

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records*



THIRD COMMITTEE
8th meeting
held on
Monday, 15 October 1984
at 10.30 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 8th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. MADAR (Somalia)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.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.1-2)

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AGENDA ITEM 87: 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: REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/39/133, 140, 185, 307, 505 and Add.1; A/C.3/39/3)

AGENDA ITEM 88: ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued) (A/39/79 and Corr.1, 133, 180 and Corr.1, 484)

- (a) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued) (A/39/18)
- (b) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/39/459)
- (c) STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF APARTHEID: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/39/460)

1. Mr. KHALIFA, speaking as the Special Rapporteur appointed by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to evaluate the adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the racist and colonialist régime of South Africa, introduced the updated report submitted under item 84. He explained that the report (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8 and Add.1-2) now contained a computerized list which included all recent additions. With computerization he would be able to avoid mistakes and repetition. The report now consisted of one comprehensive, compact document instead of referring to previous lists and reports. He stressed that the lists were not final judgements: entries were based on prima-facie evidence. States concerned were invited to make comments and all replies were reproduced in the same volume as the entries themselves. In some cases entries had been stricken off, as a result of clarification provided.

2. He could not address directly every firm on the list. It was the responsibility of the Governments concerned to draw the attention of agencies and firms within their purview to the list. That was the whole idea: he was not a prosecutor. The aim of the list was to alert national and international public opinion and to motivate it for action. What concerned him, however, besides the fact that any list was bound to be incomplete, was the clarity of the list and its

(Mr. Khalifa)

power to convey a clear-cut picture of each entry. Since only the names and nationalities were cited, the report did not give an adequate description of the kind of business or the extent of involvement. Addendum 2 to the report contained annotations on a number of banks, firms, and so on. Some cases required detailed elaboration and, better still, quantification, for example, giant transnational oil companies and consortia. There was a definite need to expand that annotated list in order to have a livelier report. If the Committee wished him to go ahead with more detailed reporting of that kind, adequate resources should be made available to the Secretariat to that end.

3. The report was the offspring of a previous report published in 1979 which had had no lists attached. That report had furnished the subject-matter underlying the compilation of the lists. In his original analytical report it had been proved that assistance of any kind to the racist régime in South Africa should have an adverse effect on the situation of human rights in that country - the most flagrant clearly being the survival of the apartheid régime itself.

4. It had been clearly shown that the critical human-rights situation in South Africa and Namibia correlated with the volume and intensity of assistance accorded to the racist régime by certain Powers in all spheres, political, economic and military, keeping in mind that all kinds of assistance eventually led to, and should be considered a form of, military support. In fact, it was impossible to draw a dividing line between what was economic, political or scientific and what was military. Supplies of equipment and the transfer of technological know-how often had important military implications regardless of the original purpose. The strengthening of the economic system necessarily strengthened the military machine through release of more resources for the military build-up and the sharpening of the régime's repressive apparatus.

5. Those who claimed to be among the good, since they abided by the military embargo, should perhaps know that, for a military embargo to be effective, it should at least be accompanied by strict economic sanctions that included the cessation of all trade with South Africa, especially in nuclear technology, oil and other petroleum products and supplies of capital equipment and sophisticated technological devices, a freeze on all capital transfers whether in the form of loans, credit guarantees or direct investments, and termination of all scientific and cultural agreements with the régime. That was not his personal opinion: it was the definite expression of the world conscience as reflected in many General Assembly resolutions, including resolutions 38/14 and 38/39.

6. It had taken 17 years to impose the arms embargo, enough time for South Africa to arm and nuclearize itself to the teeth. However, urgent consideration must be given to strengthening the control capacity of the Committee established by Security Council resolution 421 (1977) in order to block loopholes. The question was how much longer it would take to enact a total embargo and put it into effect. The United Nations was fooling itself with partial embargos, military or otherwise. Besides its close relevance to and overlapping with the military embargo, an economic boycott was crucial. South Africa needed every cent to keep the system alive, happy and well-fed. Every cent meant less ability to continue

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it. Those who opposed economic sanctions on the grounds that they advocated the peaceful way of change were, however, blocking the only way to peaceful change.

