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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 7th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. MADAR (Somalia)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 84: ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND OTHER FORMS OF ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO THE RACIST AND COLONIALIST REGIME OF SOUTH AFRICA (continued) (A/39/534; A/C.3/39/2; E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8 and Add.1 and 2)

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- (a) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (A/39/18)
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1. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria) said that racism and racial discrimination, colonial domination and plunder should be banned in order to promote the enjoyment of the whole range of human rights. The elimination of those ills was of primary importance to the United Nations and the international community since they constituted a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind. It was thus necessary to eradicate them through effective and concerted international efforts. The fact that racism and racial discrimination persisted, despite the efforts of the international community, and had been elevated to the rank of official policy in some countries, was therefore alarming. Those who would profit from that practice were the ones who encouraged it. The most shameful example was South Africa. The world was well aware that, thanks to political and repressive machinery, four and a half million white settlers held 19 million Africans in bondage and committed flagrant violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. The recent manoeuvres to change the face of the apartheid system could fool no one. Reports kept coming in from South Africa concerning the brutal suppression of the fighters against racism and the decision of the Pretoria régime to use the army against the protesters in Soweto. It was also known that that régime was not only strengthening its economic

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

and political domination inside the country, but was stepping up its subversive activities aimed at the destabilization of neighbouring countries and the domination of all of southern Africa, especially Namibia.

2. The international community had declared that all those who gave assistance to the system of apartheid were accomplices in the perpetuation of that crime. In the revised report of the Special Rapporteur on the adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the racist and colonialist régimes of southern Africa (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8) much information was provided on the expanding co-operation of some Western States with the racist régime of South Africa. The international community was also aware of who was responsible for violating the arms embargo established by Security Council resolution 418 (1977), and for preventing the Security Council from adopting comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

3. Some Western countries were also protecting economic and financial interests in southern Africa, especially those of the powerful transnational corporations. It was therefore no accident that the Group of Three, of which the People's Republic of Bulgaria had been a member for five consecutive terms, in compliance with the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, had devoted particular attention to transnational corporations and had voiced the opinion that article III of the International Convention could also be applicable to the activities of those corporations. He welcomed that opinion and supported the request contained in resolution 1984/7 of the Commission on Human Rights.

4. Other manifestations of racism which had to be abolished were equally inhuman: the activities of Israel in the occupied Arab territories, and the discrimination against migrant workers and their families or indigenous populations in a number of countries. In the present tense international situation the revival of various Fascist, Nazi and neo-Nazi organizations posed a grave threat. On the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism and the founding of the United Nations, it was essential to redouble efforts made in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, for the total elimination of all racist theories and the prevention of their resurgence.

5. The People's Republic of Bulgaria supported the universalization of international instruments in that field, and the strict observance of their provisions, and emphasized the primary role which the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had to play in the implementation of the Convention by the States parties to it. There was no doubt that over the past year the Committee had carried out productive work in considering in depth the reports submitted by Governments in pursuance of the provisions of the Convention. That should be the basic direction of the Committee's work; its attention should not be diverted to other matters. He did not consider it necessary to change the Convention and the Committee could continue to be flexible in its co-operation with Governments.

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

6. A goal of particular importance on the eve of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, was the approval of a plan of activities for the first half of the Decade, the basis for which should be the problems set forth in the documents of the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, namely, the elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination in all their manifestations, including racism in the socio-economic sphere.

7. Mr. RAHIM (Bangladesh) said that it was only natural that his country, which had long suffered under colonial subjugation and had paid a heavy price for its freedom and independence, should stand firmly by the side of the oppressed people of the world. Article 25 of his country's constitution, adopted soon after independence, formed the basis of its foreign policy, and affirmed, inter alia, that the State would "support oppressed peoples throughout the world". Bangladesh had always affirmed the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination, and attached great importance to the consideration of the present cluster of agenda items.

