to the complete and universal attainment by peoples of the right to self-determination and to the prompt granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. During the 20 years that had passed since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the national liberation movements had gained brilliant victories in their struggle for freedom and independence. Zimbabwe's accession to independence, the most recent of these victories, exemplified the inevitable triumph of a just cause over the policy of domination and heralded the final elimination of colonialism and racism. However, it had to be recognized that there had also been failures during those 20 years and that millions of people were still being denied the opportunity to exercise their rights to freedom, self-determination and independence.

69. Responsibility for the situation in Namibia and South Africa could not be attributed to the racist régime of Pretoria alone; it was shared by those who continued to assist the South African authorities to apply their policy of racial discrimination and segregation. It was obvious that the régime could not

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(Mrs. Itgel, Mongolia)

withstand the increasing resistance of the patriotic forces, or refuse to yield to the demands of the international community, without the support of several Western NATO member countries and the many monopolies which continued to provide it with military, economic and financial assistance. According to United Nations figures, Western monopolies had already invested more than \$28 billion in South Africa. Their military co-operation with South Africa allowed it to intensify its illegal occupation of Namibia and was the chief obstacle to the implementation of the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence. The enormous military machine installed in Namibia was used both against the forces fighting for the liberation of the Territory and against neighbouring African States.

70. The Pretoria régime was using every means at its disposal to delay the negotiations for the handing over of power to the Namibian people. Its procrastinations were designed to impose a puppet régime on Namibia and to undermine the position of SWAPO, which the United Nations had recognized as the rightful representative of the Namibian people.

71. The People's Republic of Mongolia, like many other delegations, strongly condemned the manoeuvres of the neo-colonialists in southern Africa, as well as the racists' acts of aggression against the national liberation movements and independent neighbouring States. It believed that the international community could only promote a settlement of the Namibian problem by ensuring that the Security Council imposed binding sanctions on South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

72. The occupation of the Palestine Arab territories was another example of the flagrant violation of the right of peoples to self-determination. She recalled in that connexion that the General Assembly had reaffirmed, at its seventh emergency special session, that there could be no comprehensive peace in the Middle East without the withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and without the achievement of a just solution of the problem of Palestine on the basis of the attainment of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to set up their own State.

73. Mongolia was in favour of the speedy granting of the right of self-determination to small colonial territories, and condemned the use of those territories for military and strategic purposes by the administering Powers.

74. The Mongolian delegation wholeheartedly supported the decisions taken at the special plenary meetings of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the International Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of Namibia and the seventeenth meeting of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the OAU. It hoped that the conclusions and recommendations of those meetings would be taken into account by the Assembly in the resolutions to be adopted at the current session.

75. Mr. TARASYUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that, since the proclamation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial

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(Mr. Tarasyuk, Ukrainian SSR)

Countries and Peoples, some major successes had been achieved in the struggle to eliminate the system of servitude that the colonial Powers had created and still jealously defended in order to reap their enormous profits, to pillage unashamedly the natural resources of the territories under their domination, and to disgracefully exploit their millions of inhabitants.

76. Whatever the representatives of the former colonial Powers might claim, the birth of new independent States was not due to the goodwill of the metropolitan countries but was the result of the relentless struggle of the enslaved peoples for national liberation. That struggle had been greatly facilitated by the support given by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. As the recent accession to independence of Zimbabwe bore witness, the peoples struggling for national liberation and the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism, racism and apartheid continued to win brilliant victories despite all obstacles. It must be admitted, however, that colonialism and racism had not yet been eliminated from southern Africa. The time had come to force the South African racists to end their occupation of Namibia and stop holding back the realization of the right of the Namibian people fighting under the flag of SWAPO to self-determination.

77. It went without saying that without the many forms of support which the Western Powers, particularly certain NATO countries, and Israel were providing to the South African racists, the Pretoria régime would long ago have ceased to exist. The Ukrainian SSR, which was a member of the Special Committee against Apartheid, had never ceased to urge that the decisions on South Africa of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, and the sanctions which the Security Council had adopted against the Pretoria régime, should be strictly respected, and that global sanctions should be applied in the economic, trade, financial and other fields, in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

78. The Israeli occupation of the Arab territories of Palestine, which had been going on for more than 13 years, was another example of the flagrant violation of the right of peoples to self-determination. The Ukrainian delegation had participated in the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly on that question and had supported the decisions that had been taken. As was shown in the most recent report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (A/35/35), of which the Ukrainian SSR was a member, Israel was continuing its open violation of international law, and had disregarded both international opinion and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. It had been demonstrated that the negotiations started on the basis of the Camp David Agreements could not lead to a solution to the problem, and the Ukrainian SSR supported the just fight of the Palestinian people for the restoration of their legitimate rights, including the right to self-determination and to set up their own State. The Palestinian people were also benefitting from the unwavering assistance of the socialist countries, as shown by the declaration which the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty had adopted in May, in which proposals for means of settling the Middle East problem were put forward.

