



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 17th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. SOBHY (Egypt)

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AGENDA ITEM 82: IMPORTANCE OF THE UNIVERSAL REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND OF THE SPEEDY GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES FOR THE EFFECTIVE GUARANTEE AND OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS
(continued)

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

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

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

1. Mr. VOICU (Romania) said that the genuine promotion of human rights was inconceivable without ensuring the exercise of the right of each people to be free from exploitation or aggression. At the same time, the collective right of peoples to determine their own future could not be dissociated from the rights of all individuals to a life of dignity, freedom from exploitation of any kind, and active participation in building their own future. Accession to national independence and its consolidation were a crucial aspect of the struggle for the establishment of a new world order. Along with peace and security, and the expansion and strengthening of co-operation among countries and peoples, the guarantee of the right of all peoples to liberty, equality and dignity and to self-determination was a cardinal objective.
2. The total elimination of colonialism was an integral part of the struggle to realize the right of all peoples to choose their political status and enjoy unhindered economic and social development. Each country and geographical area had its own problems, and each people developed in accordance with its own specific character. Therefore, it was essential in international relations to respect the right of each people to determine its own future.
3. The right to self-determination was closely linked with a concept to which Romania had always attached particular importance, namely that the nation and the national State would still have a very important role to play for a long time to come. The strengthening of the nation and of independent national States was an objective necessity. The President of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, had stressed the indisputable justice of the struggle waged by the peoples to achieve liberation and set up independent national States. The principle of self-determination was a fundamental principle of international law, and strict respect for sovereignty was an essential element of that principle. The United Nations had major responsibilities in the struggle for the complete and final elimination of colonialism and must ensure the implementation of all its resolutions on the subject and adopt new measures to accelerate that process.
4. Romania had always firmly expressed its militant solidarity with the struggle waged by the peoples against colonialism and neo-colonialism and called for respect for the right of each people to self-determination. It had provided, and was continuing to provide, all political, diplomatic, moral and material support to the national liberation movements and the peoples engaged in the struggle against colonial domination. It was actively supporting the struggles of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and that of the people of South Africa. It felt that the current situation in southern Africa was conducive to the success of the liberation struggle, which should enable the peoples concerned to accede to full national independence in the near future.

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(Mr. Voicu, Romania)

5. He recalled that at the request of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities a Romanian expert had prepared a study on the historical and current development of the right to self-determination. The importance of the study had been stressed in resolutions of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights. His delegation considered that it was a useful multidisciplinary study which would facilitate knowledge of the efforts being undertaken at various levels to ensure the realization of the right of peoples to determine their own futures. It welcomed the interest shown in the study by the group of African States. It was to be hoped that the wide distribution of the study would lead to a fruitful dialogue on the subject.

6. The full affirmation and development of each nation, the promotion of relations based on the principles of full equality of rights, mutual esteem and respect, and concern for the interests of each nation would help to banish all mistrust and animosity and contribute to the establishment of equal relations among States.

7. Mr. DABO (Guinea) said that the item under consideration was clearly an urgent and important one. As early as 1960, the Guinean Head of State, President Ahmed Sekou Toure, had called upon the General Assembly, at its fifteenth session, to take a clear stand in favour of the immediate and total elimination of the colonial system in all its forms.

8. There was a tendency in some quarters to take a restrictive view of human rights which excluded all individuals subjected to colonial and racist domination. Yet how could one speak of the protection of human rights when entire peoples were deprived of the vital right to self-determination, the right to set up an independent national State? Guinea believed that all States had the duty firmly to support all measures which were aimed at strengthening the cause of human rights throughout the world. However, it considered that the United Nations would not be able to make an effective contribution to the promotion of human rights unless the nations reached agreement on a global approach to the subject. It was impossible to reconcile the selective and discriminatory view of human rights which defended those rights only when there was political profit to be made and the global concept which regarded human rights as an integral part of the rights of peoples. It must be recognized that there was a marked discrepancy between the rights proclaimed for all individuals on a universal basis and the actual rights enjoyed in daily life. It was impossible to evaluate the spiritual and material dimensions of man as an individual in isolation from the political and social environment.