8. Considerable progress had been made since 1960, when the General Assembly had adopted the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, but pockets of colonialism and alien domination persisted. The right to political freedom was a fundamental requirement for the attainment of human rights and could not be denied on any pretext. The international community was therefore in duty bound to support and expedite the process of the achievement of independence by the oppressed and struggling people all over the world, not by passing resolutions, but by taking constructive action.

9. A brutal and extreme example of the violation of human dignity and the denial of rights to self-determination existed in southern Africa. The people of Namibia had for years been struggling against colonial exploitation and racial discrimination. Eighteen years after the termination of the mandate by the United Nations, South Africa continued to maintain with impunity its machinery of terror, repression and intimidation and its illegal presence in Namibia, whose people were compelled to wage a heroic struggle under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative. Bangladesh had always supported their just struggle and, as a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, had actively contributed to the promotion of their cause. The Government of Bangladesh, convinced that the independence of Namibia must be achieved on the basis of the resolutions of the United Nations, and particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978), rejected all attempts to link the independence of Namibia to extraneous issues.

10. Israel, also, disregarded the principles of international law and flouted the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations. Bangladesh had always unequivocally supported its Palestinian brothers in their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable rights to self-determination under the leadership of the PLO, their sole and legitimate representative.

(Mr. Rahim, Bangladesh)

11. Racism and racial discrimination constituted another obstacle to the attainment of human rights and it was regrettable that, notwithstanding the efforts of the majority of countries during the Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which had ended in 1983, that crime against human dignity continued to be committed in various parts of the world. His delegation hoped that it would be possible to adopt a plan which would effectively contribute to the objectives of the Second Decade.

12. In South Africa, the creation of the so-called "bantustans" and the recent façade of constitutional reforms had been condemned by the whole world. No solution which did not ensure transfer of power to the people of South Africa as a whole would be acceptable. Bangladesh was therefore in favour of a concerted campaign directed towards a complete isolation of the apartheid régime in the diplomatic, political, economic, trade, social and cultural fields, and supported the application of mandatory sanctions, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to put an end to all relations of that régime with the rest of the world. Notwithstanding the resolutions adopted both by the Economic and Social Council and by the General Assembly, a large number of companies from various countries continued to engage in activities which were of assistance to the apartheid régime. The Special Rapporteur had provided relevant data in his updated report (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8). His delegation appealed to all those countries within whose jurisdiction the establishments listed in that report functioned to ensure that all assistance to the racist and colonialist régime in South Africa ceased immediately.

13. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bangladesh had said that the policy of apartheid was not only contrary to the values of contemporary civilization but also went against the tenets of all religions. Therefore, those who sustained and tolerated, directly or indirectly, the continuance of the policy of apartheid in South Africa were casting an indelible blemish on the history of their own civilizations and transgressing the laws of their own scriptures.

14. Mrs. ASHTON (Bolivia) referred to the historical development of Bolivia since its independence in 1825. The social and economic stratification that had prevailed during the colonial period had been replaced in 1826 by means of the First Constitution of Bolivia, which established the equality of all citizens without distinction as to religion or race. Later, with the constitutional reforms of 1938 and 1967, socio-economic equality, including free access to education and health services, had been strengthened, political equality had been established through the universal franchise and the process of agrarian reform had been consolidated. The Constitution of Bolivia was incorporated in the legislation of the country and any victim of racial discrimination could invoke the Constitution by having recourse to the courts. All political and social forces in Bolivia had, in fact, rejected all vestiges of ethnic differentiation, and there was therefore no racial discrimination. On the contrary, all sectors of the population were involved in building a national culture which benefited from the contributions of the different ethnic groups.