7. The maintenance of the infernal machinery of apartheid was quite expensive. The enforcement of security laws, of population control measures, the black transfer schemes, the lavish international public-relations efforts and above all, the ever-growing war budget hypocritically called defence, constituted costly government expenditure which called for a strong economy. It was probably cost, more than anything else, that was spurring the Government to moderate the racial laws. The racial control administered by an army of police and civil servants cost, according to some reserved estimates, at least 1 billion rand every year.

8. On the basis of logic, facts and figures, it could be safely assumed that more assistance to the apartheid régime simply means more apartheid. In his original report he had started with that hypothesis with a view to testing its validity, and had ended up with a positive conclusion. His conclusions had been and still were being challenged, but it should not be forgotten that some States had heavy vested interests in the perpetuation and even consolidation of apartheid.

9. The core of apartheid, keeping overriding strategic imperatives in mind, was basically an economic one. It went beyond, however; it smacked of moralistic reflections, humanistic considerations, emotions and passions. The core of apartheid was not the simple unilateral imposition of white supremacy: it was basically the absolute control of natural resources and the preservation of the cheap labour of the black majority. To keep that "animal farm" working, the régime had stamped hard on every effort to build up the institutions and organizations, labour or political, which would release the potential power of the black working class and turn it into a liberating and developmental force.

10. It had thus been only natural to encourage tribal differences deliberately instead of building a nationhood. The whole idea of bantustans, a travesty of independence and democracy and a masquerade of the right to self-determination, was to create dumping lots for non-active and no-longer-active members of the labour force, thus absolving the Government of its social and civic responsibilities. Bantustans had therefore become the favourite exercise and pastime of a South Africa that intended, when the opportunity arose, to transform apartheid into simple, old-fashioned slavery.

11. Those who disliked the very theme of his report and its basic concept that assistance had adverse consequences were entitled to their feelings. He had always considered that those who rejected the list were in fact rejecting the very idea of listing. Yet their good try to escape world condemnation had met with little, if any, success. Their deeds had not matched their prayers and their appetite had not matched their piety. The Member States should not be deluded by the usual arguments of free trade, "constructive engagement", induced change, codes of business ethics or the Sullivan principles.

12. Free trade had often been invoked by those who condemned apartheid while keeping a soft spot for it. The question was: How could the freedom of trade

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transcend the freedom of man himself? The bitter truth was that they chose to sacrifice the human being on the altar of sheer economic expediency and profiteering. It made no sense to talk about doing business with South Africa in order to improve the lot of the oppressed black majority, and it was ridiculous to speak of "constructive engagement". Thanks to such arguments, apartheid was now more repressive and consolidated. The bantustan "canker" was spreading, and millions more South African blacks were thus losing their livelihood and South African citizenship through being forced to belong to those fictitious units.

13. Far from exerting leverage for changed policies, intensive economic relations and increased foreign funds were building South Africa's resistance to change. By supplying funds, Governments and transnational corporations were deriving huge profits while plundering the natural wealth of southern Africa, thus establishing a huge stake in the deplorable status quo in southern Africa, and South Africa was acting upon that premise. The more closely the economy was linked with those colossal foreign economic interests, the simpler it would be for the Government to command political support in the countries of origin of that capital. He had never believed or claimed that all those who had contacts with South Africa were equally involved, but the logic was the same: whether it was active nuclear partnership, direct investment, loans, trade, diplomatic relations or cultural contacts, the argument held.

14. The report had come under severe attack on the grounds that it made mention only of some 30 countries, and was therefore unbalanced or even biased. It had been claimed that some countries maintained clandestine relations with South Africa. The simple answer was that, once evidence was made available, they would appear on the list.

15. He had occasionally been accused of picking on Israel "for obvious reasons". That was irresponsible: he could hardly be expected to ignore a hard fact, namely, the South Africa/Israel connection. They both received nuclear know-how and technology as the ultimate deterrence, and in fact many had come to the conclusion after many years that South Africa was nothing but the "Israel of Africa" and that Israel was the "South Africa of the Middle East". He regarded the Jewish people, like all other peoples of the world, with respect and he owed them fairness; but he would not give up his objective views for fear of such clichés.