9. During the first half of November 1978 Guinea had held an international ideological seminar at which the questions of human rights and the rights of peoples had been discussed. The seminar had taken the approach that the rights of people took precedence over human rights in the sense that the latter were a part of the former. Indeed, it was impossible to undertake the defence of human rights elsewhere without first doing everything possible to eradicate apartheid

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(Mr. Dabo, Guinea)

in South Africa, eliminate the power of the white racist minority in Southern Rhodesia, restore the rights of the Namibian people and put an end to the massacres of civilian populations in Mozambique, Angola, Zambia and Botswana perpetrated by the white racists in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Similarly, it was impossible to talk seriously of the defence of human rights elsewhere when the Palestinian people were being denied their rights, including the most sacred right of all, the right to existence. The protection of human rights had to be achieved through the defence of the right of entire peoples to a decent life. At the fifth session of UNCTAD at Manila and at the recent ACP-EEC ministerial meeting at Brussels the industrial countries had refused to recognize the elementary economic rights of the peoples of the third world; that egotism was also a form of negation of human rights. The future of mankind depended not only on the capacity of the present generation to solve the problems of development but also on its ability to eliminate from the world everything which caused harm to human beings and to peoples.

10. Miss ABLOU NAGA (Egypt) said that in the light of the provisions of the United Nations Charter the item under consideration was one of the most important questions on the Committee's agenda. The significance of questions of human rights had increased markedly in recent years at the bilateral, regional and international levels. The violations of human rights which were occurring in various parts of the world could not be considered internal affairs of the countries concerned, for they were incompatible with all human values and principles; the major and increasing violations of human rights in South Africa and in the Middle East were affecting not only individual human rights and fundamental freedoms but also the rights of countries and peoples in those areas, and were threatening international peace and security. Egypt denounced all such violations of human rights.

11. Israel's violations of human rights in the occupied Arab territories were escalating despite the firm and clear position taken by the international community. Israel's denial of the human rights of the Palestinian people and occupation of their territory was in contradiction with the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Conventions of 1949. Egypt denounced the decision recently taken by the Israeli authorities to allow Israeli nationals to purchase land in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, as reported in an article in The New York Times of 15 October 1979; its position on the subject was set forth in document A/34/501. Egypt, supported by the international community, strongly condemned such Israeli practices. Israel must submit to the international consensus and allow the Palestinian people to exercise their legitimate right to self-determination. When Israel affirmed its desire for peace in the Middle East, it could not carry out actions which violated that affirmation in word and deed.

12. Other peoples, especially in southern Africa, were also being denied their human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the international community must give those peoples all possible assistance. Modern civilization was based on the principles of dignity, humanity and equality, and it would be void of any meaning if the basic human rights and fundamental freedoms of such peoples continued to be denied. It was the duty of all nations to take the necessary steps to eliminate

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(Miss Aboul Naga, Egypt)

the racist régimes and bring to an end the oppression and subjugation of the people of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. Egypt had always supported and would continue to support the peoples of South Africa who, under the leadership of their national liberation movements, were engaged in legitimate struggle to achieve independence and self-determination, and it called upon the international community to implement the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. The international community must take a firm stand on apartheid in South Africa, foreign occupation in Namibia, obstructive tactics in Zimbabwe and the continuing aggression by the racist régimes against Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique and Angola. Egypt continued to support the Patriotic Front as the legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe and considered that it was important that there should be participation by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity in any measures to bring peace to Zimbabwe. It continued to denounce the December 1978 elections in Namibia designed to impose a puppet régime on the people, whose legitimate representative was SWAPO. As an African country, Egypt would continue to fight against racism and imperialism in southern Africa and to support the struggle for the liberation of the peoples of that area.

13. Ms. RADÍĆ (Yugoslavia) said that in spite of the progress achieved so far, the promotion of self-determination remained one of the most important and urgent tasks facing the United Nations. Her Government and all the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia attached great importance to all aspects of the self-determination of peoples under colonial and alien domination, and Yugoslavia fully supported and assisted the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania in their just struggle for independence. The growing strength of the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa to achieve their right to self-determination, independence and human dignity proved beyond doubt that no pressures, oppression or terror and no so-called "internal solutions" could divert them from their efforts to achieve those objectives. In pursuance of the principles on which its policy and the policy of the non-aligned movement were based, as well as numerous United Nations resolutions on the subject, Yugoslavia would continue to give full support to those and other peoples under colonial and alien domination and occupation until their rights were fully recognized and their freedom achieved. She recalled that the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries had noted the considerable progress made in the decolonization process and the unceasing efforts of colonialist and expansionist Powers to undermine the true independence of new States.