(Mrs. Ashton, Bolivia)

15. In 1982, Bolivia had once again become a democratic and pluralist State, in which fundamental rights and freedoms were respected. The Government of Bolivia encouraged the participation of workers, including rural workers, in the management and planning of projects. Unions were fully independent and aliens legally residing in the country enjoyed complete freedom, subject to the laws in force.
16. Bolivia considered the right of peoples to self-determination to be extremely important, and therefore supported the right of Namibia to achieve independence and form a sovereign State, with jurisdiction over its entire territory, including Walvis Bay. In keeping with its anti-imperialist and non-aligned foreign policy, Bolivia categorically condemned all forms of colonial and neo-colonial domination and racial discrimination, including apartheid. She repeated that no constitutional change in South Africa would be legitimate unless it provided for participation by the majority of its population.
17. Furthermore, Bolivia supported the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, territorial integrity and the establishment of a sovereign State.
18. Bolivia had signed and ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and acceded to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and the Slavery Convention. Bolivia had also ratified various ILO conventions for the protection of minorities and workers.
19. Lastly she emphasized the importance of the Programme of Action for the Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and the studies carried out within the framework of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.
20. Mrs. KUROKOCHI (Japan) said that although equality without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion was a fundamental principle of the United Nations, prejudice and racial discrimination continued to exist. Racism was a denial of the Charter of the United Nations and must never be condoned.
21. Japan's opposition to racism was based not on any abstract concepts but on its own bitter experiences. Japan found the policy of apartheid abhorrent and expressed its solidarity with the oppressed peoples of southern Africa by participating in the humanitarian and educational efforts made by the United Nations to support the victims of the apartheid régime and the illegal occupation of Namibia.
22. In order to encourage South Africa to abandon the practice of apartheid, the Government of Japan maintained no diplomatic relations with that country and had refused to accord any recognition to the so-called independent bantustans. Moreover, it had confined its economic relations with South Africa to normal trade - which excluded the establishment of corporations in South Africa by Japanese nationals or corporate bodies under the jurisdiction of Japan - and had called upon Japanese banks to refrain from extending any loans to South Africa. In

(Mrs. Kurokochi, Japan)

scrupulous compliance with Security Council resolution 418 (1977) regarding the arms embargo against South Africa, Japan exported no weapons to that country and maintained absolutely no military co-operation with South Africa. Consequently, Japan had not exported nuclear reactors or any related technology to South Africa. Lastly, the Japanese Government had restricted cultural, educational and sporting exchanges with South Africa and would continue to pursue all the policies to which he had referred.

23. With regard to the updated report by the Special Rapporteur 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 régime in southern Africa (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8 and Add.1 and 2), his delegation had doubts as to the method employed and the effectiveness of the approach adopted. Furthermore, with regard to the list of Japanese companies included in document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8/Add.1, his country did not share the view that engaging in normal trade relations was equivalent to a form of assistance. There was no evidence that any Japanese enterprise had provided assistance to South Africa and, accordingly, his Government rejected such allegations.

24. The so-called constitutional reform instituted recently in South Africa, from which the black majority of the country had been excluded, could not be regarded as a response to the call for the abolition of apartheid. Japan therefore strongly urged South Africa to carry out reforms which would recognize the fundamental human rights of the entire population. The international community, for its part, should continue to apply pressure so that racial barriers in South Africa would gradually be eliminated.

25. The struggle against racism and racial discrimination must be a collective effort. The Government of Japan would spare no efforts to ensure the success of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. However, it noted with regret that the Economic and Social Council had been unable to reach a consensus on the plan of activities for the period 1985-1989, mentioned in its resolution 1984/43, despite efforts by delegations to produce a text acceptable to all. His delegation hoped that a consensus would be restored at the current session, for only in that way could the plan of activities be implemented effectively.

26. Turning to the report of the Secretary-General contained in document A/39/167 and Add.1 and 2, his delegation welcomed most of the proposed activities as well as the recognition of the constraints imposed in the area by present economic circumstances. It also supported the suggestions regarding information activities against racism and racial discrimination, since in order to get to the root of the problem, the importance of long-range education programmes and public information campaigns aimed at achieving understanding of and respect for human rights must be stressed. The Department of Public Information of the United Nations could play a major role in that regard. In addition, UNESCO should be requested to expedite the preparation of teaching materials with particular emphasis on activities at the primary- and secondary-school levels, in order to

(Mrs. Kurokochi, Japan)

instil an early awareness of the evils of racial prejudice. His delegation also noted with interest the suggestions regarding the organization of regional and international seminars and recommended that efforts should be made to avoid repeating past discussions or duplicating those currently being conducted elsewhere and that they should focus on promoting tolerance and harmony among different ethnic groups.