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(Mr. Tarasyuk, Ukrainian SSR)

79. He also recalled that there remained dozens of small colonial Territories whose peoples were still denied the inalienable right to self-determination. Although they refused to admit it, the administering Powers were using every available means to perpetuate their colonial domination over those Territories and transform them into bastions of their policy of hegemony. The Ukrainian delegation was particularly disturbed by the situation in Micronesia, where the United States had installed air and naval bases, was continuing to prevent the population from exercising their right to self-determination and was seeking to carve up the Territory for the purpose of annexing it.

80. The fate of the island of Diego Garcia was an example of the colonialist solidarity of the imperialist countries. He recalled in that connexion the facts revealed in the March number of the magazine Africa, according to which the United Kingdom, using its status as administering Power, had appropriated the island in exchange for the granting of independence to Mauritius, in order to rent it to the United States and thus obtain a rebate of \$8.5 million on the purchase price of Polaris missiles. It was well known that the United States intended to turn Diego Garcia into an unsinkable aircraft carrier from which it would be able to launch military operations in south-west Asia. The island of Guam had also become a base for American imperialist expansionism in Asia. The United States scorned the resolution recently adopted on Puerto Rico, in which the Committee on decolonization reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of that Territory to self-determination and independence, just as it had ignored the previous resolutions. It was 20 years since it had seized Guantanamo to install a military base there. The Ukrainian SSR wondered how long it would continue to ignore the sovereign rights of Cuba and its people. It also recalled the actions of the United Kingdom authorities in Northern Ireland which were a flagrant violation of human rights.

81. The Ukrainian SSR refused to subscribe to the slanderous campaign which certain delegations had recently launched in the Third Committee in connexion with events in Afghanistan and Democratic Kampuchea. It reaffirmed its solidarity with the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples who were defending their right to freedom and self-determination, and expressed the hope that the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly would see the adoption of decisions designed to eliminate completely and definitively the last vestiges of racism and colonialism.

82. Mr. ABAWI (Afghanistan) said that his country, basing itself on the fundamental principles that served it as a temporary constitution, was seeking to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination. All citizens were regarded as equal in rights and obligations, regardless of their racial, national, tribal and linguistic affiliations, or their sex, religion, education and social status.

83. Afghanistan's foreign policy was based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and non-alignment. It defended the right of all nations to self-determination and stood for the abolition of apartheid and all forms of racial discrimination, including zionism.

(Mr. Abawi, Afghanistan)

84. The Pretoria régime had turned South Africa into a prison for the entire black population and was pursuing a policy of aggression against neighbouring countries which opposed apartheid and racism. The Afghan delegation believed that it was the duty of the world community to redouble its efforts to eliminate racial discrimination, apartheid and zionism, whose negative effects extended far beyond their geographical boundaries and weighed heavily on all twentieth-century mankind.

85. Mr. JOSEPH (Australia) said that, as a country founded by a number of colonies seeking autonomy and as an administering Power under the League of Nations mandate and United Nations trusteeship agreements, Australia was particularly well-placed to understand and support the struggle of peoples to achieve their rights to self-determination and independence. The year 1980 marked the twentieth anniversary of two landmark General Assembly resolutions: resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), the former containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the latter stating the principles which would guide Member States in determining whether the obligation to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter, was applicable to them or not.

86. Experience gained in the intervening years, during which a large number of former colonies had attained independence, confirmed that it was the people themselves who must determine their future, while the United Nations had the responsibility of seeing that conditions were brought about to enable an act of self-determination to be exercised freely in the context of the circumstances particular to each nation.

87. The Commission on Human Rights and the Sub-Commission on Protection of Minorities and Prevention of Discrimination had first focused on the studies prepared by Mr. Cristescu concerning the development of the right to self-determination and by Mr. Espiell on the implementation of United Nations resolutions relating to the rights of people under colonial and alien domination to self-determination, but were now concentrating on specific situations where the right of peoples to self-determination was being most severely violated. Zimbabwe's achievement of independence was an undoubted success for the United Nations but there were other situations which unfortunately had not been so happily resolved.