14. Yugoslavia, like other non-aligned countries, demanded the cessation of Israeli aggression against Arab countries, the withdrawal of Israel from the territories occupied in the 1967 war and recognition of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. Yugoslavia welcomed the signs of greater readiness on the part of a growing number of European countries to recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people and accept the PLO as their legitimate negotiator. As stated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia in the plenary Assembly, the right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty without foreign interference must be consistently respected in Cyprus, Korea,

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(Ms. Radic, Yugoslavia)

Western Sahara and other areas where similar problems existed. The question of Western Sahara must be solved on the basis of self-determination in accordance with the principles and resolutions of the United Nations and the decisions of the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned movement. Together with other non-aligned countries, Yugoslavia denounced the revival of the practice of hiring mercenaries to undermine the independence of sovereign States, counteract the national liberation process and perpetuate oppression and colonial, neo-colonial and racist exploitation, and considered it necessary for all States to enact effective legislation on the subject. In accordance with the provisions of the United Nations resolutions on self-determination and of article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it called for the immediate release of all persons detained or imprisoned as a result of the just struggle of peoples under colonial and alien domination for their self-determination and independence. Her delegation welcomed the continuing priority accorded to the problem of self-determination by the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-fifth session.

15. Mr. VOLLERS (Federal Republic of Germany) said that it was no accident that both of the International Covenants on human rights gave precedence to the right of self-determination. The Federal Republic of Germany believed that that right was a key element of the rule of law; it was one of the cornerstones of its Basic Law, the Constitution of 1949. It applied to all mankind, irrespective of colour, race, religion or regional classification.

16. Self-determination was a right that belonged to the peoples of the world and enabled them to determine their political status, both nationally and internationally, and their economic and social structure and development. For the effective exercise of that right, a people must be afforded the opportunity freely to express its will in referendums and elections. The self-determination, however, also required that each individual should be able to exercise that right by being ensured the full enjoyment of basic human rights and civil liberties such as freedom of speech, freedom of information and freedom of assembly. A few days previously, His Holiness Pope Paul II had stressed in his address to the General Assembly the importance of the right to political participation and the right to participate in the free choice of the political system of one's people.

17. The implementation of the right to self-determination remained a challenge to the international community, particularly where the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism was concerned. The efforts being made, in southern Africa and elsewhere, had always been supported by the Federal Government. However, decolonization was not the only area in which the implementation of the right to self-determination was of importance, and his Government supported the just cause of self-determination in other parts of the world as well. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany had stressed in his address to the plenary Assembly, the Federal Government continued to strive for a state of peace in Europe in which the German people too could regain their unity by way of free self-determination. It believed that the right of self-determination must be realized without the use of force, which could only bring new disasters upon mankind.

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(Mr. Vollers, Federal Republic of Germany)

18. In its relations with newly independent nations, the international community should focus primarily on the need to support them to the best of its abilities, and to develop co-operation with them on the basis of equal partnership, enabling them to determine their own political, economic and cultural life in a truly free manner. The sovereign equality of all States must be ensured. The sound economic development of newly independent nations was of particular importance if true self-determination was to be maintained. That was one of the principal goals of the dialogue between the industrialized and developing countries in which the Federal Government had been participating for years.

19. Mr. NAGY (Hungary) said that the right of peoples to self-determination implied the right of peoples both to struggle for their liberation with every means at their disposal and to choose freely their path of social and economic development. Implementation of the right of peoples to self-determination was closely related to their efforts to combat colonial and racist oppression and to restructure international economic relations on a democratic basis.

20. The determination of the peoples of Africa to put an end to oppression on the part of monopoly capital was growing stronger, and the people of southern Africa, led by their legitimate national liberation organizations and with the growing solidarity of all progressive forces, had intensified their struggle against the racist minority régimes. The struggle in southern Africa and efforts to establish a lasting and stable peace in the Middle East were priority tasks in the fight to achieve the national and social liberation of peoples. The criminal racist rulers in Pretoria and Salisbury were trying to maintain old power structures in disguise. The Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the Patriotic Front alone must have the right to decide issues affecting the future of their countries. While so-called internal settlements were being enforced, transnational corporations were stepping up their assistance to the racists.