27. His delegation had reservations on purely legal grounds with regard to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. Furthermore, as it had indicated on earlier occasions, it had difficulties with some of the points listed in paragraphs 9 and 10 of document A/39/167/Add.2.

28. Turning to item 87, his delegation believed that colonial peoples must be able fully to exercise their right to self-determination and must accede to independence before human rights could be effectively guaranteed. His country accordingly supported a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem based on the withdrawal of all foreign military forces and the exercise by the Kampuchean people of their right to self-determination. In that connection, at a recent ministerial meeting of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, the Foreign Minister of Japan, Mr. Shintaro Abe, had made a three-point proposal that emphasized financial support for Kampuchea.

29. It was regrettable that so little progress had been made with regard to the problem of Afghanistan. His country had called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the restoration of self-determination for the Afghan people, and a safe and honourable return to their homeland for all refugees.

30. With regard to the situation in the Middle East, a solution could be achieved only through recognition of and respect for the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence. At the same time, the right to exist of all States in the region must be respected.

31. Lastly, his delegation noted with regret that the Namibian people continued to be denied their right to self-determination and hoped in that regard that the United Nations would exercise its leadership with a view to ensuring the prompt implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

32. Mrs. COLL (Ireland) said that the United Nations, by virtue of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, had played an important role in the evolution towards independence of over 50 countries. However, the end of foreign domination was only the first step towards self-determination, by virtue of which peoples determined their political status and pursued their own economic, social and cultural development. It was in that sense that the exercise of the right to self-determination effectively bolstered the observance of fundamental human rights.

(Mrs. Coll, Ireland)

33. The people of Afghanistan were currently being deprived of their right to self-determination by the armed intervention of a foreign Power, in violation of the United Nations Charter, with the result that thousands of refugees had fled to neighbouring countries.

34. The people of Kampuchea were also being deprived of their right to self-determination by the presence of foreign forces, which had resulted in violations of other human rights and had compelled a large number of refugees to seek shelter in a neighbouring country. The relevant United Nations resolutions contained the basis of lasting solutions to both problems.

35. In the case of Namibia there also existed a framework for a peaceful transition to independence: the United Nations plan for Namibia referred to in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The provisions of that resolution must be implemented without further delay. It was regrettable that the agreements signed recently by South Africa with Mozambique and Angola had not hastened the end of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. Those agreements could have only a limited impact if they were not accompanied by independence for Namibia and by significant progress towards the abolition of apartheid in South Africa. The maintenance of that abhorrent system was the fundamental cause of conflict in southern Africa and mere modifications in its operation could not make it acceptable. Until such time as the majority population in South Africa was fully involved in the determination of all aspects of its development, international pressure on South Africa must continue.

36. Lastly, the many violations of individual liberties in the occupied Arab territories proceeded from the denial of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people. The prospects for the exercise by the Palestinian people of their right to self-determination were being undermined by the Israeli policy of creating and expanding settlements and extending infrastructural links with the occupied territories, a policy which was also contrary to international law.

37. In her delegation's view, while it was not possible to accommodate the rights of the Palestinian people and of Israel fully and simultaneously, an equitable and practical equilibrium could be found if two central principles were applied: firstly, all the peoples of the Middle East had a right to justice, including the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and, secondly, all the States of the region, including Israel, had the right to exist in peace and security within recognized and guaranteed borders. It was up to the parties concerned to come to terms with each other's existence and legitimate rights. A first step could be made with a renunciation by all parties of the threat or use of force and with the abandonment by Israel of the policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories.