16. The report had angered many people in high places and powerful interest-groups, and an attempt had been made three years earlier to stop the updating of the report. That desperate move had been made in document A/36/658 in the guise of a money-saving device under which the updating of the report would have been discontinued on the grounds that the report was ineffective, marginally useful or obsolete.

17. The desperate covert operation had proved to be a lost hope. On the other hand, the fierce verbal attacks on the report persisted: they were uttered by none other than those who had a vested interest in the status quo in South Africa, those who saw that apartheid fitted neatly into the strategy of maintaining neo-colonialist bastions to take care of the legacy of colonialism and perpetuate

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colonial perfidy, arrogance and gluttony, and that it fitted their coffers, depriving the subject peoples of their right to their natural and human resources.

18. Apartheid, through denying to the majority the right to self-determination, and monopolizing the fabulous riches of South Africa and Namibia, was no doubt the best that could ever happen to big business and to politics that favoured its expansion and overwhelming power. Investment and development were not necessarily a blessing. Namibia was a glaring example: the illegal occupation of Namibia had resulted in the depletion and waste of its natural resources. Colonial agricultural policies were well known. The mining industry was in a race against time to starve the mineral wealth for a hundred years to come. The rich fishing grounds of Namibia were being destroyed by overfishing, which would eliminate thousands of Namibian jobs. For the majority of people in South Africa and Namibia there was nothing but injustice and exploitation. Yet the world was lecturing them never to resort to violence, since the transnational corporations, with their codes of conduct and kindness, would eventually liberate them.

19. As to the long-awaited independence of Namibia, the delaying tactics were in full swing. The offence against Namibia and the defiance of the United Nations were under way with the blessing of some great Powers. They saw no reason to hurry; South Africa and its collaborators were happy.

20. If some really hated apartheid as they claimed, there was nothing to prevent them from acceding to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. The Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination was doomed to failure without the full implementation of that Convention. Only accession could improve the image of those who claimed that they did not support apartheid but who had turned a deaf ear to the fate of millions. That Convention had defined a new international crime. Urgent consideration must accordingly be given to the international responsibility, including the criminal responsibility, of transnational corporations and other interests which collaborated with South Africa as well as of the officers of such corporations and their countries of nationality.

21. It was interesting to notice that South Africa, threatened with final erosion or collapse, had to wage a "war of peace" in the form of so-called "constitutional reforms". What democracy were the authorities talking about when all they had was a tyrant minority and a subdued majority? As a result of South Africa's threatening its poor neighbouring States, terrorizing, spreading hunger, destroying their economy, harvests, stability and ability to build, those States ended up with paper "security agreements" that serve no cause but to ease the nightmare of South Africa that one day it would collapse.

22. Those States could hardly be blamed for entering into such agreements. Nor could one justify the conduct of world Powers which forged links with South Africa. Such agreements could be considered tactical or psychological, intended to break the diplomatic barrier separating South Africa from the rest of Africa or weakening the will to resist and fight. The main issue remains, that human nature is vilified in South Africa. Nature would take its course to rectify the

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situation. If reason prevailed, that could be done in peace; if not, violence could take care of violence.

23. He thanked all Governments and non-governmental organizations that had helped in identifying cases included in the list. The situation was, however, rather disappointing: unless all sources of information were mobilized in order to strengthen the list, a feeling of frustration would remain. He therefore appealed to all those who had pertinent information to provide it. Publicity was the reason behind the preparation of the list, in order to unmask and to deter.

24. When and if the Committee decided, as with his previous report, to give the list the widest possible circulation, he hoped that it would specify measures to ensure full dissemination. Other United Nations bodies should be included in the target audience, as should learned societies, research centres, universities, political and humanitarian organizations and the mass media: a world debate on apartheid should be launched at all levels.

25. It would be very advisable for all those United Nations agencies involved in anti-apartheid action to join forces. ILO, for example, was highly interested: he would contact ILO to investigate the possibility of co-ordination.