21. His Government endorsed the principles and objectives laid down in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and, in keeping with its consistent support for United Nations resolutions concerning peoples under foreign domination or occupation, those subjected to racial discrimination, and victims of policies and practices of apartheid, it would continue to support peoples fighting imperialism and colonialism. His country had consistently taken all possible measures to help the Palestinian people in their struggle to restore their national rights, under the leadership of their sole representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

22. Although the disintegration and liquidation of colonialism was an irreversible process, in order to accelerate that process the United Nations would have to continue to make every effort to help peoples fighting for independence and self-determination.

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23. Mr. SAFIEH (Observer, Palestine Liberation Organization) said that, in a paradoxical reversal of roles, the persecuted, oppressed and poor of Europe who had emigrated to the New World had become the oppressors of the peoples of Africa and the American Indians. It had been that phenomenon that his people had witnessed when, as a result of an identical process, they had been displaced to the periphery of their homeland.

24. Zionism had exploited the human predicament of the Jews in taking those of the oppressed of Europe that it could win over and transforming them into oppressors in the Middle East. However, the pioneers in denouncing zionism had, in fact, been Jews, and a tribute must be paid to them for their refusal to succumb to the attraction of the Zionists' undertaking. Criticism of zionism in a wide variety of Jewish circles showed the fallaciousness of the Zionist claim that Jews constituted a monolithic community that fully supported zionism. Moreover, those dissident Jews were an indication that there was no collective Jewish responsibility for the historical wrong done to his people. Furthermore, the body of dissident Israelis that had emerged was voicing the repugnance it felt for what zionism had led Jews to do. In fact, the dissident Jews and Israelis regarded the Palestinians as the inheritors of the suffering of the concentration camp victims. The dissident Jews outside Israel had seen clearly that the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people to gain national independence and achieve self-determination would inevitably lead to a clash with the newcomers. For their part, the dissident Israelis had seen clearly that recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people was a prerequisite for the peaceful integration of the Jews into the Middle East.

25. Throughout the long history of his people, the territory that it occupied at the heart of a strategic region had been attractive to outsiders. Thus the twentieth century zionism had infiltrated Palestine with the connivance of British colonialism. Subsequently, his people's aspirations had been systematically disregarded. For an understanding of how the radical change in the demographic composition of Palestine had come about, he wished to refer members of the Committee to the studies prepared for, and under the direction of, the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

26. Currently, half of the Palestinian population of 4 million lived in occupied territories and the other half in exile, while Israel continued to engage in a policy based on faits accomplis which it hoped would be subsequently accepted as legitimate. In addition, the Zionist entity was seeking to wipe out a section of the population of southern Lebanon and, in order to perpetuate occupation of the territories seized in 1967, had prepared a scheme for so-called administrative autonomy that it was attempting to impose by force.

27. Since the beginning of the century the strategy of the imperialists had been to try to separate Egypt from the re-wakening Arab world. However, even though in bringing about ratification of the Camp David Agreements the forces hostile to the Arab nation had temporarily gained ground, the peasants and workers of Egypt understood the attachment of the people of Palestine to their homeland.

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(Mr. Safieh, Observer, PLO)

28. The system of administrative autonomy to which he had referred would apply to individuals but not to the land on which they lived. Moreover, those individuals were in danger of being inundated by a wave of new colonies, the construction of which was no longer justified by what had previously been termed security reasons.

29. Although the United States and Israel had temporarily succeeded in opening a breach in the Arab front, attempts to divide the Palestinian people had been a signal failure. His people would not accept any substitute for satisfaction of their demands, and they had set about creating the institutions and instruments needed for their collective survival. However, tremendous challenges remained. On numerous occasions the PLO had explained why what the international community considered desirable was impossible within the framework of the Camp David Agreements and why what was possible within that framework was unacceptable. With the backing of the international community, his people remained as determined as ever.

30. Mr. NYIRONGO (Zambia) said that, since his country strongly endorsed efforts being made by the United Nations to ensure that peoples all over the world attained self-determination and independence, it supported General Assembly resolution 33/24/. The report of the Secretary-General on the item under discussion (A/34/367 and Add.1) demonstrated the United Nations commitment to the establishment of world peace, a goal which could be attained by means of the observance of human rights on the part of the world community.

31. However, from its experience in connexion with South Africa and Southern Rhodesia his country realized that the full enjoyment of all human rights could be attained only in situations where colonialism and imperialism did not exist. The grip that the white minority in those countries had on political power enabled it to deny the black majority their human rights.