38. Mrs. PANKOVA (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), referring to items 86 and 87, said that the ideology and the practice of racism were a crime against the conscience of mankind and a threat to international peace and security. During the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held at Geneva

(Mrs. Pankova, Byelorussian SSR)

in 1983; it had become clear that, notwithstanding some progress, the Decade had not achieved its basic objectives and that millions of people continued to be the victims of racial discrimination. General Assembly resolution 38/14, proclaiming the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, had therefore been fully justified.

39. The hotbeds of racism were well known. In South Africa, the racist régime did not recognize the norms of international law, ignored the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and pursued a policy of terror, repression, torture and bantustanization; it attempted to deceive world public opinion through the farce of electing a tricameral parliament from which blacks, who represented 73 per cent of the population, were excluded.

40. With the exception of the United States and the United Kingdom, all Member States had supported the United Nations resolutions condemning such activities. South Africa had been able to survive thanks to the support of imperialism and had increased its military power, which represented a threat to the whole of Africa. Notwithstanding the terms of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) which had imposed a compulsory arms embargo, the United States had, between 1981 and 1983, sent South Africa military equipment to the value of \$30 million. The transnational corporations continued to exploit the people and natural resources of Namibia. Thanks to its policy of constructive co-operation, the United States recognized South Africa as a friend and ally. The Western Powers and Israel must therefore share with the Pretoria régime the responsibility for the suffering of the people of South Africa.

41. During the World Conference, the international community had placed primary emphasis on the elimination of racial discrimination and had called for the termination of Israel's policy in the Middle East; that policy was also a consequence of the support lent by the United States to Israel, support which had prevented the achievement of lasting peace and a just settlement in the region. The phenomenon of racism and racial discrimination continued to exist in certain Western countries where rights were limited on the basis of race and where minorities, the indigenous population and migrant workers were repressed. In that connection, it was to be regretted that not all countries had ratified the relevant international conventions. In 1985 the progressive nations had celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the victory over nazism and fascism. It was essential to intensify the struggle against Nazi, Fascist and neo-Fascist ideas and groups which continued to exist in some countries.

42. During the Second Decade, the United Nations would bear a large measure of responsibility for the strengthening and co-ordination of activities aimed at eliminating racism. In connection with the draft plan of activities (A/39/167), it was essential to increase the effective implementation of the measures designed to achieve the objectives of the Decade. Her country opposed racism and apartheid, favoured the total isolation of South Africa and the imposition of sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, and, lastly, supported the Programme of Action for the Second Decade.

43. Mr. RUIZ-CABAÑAS (Mexico), speaking on item 84, reiterated his Government's well-known position of not maintaining relations of any kind with South Africa. It was for that reason that no Mexican company appeared on the updated list in document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8 and Add.1-2. Mexico rejected the argument that the suspension of relations of any kind with the racist régime of South Africa was ineffective as a means of pressure. The lack of positive results derived from the lack of will on the part of some countries to apply those measures.
44. In regard to item 86, his delegation supported the new elements contained in document A/39/167 and Add.2, particularly, the section relating to "Action to combat apartheid". The problem of racial discrimination affected various groups of the world's population. In connection with the section entitled "National legislation and international standards", Mexico reiterated its support for the Secretary-General's proposal that the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council should give maximum priority to completing the elaboration of a draft International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families.
45. Mexico had reservations regarding the need to revise the operation of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. On the other hand, it considered that the compilation of national legislation for the abolition of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid was a positive idea which would facilitate the adoption of common standards.
46. In general, his delegation gave its support to the draft plan of activities for the period 1985-1989 (A/39/167 and Add.1-2). Nevertheless, progress in the struggle against racism and racial discrimination depended on Member States fulfilling their obligations to the United Nations in connection with the elimination of colonialism and foreign intervention and domination.
47. Mrs. BROSKAKOVA (Czechoslovakia) said that the United Nations had made a fundamental contribution to the recognition of the right to self-determination and to the exercise of that right by many African countries despite the fact that the colonial Powers had done everything they could to prevent such progress. Even 20 years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, there were countries such as Namibia and Palestine and some small territories which were still under the colonial yoke. Colonial and neo-colonial forces were continuing to exert influence, even in the United Nations. While they could not deny that peoples had the right to self-determination, they were delaying the negotiations which would make it possible to find a solution to the problems of Namibia and Palestine.
48. The imperialist States, in flagrant violation of the provisions of international law, were attempting to destabilize those countries whose policies were not in conformity with their ideas. Such action constituted a threat to international peace and security, as was evidenced by intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of Central America and by the invasion of Grenada. Czechoslovakia therefore considered that the Soviet proposal regarding the