26. He expressed his gratitude to the Special Committee against Apartheid, the Centre against Apartheid, the Commission on Transnational Corporations and the Centre on Transnational Corporations, as well as the Economic Commission for Africa, for the material they had provided. It was imperative that the Special Rapporteur should establish a direct relationship with the Centre on Transnational Corporations and the Centre against Apartheid with a view to co-ordinating efforts and drawing on their first-hand knowledge.

27. In conclusion, he wished to make one point clear. It had been maintained by collaborators with South Africa that their collaboration was justified since international relationships should not be interrupted through disagreement on ideologies or internal human-rights issues. He believed, however, that the case of South Africa was unique. Being allied or identified with the immoral South African régime was a source of embarrassment and always entailed justification. The reason was that South Africa was the only country where racism was both official and brutal. Human rights in South Africa was not the issue; it was a lot more serious. Millions of citizens were considered not just less equal, but less human. That was nothing less than a revival of barbarism.

28. The question therefore was put to the entire human race to ponder and answer: Was there any other way of bringing South Africa to terms with civilized conduct than to sever all relations, to write it off as an international outcast, until it came to its senses?

29. Miss EMARA (Egypt) expressed appreciation for the updated report prepared by the Special Rapporteur (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8 and Add.1-2). The Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and the Commission on Human Rights had welcomed the updated report and had recommended that the Special

(Miss Emara, Egypt)

Rapporteur should continue to update the list contained in document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8/Add.1. Egypt supported that recommendation and called upon the General Assembly to adopt a resolution to that effect. Egypt joined the Sub-Commission in calling upon all Governments to disseminate and publicize the updated report as widely as possible.

30. She expressed her delegation's gratitude to Mr. Kurt Herndl, Assistant Secretary-General for Human Rights, and his colleagues for the efforts which they had made in preparing the documentation relating to items 87 and 88. Her delegation also commended Mr. Jonah on the occasion of his selection as special representative of the Secretary-General to co-ordinate all activities relating to the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and wished him every success in his task.

31. Egypt had been among the countries which had expressed in the Economic and Social Council in May 1981 its reservation concerning the draft plan of activities for 1985-1989 (A/39/167 and Add.1) and had requested that the amended draft should be submitted to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. The Secretary-General had responded to that request, and her delegation reserved the right to comment on the new text (A/39/167/Add.2) at a later stage.

32. Her delegation supported the maintenance of the principle of consensus in the adoption of decisions on the draft plan of activities. However, there must be no departure from the spirit or the letter of the proclamation of the Second Decade and its Programme of Action.

33. The Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held at Geneva in 1983, had recognized that, in spite of the efforts made by the international community during the first Decade at the national, regional and international levels, racism, racial discrimination and apartheid had not been eliminated. It was highly regrettable that there were peoples which had not yet attained the right to self-determination and independence, régimes which practised the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid and independent States which suffered the effects of armed aggression against their territories and foreign intervention in their internal affairs. In certain parts of the African continent, racist practices were followed that had been condemned by all mankind, and the racist Pretoria regime persisted in imposing such practices on the peoples of Namibia and South Africa. In particular, the racist régime had tried to impose the so-called "new constitution", which was aimed only at increasing the hold of apartheid on South Africa. All States had unanimously condemned that move, and the United Nations had declared that "constitution" null and void.

34. On the basis of its historic responsibility and its firm commitment to support of recognized liberation movements, Egypt hailed the struggle of the heroic peoples of Namibia and South Africa against the racist Pretoria régime and stressed its ongoing commitment to provide everything in its power for the material and moral support of those peoples until Namibia attained its independence and an end was put to the policy of apartheid, so that the legitimate rights of the people of South Africa were restored.

(Miss Emara, Egypt)

35. The people of Palestine was still deprived of its right to self-determination and suffered from the Israeli practices which the international community had condemned in every forum. The Israeli authorities were continuing to violate human rights in the occupied Arab territories. One of the most dangerous forms taken by the violations was the policy of settlement in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. Egypt had always striven for the attainment of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian peoples and called upon the international community to support that people in the attainment of its legitimate rights, first and foremost its right to self-determination.