32. In its attempt to maintain a hold over the black population, the oppressive régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia had devised so-called internal settlement plans, the goal of which was to ensure that puppet black leaders assumed the responsibilities of government. However, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the Patriotic Front, the true leaders of the black peoples of the countries in question, had rejected those tactics and vowed to fight until genuine majority rule had been achieved.

33. Since the thirty-third session of the General Assembly his country had encountered numerous problems as a result of its support for the liberation struggle in southern Africa. However, it remained firm in its support for liberation movements because only the right of self-determination would enable the black majority to organize their political, social, educational and economic systems in a manner that would best serve the interests of the entire population of the region. The admission of Saint Lucia to membership of the United Nations should give impetus to the efforts which were being made to induce the colonizers to speed the process of

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(Mr. Nyirongo, Zambia)

decolonization. Those efforts should take such forms as ending all economic and military collaboration with countries such as South Africa and its allies.

34. His country also supported the people of Western Sahara in their demands for the right to self-determination and appreciated the decision taken by Mauritania to withdraw from that Territory.

35. In conclusion, he wished to appeal to the specialized agencies and international institutions that co-operated with the United Nations system to strengthen that co-operation in order to hasten the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination.

36. Mr. ERRAZURIZ (Chile) observed that, together with other principles, the principle of fundamental human rights, to which reference was made in the Preamble to the Charter, and more particularly the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, referred to in Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Charter, constituted the basic prerequisites for harmonious international relations and independent development. His delegation therefore agreed with the concept expressed by the Director of the Division of Human Rights at the 15th meeting that self-determination of peoples was a basic principle of international law and a fundamental human right of individuals and peoples. His delegation also agreed with those who held that the right to self-determination did not end once political self-determination had been attained but continued to be applicable with respect to economic, social and cultural questions.

37. In the light of the foregoing, his Government vigorously condemned colonialism in all its forms and rejected mercenary activities as well as attitudes that encouraged or promoted them. He recalled that the previous year, in its reply on action taken pursuant to General Assembly resolution 32/14, his Government had indicated that in the course of its development as an independent nation Chile had advocated the full establishment of the right of peoples to self-determination and to the abolition of all practices infringing that right. In the current year, in its reply on action taken pursuant to General Assembly resolution 33/24, his Government had stated that no one in Chile was, or could be, engaged in practices relating to mercenaries, since there were legal provisions, predating the resolution in question, which made such activities a punishable offence. These provisions could be studied in the relevant report of the Secretary-General (document A/34/367).

38. His delegation felt that the United Nations action in the field of decolonization was one of its most spectacular achievements, as evidenced by the presence in the United Nations of many States which had formerly been colonies. Through its membership in the Special Committee of 24 and the Council for Namibia, his country had to a certain extent contributed to the decolonization process.

39. His Government was greatly concerned at the situation in southern Africa and hoped that the initiative with regard to Rhodesia-Zimbabwe would result in a

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(Mr. Errazuriz, Chile)

peaceful solution leading to the establishment of a legitimate majority government. Chile also supported the people of Namibia and hoped that it would be possible to find a solution, within the framework of the United Nations, to the problem of Namibia, which would otherwise remain a source of tension that was detrimental to world peace.

40. With regard to the situation of the Palestinian people, in his statement before the General Assembly the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile had said that Chile was pleased with some of the results achieved in the Middle East and believed that those initiatives must be extended to all aspects of that sensitive question; to fail to do so would be to perpetuate a hotbed of tension that endangered world peace. The future of the Palestinian people was crucial to efforts to establish peace in the Middle East.

41. The basic principles of the United Nations system were interrelated, and application of one of those principles entailed the obligation to apply the others. Strict compliance with the obligation not to interfere in the internal affairs of other States was therefore essential. Since foreign intervention was just as much to be condemned as colonialism itself, his Government rejected all forms of foreign intervention and declared that all peoples had the inalienable right to shape their own future.

42. In conclusion, his delegation wished to reiterate its firm conviction that as long as there were peoples that were unable to exercise their legitimate right of self-determination there would continue to be sources of tension that were a threat to international peace and security.