88. To return to the question of Namibia, which the Australian delegation would consider more fully in the plenary, his country as a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia had been closely involved in United Nations attempts to resolve the situation brought about by South Africa's illegal occupation of the Territory. Australia deplored South Africa's failure to accept the plan proposed by the United Nations and fully supported the Secretary-General's latest moves in the hope that reason could prevail and the people of Namibia could be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination.

89. Another question considered by the Commission on Human Rights was the Middle East. Any solution to the Arab-Israeli dispute, one of the most dangerous problems facing the world today, must be based on the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to a homeland alongside Israel,

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(Mr. Joseph, Australia)

and on the principles embodied in Security Council resolution 242, namely, the recognition of the rights of all States in the region, including Israel, to live within secure and recognized boundaries and the need for Israel to withdraw from Arab territories occupied in 1967.

90. Attention had been drawn to the situation in the Western Sahara and in certain islands in the Pacific and other oceans. As a member of the Committee of 24, Australia had been actively involved in discussions on the right to self-determination in the context of the process of decolonization. It particularly welcomed the recent emergence of Vanuatu as an independent State.

91. The Commission on Human Rights had paid particular attention to the situations in Kampuchea which had been invaded by foreign troops, and in Afghanistan. Australia considered that there could be no peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem as long as it remained occupied by foreign forces and until the Khmer people were given opportunity to determine their own future. With regard to Afghanistan, the Commission had condemned the Soviet military aggression against the Afghan people in a resolution calling upon all peoples and Governments throughout the world to persist in condemning that aggression and denouncing it as an aggression against human rights and the violation of the freedoms of people, and demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet troops stationed on Afghan territories. The situation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea had each given rise to a new flow of refugees.

92. Those recent examples of foreign military intervention had added a new dimension to the debates on the subject. The Sub-Commission had recommended that the Commission on Human Rights give special attention to the violation of the right to self-determination and other human rights resulting from foreign military intervention or occupation. The Sub-Commission's resolution reaffirmed that universal respect for the right of peoples to self-determination was a fundamental condition for the promotion of human rights in various parts of the world.

93. It was important to bear in mind that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted 20 years ago, was equally applicable to countries and peoples recently colonized.

94. Mrs. OUNGAVOU (Benin) referred to agenda items 66 and 74 and deplored the fact that, in spite of all the endeavours made by the international community, particularly within the framework of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, those two scourges still continued to exist throughout the world, even in societies which regarded themselves as most liberal and democratic. Benin condemned those subproducts of capitalism and colonialism with all the more vehemence because it belonged to a continent which had particularly suffered from the policy of domination and conquest pursued by the Western Powers.

95. The policy of apartheid practised in South Africa constituted the worst kind of racism and racial discrimination. The South African Government extended its policy of domination and racial discrimination to Namibia which it was also seeking

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(Mrs. Oungavou, Benin)

to maintain in a state of slavery. The fictitious independence granted to the indigenous population was designed not only to perpetuate the economic exploitation of the peoples of southern Africa but also to prevent their awareness of their national identity and to curb the struggle for political emancipation, independence and national sovereignty. In the same way the Palestinian people continued to be the victim of acts of aggression and repression on the part of Israel whose policy was very similar to that of South Africa. The economic, technical and scientific co-operation between those two countries was in fact being pursued in disregard of the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations, the OAU and the non-aligned movement.

96. Racism and racial discrimination were not the exclusive prerogative of South Africa or Israel, as was shown by the discrimination to which the immigrant population in certain Western countries were subjected with regard to employment, wages or housing. Benin therefore warmly welcomed the establishment of a working group to draw up a convention on the protection of the human rights of migrant workers and their families.

97. If it was to be effective, the struggle against racism, racial discrimination and the apartheid régime must be waged simultaneously on all fronts, at both the national and the international level, and it was essential that all States should accede to the two international conventions adopted by the United Nations in that connexion. Her country, which was already a party to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, intended, now that it had the necessary democratic institutions, to ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination as soon as possible.

98. In that connexion, her delegation wished to commend the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination for its effectiveness and its impartiality. It supported the suggestion put forward in document A/35/414 (para. 7 (c)) concerning the future meetings of the Committee, as well as the draft resolution in document A/C.3/35/L.3 concerning, in particular, the holding of a second world conference to combat racism and racial discrimination.