36. The people of Lebanon was suffering from the effects of Israeli aggression against its territory. Her delegation looked forward to the day of comprehensive Israeli withdrawal from all of Lebanese territory and hoped that Lebanon would achieve stability, harmony and prosperity in a climate of freedom free from foreign intervention. Egypt also supported the restoration to the peoples of Kampuchea and Afghanistan of their legitimate rights and looked forward to the success of the international community in eliminating all forms of racial discrimination, including discrimination in the treatment of migrant workers and minorities.

37. Mr. HOPPE (Denmark), speaking on behalf of the five Nordic countries, said that although the international community had adopted several important documents aimed at eliminating racial discrimination, the latter remained a sad and deplorable reality in many parts of the world. The primary responsibility for implementing the basic international instruments on the elimination of racial discrimination rested with the Governments themselves within their respective national jurisdictions. Strong international action was, however, also required, and in that regard the Nordic countries welcomed the adoption of General Assembly resolution 38/18 as well as the holding of the thirtieth session of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in Geneva in August 1984. The Nordic countries trusted that a basis had been laid for progress in the endeavours to improve the functioning of the reporting systems.

38. The Nordic countries attached great importance to openness in the debate in various forums, including the Third Committee. They felt that in their own countries they had come a long way in eliminating racial and ethnic discrimination, but that further steps remained to be taken. Since it was vital to face those evils in order to make progress towards their elimination, the Nordic countries encouraged all members of the Committee to be equally forthright.

39. The most urgent issue before the United Nations with regard to racism was the massive and widespread violation of human rights in southern Africa, particularly the abhorrent policy of apartheid. In the view of the Nordic countries, the recent so-called "constitutional reforms" did not represent progress but rather must be seen as an attempt to consolidate the basic features of apartheid, a system which could not be reformed but must be abolished. The United Nations must bring to bear increased and more effective pressure on South Africa. The Nordic countries continued to favor mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa and were examining ways and means to make the arms embargo more effective. The Nordic countries were pursuing their own joint programme of action against South Africa,

(Mr. Hoppe, Denmark)

by prohibiting or discouraging new investments in South Africa by Nordic enterprises, discontinuing contacts in sports and culture with the apartheid régime and increasing humanitarian support to refugees and other victims of apartheid.

40. The Nordic countries were therefore pleased that the first Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had been launched on the basis of a consensus resolution. However, it regretted that the united approach had not been maintained throughout the Decade. Fortunately, the Second World Conference and the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly had offered new opportunities to close ranks, and the adoption without a vote of General Assembly resolution 38/14 proclaiming the Second Decade and approving the Programme of Action adopted at the Conference had been an important achievement in that respect.

41. In elaborating plans for the Second Decade, it was necessary to keep in mind the causes of racism. They included unemployment, ignorance and fear, which could lead people to think in terms of black and white and to judge on the basis of appearance rather than substance. Various studies had demonstrated that racism persisted in many societies in covert and subtle forms and that it was, indeed, a global problem. The focus of activities to eliminate racism should be on action that could feasibly be implemented within the Second Decade and which would have the support of the entire international community.

42. In that respect, the draft plan of activities for the period 1985-1989 suggested by the Secretary-General (A/39/167) was very valuable. It had been the hope of the Nordic countries that the Economic and Social Council could have proceeded to put forward substantive proposals on various activities on the basis of the Secretary-General's suggestions and the comments made during the debate. Regrettably, that had not proved possible. The Nordic countries commended the Secretary-General for his efforts, in submitting his additional suggestions (A/39/167/Add.2), to remain within the bounds of possible consensus, and they found the suggestions as revised largely acceptable. They hoped that all other delegations would consider those suggestions in an equally constructive spirit, leading to the adoption without a vote of a resolution on the subject.

43. Mr. BORCHARD (Federal Republic of Germany) said that his delegation fully supported the views of the Ten Member States of the European Economic Community, as stated by the representative of Ireland on 8 October, concerning the implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. It intended to make some additional comments on item 88 after a more careful study of the report.

44. With regard to item 87, he said that the right of peoples to self-determination and the observance of the individual's basic rights were inextricably linked, as reflected in Article 55 of the Charter, in the two International Covenants on Human Rights and in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Self-determination was viewed in those instruments as an evolutionary, continual and universal process applying to all peoples and individuals without distinction as to race, sex, language or

(Mr. Borchard, Federal
Republic of Germany)

religion. Accordingly, all nations must be given the opportunity to express their political will in free elections and to modify their constitution according to that will.

45. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was a trend-setting document which had contributed to the realization of the right to self-determination in former colonies and to laying the foundations for an international community embracing all nations. The fact that there were 159 Member States testified to the importance of the principle of self-determination in world affairs, a principle which had become a cornerstone of an order of co-operation among States on equal terms.

46. Despite numerous positive instances of the right to self-determination, it was still a fragile right, particularly in such areas as southern Africa, the Middle East, Afghanistan and Kampuchea. Namibia must at last acquire its independence through free elections on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people and the right to existence and to security of all the States in the region, including Israel, must be realized. Moreover, the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea continued to place a particularly heavy strain on international relations.

47. In view of the foregoing, the United Nations should continue to ensure that the universal validity of the right to self-determination was respected by all States. A newly-independent State must be able to determine its own political, economic and cultural development. The Federal Republic of Germany attached great importance to partnership on equal terms, especially with the young States of the world. Sound economic development on the basis of dialogue between industrialized and developing countries was an essential factor in ensuring the preservation of the latter's right to self-determination.

48. Just as the Federal Republic of Germany supported the peaceful attainment of the right of peoples to self-determination in all regions of the world, it demanded that right also for the German people, divided against its own will. The declared political aim of his country continued to be to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation would regain its unity through free self-determination.

49. Mr. BEN HAMIDA (Tunisia) said that, despite the victories won in promoting human dignity and freedom, tireless efforts were still necessary to carry on mankind's struggle to eradicate the causes and effects of racial discrimination. Indeed, there was not a shadow of doubt that understanding among peoples and States could not be established on the basis of reactionary theories of racial, religious or cultural superiority. Although that objective, elementary truth had often been reiterated in the various United Nations forums and in international human-rights instruments, there were many obstacles to its implementation, including colonial domination, expansionism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

(Mr. Ben Hamida, Tunisia)

50. It was thoroughly shameful that, at a time of increased efforts to achieve the objectives of the Second Decade, millions of persons continued to suffer from the blind repression and discriminatory practices of the colonial régimes of South Africa and Israel. The policy of bantustanization and the pretence of constitutional reforms and elections had been condemned by the international community. Recent bloody events in the region and the pitiless repression which followed showed once again that the only road to peace was the recognition of the inalienable rights of the peoples of southern Africa.

51. True to its policy of total support of legitimate causes, Tunisia had always favoured United Nations or other initiatives to join ranks in combating colonialism and racism. The holding of the Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa in August was one more proof of Arab-African solidarity in the struggle for national liberation. Tunisia welcomed the results of the Conference and reiterated its support for the Declaration and resolutions adopted by it, which called upon Governments to refrain from any relations with the régimes in Pretoria and Tel-Aviv.

52. His country was alarmed by the length of the list contained in the Special Rapporteur's report (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8 and Add.1-2), and was prepared to support any measure to stop such co-operation.

53. Unfortunately, the same tragedy was the lot of the Palestinian people, the great majority of whom still lived in refugee tents, concentration camps or Israeli prisons. The allies and friends of Israel must realize that they were largely responsible for the Palestinian problem because of their continued, multi-faceted and sometimes unconditional support of Israel. They must therefore exert pressure on Israel to enter into long-awaited peace negotiations with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Such efforts must be accompanied by much stronger initiatives to ensure respect for human rights in the region.

54. With regard to the revised draft plan of activities for 1985-1989 (A/39/167/Add.2), his delegation noted with satisfaction that it took into account some of the priorities set forth in the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and Tunisia hoped that the other delegations would join it in supporting the plan. Tunisia's realistic and conciliatory attitude resulted from its determination to achieve the objectives of the Decade, despite its deep regret over the remarkable absence in that report of any mention of plans to inquire into policies and practices in the occupied Arab territories, including Palestine.

55. His delegation welcomed the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and was satisfied with its decisions. Tunisia stressed the importance of the spirit of co-operation and flexibility which had always presided over the work of CERD and supported the flexible approach which it had decided to take in combining the reports of any State party to the Convention which was unable, for administrative or technical reasons, strictly to respect the deadlines. In that regard, his delegation was happy to announce that Tunisia's eighth periodic report would shortly be submitted to CERD.