43. Mrs. VRUBLEVSKAYA (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, which had first been applied in practice with the establishment of the Soviet State, had now become a generally recognized norm of international law. From its earliest years the Soviet Union had provided assistance and support to the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, the victory of the anti-Hitlerite coalition in the Second World War had given added stimulus to the anti-colonial movement and had led ultimately to the break-up of the colonial system and the formation of new, independent States. Seeking to protect their sovereignty, many of the new States had joined in the non-aligned movement, a political force which was playing a significant role in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism and for the strengthening of peace and security. Despite the successes of national liberation movements the world over, more than 40 countries and island territories still remained under the colonial yoke and many millions of people were still deprived of one of their basic rights, namely that of self-determination, without which none of their other rights could have any meaning. That applied in particular to the peoples of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia and the population of the Arab territories occupied by the Israeli aggressors. The explosive situation existing in southern Africa and the Middle East had long been a cause of concern to the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world. In that connexion, she cited the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Violations of Human Rights in Southern Africa (E/CN.4/1311) which exposed in great detail the evil,

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(Mrs. Vrublevskaya, Ukrainian SSR)

misanthropic practices of the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, the cruel imposition of colonial policies and apartheid in Namibia by South Africa, the organization of sham elections in an atmosphere of terror imposed on Namibia by South Africa, and the racist terror of the white minority and its puppet régime in Zimbabwe. The Ukrainian SSR called for the elimination of the shameful system of apartheid in South Africa, the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African forces and the South African administration from occupied Namibia and the transfer of power to SWAPO, and the immediate transfer of power in Zimbabwe to the leaders of the Patriotic Front.

44. It was clear that the racist régimes could not have survived nearly universal condemnation without the multilateral assistance and support they had received from Western countries. As the bulwark of international monopoly capital in Africa, the racist régimes deprived the peoples of the region not only of their political but also of their economic independence, i.e. the right to dispose of their natural resources as they saw fit. At a meeting in Maputo, Mozambique, in January 1979 the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries had vigorously condemned the de facto collaboration of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel in the development of racist South Africa's military and nuclear potential.

45. The hotbed of tension in the Middle East continued to exist, fueled by Israeli aggression against neighbouring Arab States and posing a serious threat to world peace. The Middle East, like South Africa, had become an arena for the bitter struggle between the progressive forces of national liberation and the reactionary forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism. In continuing its occupation of Arab territories and depriving the Arab people of Palestine of their legal right to form its own State, Israel was ignoring numerous General Assembly resolutions and violating generally recognized norms of international law. The Ukrainian SSR, like all socialist countries, firmly supported the just cause of the Arab peoples struggling to defeat Israeli aggression and joined others in calling for a just settlement in the Middle East based on the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the withdrawal of all Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war and the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination and the establishment of their own State.

46. The situation in South-East Asia had been aggravated by the recent aggression of China against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Equally disturbing were aggressive moves on the part of China against other countries of the region, including Laos and Kampuchea, posing a serious threat to peace and the right of the peoples of the region to self-determination.

47. Mr. SABUSHINIKE (Burundi) said that his country had always defended the just cause of peoples fighting for their independence and freedom. Support for national liberation movements was one of the main principles on which his country's foreign policy was based. The right of self-determination was inalienable and essential for the implementation of all other rights. Colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination were not only a violation of the Charter and the Declaration on the

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(Mr. Sabushimike, Burundi)

Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, set forth in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), but also a serious threat to international peace and security.

48. It was regrettable that certain countries that had signed the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights continued to maintain links of all types with the racist régimes of southern Africa. Vigorous measures must be taken to isolate those régimes economically, with a view to accelerating the liberation of that part of Africa. His country fully endorsed United Nations resolutions and decisions aimed at boycotting the inhuman rétimes of southern Africa and it would continue to support the national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity. In that connexion, his delegation wished to pay a tribute to the front-line States for the solidarity they had shown with those liberation movements.

49. His Government had always supported the just cause of the Saharan people, under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO, and it wished, moreover, to see a just and lasting solution to the problem of the Middle East that would give the Palestinian people a homeland and recognize their right to self-determination under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

50. His delegation condemned the use of mercenaries against the liberation movements, in accordance with paragraph 7 of General Assembly resolution 33/24, and wished to stress that Burundi was acting in strict compliance with that paragraph. Moreover, his country had ratified the OAU Convention on Mercenarism in Africa.

51. His delegation wished to appeal once again to all countries devoted to the cause of peace and justice to sever their links with anachronistic régimes in the interest of international peace and security.