99. Turning to agenda items 66 and 75, she pointed out that the question of assistance to colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa and that of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination were closely linked. The feeling of satisfaction that Zimbabwe's accession to independence and national sovereignty gave the international community must not make it forget the situation of the peoples of Palestine and South Africa, or that of the people of Namibia, towards whom it had a special responsibility, since it had committed itself to bringing that Territory rapidly to full independence. For its part, her country would continue to provide moral, material and political assistance to the Namibian people in their struggle, under the leadership of SWAPO, to liberate themselves from subjugation by South Africa, just as it would continue to support the Palestinian people in their struggle for the right to self-determination and national independence.

100. Although the victory that Zimbabwe's independence represented justifiably gave

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(Mrs. Oungavou, Benin)

rise to glimmers of hope, it also contained lessons that the international community must take into account if it did not wish to see the sufferings of the peoples of Palestine, Namibia and South Africa prolonged indefinitely and unnecessarily. The first lesson that could be drawn from the Zimbabwe experience was that a people who fought to gain the right to self-determination and independence would always triumph in the end, with the support of the international community, whatever military means were used to intimidate them. The second lesson concerned the importance of armed struggles waged by national liberation movements. The international community should therefore increase its moral, material, military or other assistance to the struggling peoples of southern Africa and elsewhere. The only way to make the South African Government understand that the era of equivocations belonged to the past was for all countries to impose strict economic sanctions against it, without exception and without reservations. Without political, economic, technical and military assistance from certain Western countries, the Pretoria régime would, in fact, be unable to pursue its current policy of apartheid.

101. On the eve of the anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the international community should make a solemn commitment to take all possible action to liberate all peoples still under colonial domination. It should, in particular, endeavour to convince the countries that maintained a special relationship with South Africa that their long-term interests lay in the elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination, and that the only peaceful way of attaining that goal was to impose global economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

102. Mr. Z. AULTANA (Pakistan), referring to agenda item 75, said that his delegation attached all the more importance to the question of the right to self-determination in that further peoples had recently been added to the list of those who were being denied the exercise of that right.

103. The international community's concern at that situation was reflected very clearly in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. His delegation applauded the successes achieved by the United Nations in its efforts to help peoples who were the victims of colonial domination and foreign occupation to gain independence and exercise their inalienable, legitimate and recognized right to self-determination.

104. Although the international community had reason to be satisfied with its achievements, particularly with the victory of the people of Zimbabwe, it should not forget that many other peoples were still struggling to acquire the right to independence and that it had an obligation under the United Nations Charter to support them in their struggle. It should therefore exert greater pressure on régimes that continued to practise a policy of domination and oppression, in order to conquer their intransigence and duplicity.

105. The fact that, in spite of the relevant United Nations resolutions, Israel persisted in denying the Palestinian people the right to self-determination and pursued its policy of expansion and annexation of Arab territories constituted a

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(Mr. Z. Aultana, Pakistan)

serious threat to international peace and security. The intransigence that Israel was showing would not deter the Palestinian people from continuing the struggle to make good their right to establish a sovereign State in their own homeland.

106. In that connexion, it was possible to quote the examples of Kampuchea and Afghanistan, both of which were being prevented by the armed intervention of a foreign Power from selecting the form of Government and socio-economic régime of their choice.

107. Although his country was willing to provide the hundreds of thousands of Afghan refugees with the humanitarian assistance they needed, its economic resources were insufficient to meet all their subsistence needs. He therefore appealed to the international community to take steps that would enable the Afghan people to exercise their right to self-determination in such a manner as to create conditions under which Afghan nationals that were currently being sheltered in his country and Iran could return to their homes in peace and with honour.

108. In that context, his delegation wished to raise the question of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. His country would continue to seek a peaceful solution to that problem in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and in the spirit of the Simla Agreement, in order to normalize its relations with India in conformity with the principle of peaceful coexistence.

109. The fact that the principle of the right to self-determination was laid down in Article 1 of the United Nations Charter was proof of its importance. Only scrupulous and universal observance of that right could guarantee international peace and security.

110. Mr. MALHOTRA (India), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, expressed regret that the representative of Pakistan had deemed it appropriate to refer to the state of Jammu and Kashmir, which was an integral part of the Indian Union. As his delegation had explained at length in plenary meeting, international organizations had no role to play in that connexion, and raising the question before an international authority invariably delayed its settlement, which must retain a strictly bilateral character. His country was still committed to the Simla Agreement and remained ready to settle all outstanding problems by means of bilateral agreements with Pakistan.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.