(Mrs. Brosnakova, Czechoslovakia)

inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and of any act by States designed to undermine the social and political system of other sovereign States was of great importance.

49. Self-determination also had an economic aspect. The intolerable exploitation of the developing countries by the imperialist States, the practice of transferring to the developing countries the consequences of the crisis and the exercise of economic and political pressure on them showed that those States had no respect for their rights.

50. Czechoslovakia considered that the realization of the right to self-determination was one of the key issues on the Committee's agenda and would therefore continue to give political, material and moral support to the national liberation movements and to all those struggling for freedom and independence.

51. Dr. BARTEAUX (World Health Organization) said that WHO's activities in connection with the attainment of the objectives of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade mainly involved support for national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity and assistance to refugees who were victims of racial discrimination and to the front-line States.

52. Pursuant to the recommendations of the International Conference on Apartheid and Health, convened in November 1981, a joint group representing WHO and the national liberation movements had been established and had studied means of assisting those movements and refugees who were the victims of apartheid.

53. Within the framework of the Programme of Action recommended by the Conference, co-operation between WHO, SWAPO, ANC and PAC during the 1984-1985 period would relate to the following priority areas: training of medical personnel; measures for the development of a national health system; disease control; maternal and child health and family planning; provision of safe drinking water and sanitation; diagnostic technology and rehabilitation; mental health and essential medical supplies.

54. Mr. YAKOVLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the Soviet Union's approach had been constructive and moderate but that, apparently, the delegations of the Western Powers had not interpreted it in that way, given the clearly provocative elements in their statements whereby they sought to distract attention from their policy of support for apartheid and zionism.

55. His delegation had made no reference to the barbarous attack on Grenada. Nevertheless, the United Kingdom delegation had made adverse comments on the presence of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, seeking to impose its own interpretation of the concept of self-determination, which had not prevented it from attacking the infant Soviet Republic in 1920. There were many peoples in Asia and Africa who were acquainted with the features of British imperialism which had manifested itself again in the conflict over the Malvinas.

(Mr. Yakovlev, USSR)

56. There was currently a recrudescence in the United Kingdom of racist attacks on Africans and Asians, as well as an increase in the number of students belonging to racist organizations which were linked with certain members of Parliament. The United Kingdom delegation condemned apartheid in words but that country had been the greatest contributor to the formation of the South African military-industrial complex. The Soviet Union had always supported those peoples which through their own struggles had freed themselves from British colonialism.
57. Mr. NGUYEN LUONG (Viet Nam) speaking in exercise of the right of reply, rejected the accusations of the United Kingdom and Ireland. Although the United Kingdom representative had made a brilliant analysis of the close relationship between the right to self-determination and the enjoyment of human rights, there was a large gap between those principles and the facts, as the representative of the Soviet Union had pointed out.
58. In referring to the case of the people of Kampuchea, the representative of the United Kingdom had not said that in the current situation the right to self-determination consisted of allowing them to exercise their rights fully, free from the threat of genocide, in order to consolidate the independence which they had achieved at so high a price and which the imperialist Powers were seeking to undermine.
59. The United Kingdom had referred to its condemnation of the Pol Pot régime, because of its offenses against human rights, but its current policy would encourage a return of that situation. It had also spoken of the military presence of Viet Nam in Kampuchea, but had made no mention of the real threats that the Kampuchean people must confront in their struggle for survival.
60. The representative of Japan had spoken of dialogue. The position of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea was explicit in that regard: they were in favour of a dialogue in which neither side would impose its views on the other and in which all proposals would be examined. Japan could play a role in solving the disputes in South-East Asia, provided that it did not ally itself with forces hostile to Kampuchea's recovery.
61. In conclusion he urged the United Kingdom to respect the sovereignty of Argentina over the Malvinas Islands and rejected the parallel established by the United Kingdom representative between the members of SWAPO and those who had committed genocide.
62. Mr. ROSHANZAWAN (Afghanistan), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that, at the previous meeting, a number of delegations, including that of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, had spoken on behalf of Afghanistan, which they had no right to do, with a view to drawing the Committee's attention to matters outside its jurisdiction and distracting it from cases in which their countries were preventing certain peoples allied with Afghanistan from exercising their right to self-determination. He also recalled that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the United Kingdom had on three occasions denied