52. Mrs. ITGUEL (Mongolia) said that the right of peoples to self-determination and the speedy attainment of national independence by colonial countries and peoples were among the cardinal principles of international law and the prerequisites for the enjoyment of basic human rights and freedoms. Furthermore, the right of peoples to self-determination was an integral part of the struggle of peoples for national and social liberation against imperialism, racism and neo-colonialism. Unfortunately, the exercise of that right had been frustrated in many parts of the world by the efforts of world imperialism; the most brazen example of that situation was in southern Africa, where racist régimes, relying on the political and military support of Western countries and imperialist monopolies, continued to impose their colonial racist order on the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. Her country consistently supported the just struggle of the peoples of southern Africa and condemned the manoeuvres of the racists and imperialists who sought only to protect their huge economic interests in southern Africa and their strategic base for attacks against other independent African countries. Her delegation felt that the United Nations must take decisive measures to enable the

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(Mrs. Itguel, Mongolia)

peoples of southern Africa to exercise their right to self-determination; such measures should include the isolation of the racist régimes by the imposition of sanctions binding on all Members of the Organization. In that connexion, her delegation supported the important decisions taken by the Organization of African Unity and the Havana Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries relating to southern Africa.

53. Her delegation also supported the struggle of the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and to establish an independent State. A just solution of the Middle East situation, of which the Palestine problem was the core, was possible only with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

54. Her delegation also felt that the right of peoples to self-determination should be realized without delay in respect of the so-called small colonial Territories; specific time-tables should be drawn up for the accession by those Territories to independence.

55. Mrs. RUSSELL (Barbados) said that her country and all the sister Caribbean nations had experienced every nuance of colonialism and its recent by-product, neo-colonialism. The first deprivation of human rights in the subregion had come with the arrival of the European expansionists and imperialists, who had immediately established a system to exploit indigenous labour augmented by imported African slaves. Despite the later emancipation of the slaves, deprivation of human rights had continued under colonial rule, as slender natural resources of the subregion were exploited for the sole benefit of the metropolitan economy. Exploitative labour practices and racial discrimination had denied non-whites access to the best jobs, the best land, the best education and the best way of life. That situation of privilege for some based on the exploitation of others had continued well into the twentieth century. There had been other harsh consequences of colonialism as the islands had passed from one empire to another during the violent European imperial wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which had been fought not only in Europe but in the Caribbean area as well.

56. The Caribbean States did not want their independence to turn out to be an idle dream. The case of Belize - still not able to exercise its right to self-determination - was a classic example of the vulnerability of the countries of the subregion as they struggled to achieve self-determination. She recalled in that connexion that earlier in the year the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Barbados had declared categorically that there must be no cold war in the Caribbean. Yet subsequent events had led the Minister to state in the plenary Assembly that the idea of détente was a dangerous illusion as the contending super-Powers opened a new front within the subregion.

57. Her delegation shared the view expressed by the Director of the Division of Human Rights at the Committee's 15th meeting that there could be no true

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(Mrs. Russell, Barbados)

independence or true enjoyment of human rights without true development. That echoed the statement in paragraph 135 of document A/34/357, containing documents of the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Colombo earlier in the year, that the issue of human rights could not be isolated from its national, economic and social context and that the protection of human rights was an integral part of the struggle for a change in international relations as a whole and should not be exploited as a political instrument of the great Powers for the purpose of interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign States.

58. The concern of her delegation with the Caribbean region did not prevent it from supporting the struggle of all nations, in particular Namibia and Zimbabwe, for self-determination and the full enjoyment of human rights. Her delegation called upon those Powers which had the ability to affect change to exercise the will to work consistently to eliminate the crime of apartheid from the face of the earth.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

59. The CHAIRMAN said that, since the closing of the list of speakers on items 73 and 82 at 1 p.m. on Friday, 12 October - as had been agreed upon by the Committee - eight representatives, namely those of Israel, the United Republic of Tanzania, Oman, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Cuba, Benin, Uganda and the League of Arab States, had asked to be inscribed on the list. He hoped that the Committee would agree on the need for orderly procedures and the need to respect its own decisions with regard to the organization of work. Flexibility was admittedly necessary but should not imply facile reversals of Committee decisions. However, if he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee wished to allow the eight delegations in question to be added to the list of speakers on the two items.

60. It was so decided.

61. The CHAIRMAN said that he had just received from the Chairman of the Group of African States the text of a draft resolution on agenda item 73. In view of the fact that the deadline for the submission of such draft resolutions had been 1 p.m. on Friday, 12 October - as the Committee had already decided - a decision would have to be made by the Committee on the admissibility of the draft resolution. If he heard no objections, he would take it that the Committee wished to accept the draft resolution.

62. It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.