(Mr. Ben Hamida, Tunisia)

56. Lastly, he made an appeal for the adoption of the draft International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families with a view to strengthening ties among peoples and ensuring respect for the rights of vulnerable minority groups.
57. Mr. VOICU (Romania), referring to item 87, emphasized that the right to self-determination was a collective and permanent right, the exercise of which must continue after accession to political independence. In addition, respect for human rights was an ongoing process that was closely related to the overall political and economic development of each society. Having itself experienced foreign domination, Romania expressed its deep solidarity with the struggle of peoples for freedom and national independence and against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid.
58. Romania reiterated its support for the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) to accede to independence without delay through the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Romania strongly opposed apartheid and called for the full equality of all citizens of South Africa and their full participation in political life. Romania believed that the realization of basic human rights required the elimination of all types of domination of one people by another, the policy of force and the threat of force and the policy of establishing spheres of influence; it also required the creation of a world of peace.
59. At the economic level, an essential condition for self-determination was the exercise of sovereignty over natural resources for the purposes of national development. Thus, a fundamental cause of underdevelopment would be eliminated.
60. The main obstacle to the enjoyment of human rights, particularly in developing countries, was the economic inequality among States and among peoples. Accordingly, Romania participated actively in collective efforts to establish a new international economic order and eliminate underdevelopment. It was only through a new system of economic and political relations, based on the fundamental principles of international law, that true self-determination could be achieved. That, in turn, would assist in the exercise of other human rights.
61. His delegation was confident that the draft resolution prepared by the African Group would adequately reflect the current concerns with respect to item 87.
62. Mr. XIE Qimei (China) noted that violation of the principle of self-determination of peoples was common practice. What was particularly serious was the fact that some countries, motivated by their hegemonist ambition for expansion, had carried out armed invasion and military occupation of small and weak neighbouring countries.
63. In defiance of international opinion, the South African authorities, while pursuing apartheid at home, had grossly violated the rights of the Namibian people to national independence and self-determination and had repeatedly obstructed implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. Over

(Mr. Xie Qimei, China)

the past year, aided by a super-Power, South Africa had intensified its colonial rule over Namibia. China was convinced that, under the leadership of SWAPO and with the support of the African front-line States and all other justice-loving countries and peoples, the Namibian people would attain their goal of national independence through united struggle.

64. Israel, in its continuing occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories, had resorted to inhuman means to suppress the resistance of the inhabitants and had damaged the economy and plundered the natural resources of those territories. Shielded by a super-Power, it had wantonly trampled on the right of the Palestinians and other Arab peoples to self-determination and independence.

65. History showed that no force on earth could thwart the just struggle of the Palestinian people. Over the past year, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, they had fought heroically for self-determination. China was convinced that they would regain their inalienable rights, including the right to return to their homeland, to exercise self-determination and to establish their own State.

66. The armed invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union and the armed invasion of Kampuchea by Viet Nam with Soviet support were two serious cases in which force of arms had been used to conquer small and weak nations in gross violation of the right of peoples to self-determination. The Soviet Union and Viet Nam still had hundreds of thousands of occupation troops in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, who were engaged in repressing and massacring the people; millions of them had fled their homeland. Clearly, those wars of aggression had seriously violated the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan and Kampuchea and had deprived the peoples of those countries of their basic human rights.

67. The Soviet Union was currently resorting to "blanket bombardment" in Afghanistan, while the Vietnamese were quickening the "Vietnamization" of Kampuchea. The Afghan and Kampuchean peoples had waged heroic struggles for the restoration of national independence and their right to self-determination, and had thus made indelible contributions to safeguarding the lofty principles of the United Nations Charter. His delegation hoped that the General Assembly would take action to force the aggressors to withdraw so that the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples could freely determine their own destiny and regain their right to self-determination.

68. Miss XUAN (Viet Nam), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that her delegation totally rejected the allegations made against her country and would fully exercise its right of reply at a subsequent meeting.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.