(Mr. Roshanzawan, Afghanistan)

the right of self-determination to the Afghan people, well known for their love of freedom and patriotism, and had never made any gesture of friendship towards them. Even when they had achieved independence, as a result of the defeat of British imperialism, it had sought to undermine Afghanistan's freedom and independence through intrigue. Because of the role now being played by the United Kingdom, many freedom-fighters were currently dying in Afghanistan. The United Kingdom was feigning friendship for Afghanistan in order to cloak the clandestine war it was waging against that country and to conceal the fact that Afghanistan, through the victory of the democratic revolution, had chosen the way of development and social justice, thus eliminating any possibility of the exercise of imperialist influence.

63. Mr. FURSLAND (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he felt honoured by the show of interest in his statement which had provoked three replies. He supposed that the replies were related to the presence of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and of Viet Nam in Kampuchea, to which his delegation had alluded. When a delegation responded to a statement with another accusation, it was because it had no adequate explanation to give. That could well be the case of the Soviet and Vietnamese delegations. There were 100,000 Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan, and more than 3 million Afghans had fled their country. Viet Nam was maintaining a large force in Kampuchea. Contrary to what the Soviet delegation had alleged, the United Kingdom was interested in constructive progress. It hoped that one element of such progress would be the withdrawal of the troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea, and that those countries would be able to exercise their right to self-determination and revert to a position of non-alignment, like other countries which had at one time belonged to the British Empire.

64. He repeated his statement, which the Soviet delegation had seized upon, that racism still lingered in the hearts of some British citizens but he rejected the Soviet delegation's charge that the United Kingdom Government was not concerned over the problem. The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, after considering the United Kingdom's report, had congratulated that country on its serious approach to the problem. The United Kingdom delegation was ready to accept that Committee's judgement.

65. He rejected the accusation that the "United Kingdom military-industrial complex" was providing assistance and military supplies to South Africa, and assured the Committee that the United Kingdom respected the relevant Security Council resolution. He denied that he had said that the debates on assistance to South Africa were not important and that his delegation did not want the existence of such aid to be made public, and stated, on the contrary, that the consequences of trade relations with South Africa should be debated in the context of the common objective, which was measures against apartheid. His delegation represented a free and open society in which free discussions were held, and it was accordingly in favour of similar debates in the Committee.

66. Mr. YAKOVLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, asked the United Kingdom representative how he explained the oppressive presence of 11,000 British soldiers in Northern Ireland, as well as the fact that of the 3,000 companies operating in South Africa 800 were British undertakings, among them the United Kingdom's biggest oil consortia. The economic and military aid lent by British imperialism was one of the foundations on which racism in South Africa rested and flourished.

67. As far as Afghanistan was concerned, the Soviet delegation had no intention of giving the United Kingdom representative any explanation, since the representative of Afghanistan had made his country's position clear. The Government of the Soviet Union reiterated its opposition to the policy of imperialism and colonialism and would continue its support for Afghanistan and other countries struggling for independence.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

68. The Chairman made a statement and reminded delegations that the time-limit for the submission of draft resolutions on the items under consideration would expire on Wednesday, 17 October at 6 p.m.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.