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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 13th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea)

later: Mr. AMR (Egypt)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF MRS. INDIRA GANDHI, PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA

1. The CHAIRMAN, said that Mrs. Gandhi's death was an irreparable loss not only to her own country but also to the world and humanity at large. Her firm stand against colonialism and her immense contribution to decolonization and to human freedom were well known, and she symbolized the important role being played by women in world affairs. Her death was deeply mourned by the entire international community and he wished to express to the Government and people of India his most sincere condolences and hoped that her death would act as a catalyst to bring all nations together in a common struggle to promote decolonization and establish peace.
2. On the proposal of the Chairman, the members of the Committee observed a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of the Republic of India.
3. Mr. KUROKOUCHI (Japan), on behalf of the Asian States; Mr. RYDZKOWSKI (Poland), on behalf of the Eastern European States; Mr. AKYOI (Turkey), on behalf of the Western European and Other States; Mr. PFIRTER (Argentina), on behalf of the Latin American and Caribbean States; Mr. OCHIENGHS-WELLBORN (Uganda), on behalf of the African States; and Mr. BADER (United States of America), on behalf of the host country, paid successive tributes to the memory of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.
4. Mr. SRIVASTAVA (India), speaking on behalf of his delegation and the people and Government of India, expressed his profound gratitude to the Chairman and the members of the Committee for their kind words of sympathy and for their tribute to his country's departed leader. The entire Indian nation had been plunged in grief and the Committee's support would help to sustain it.
5. Mrs. Gandhi had made the supreme sacrifice of her life in the service of her country. She had been an outstanding leader, a true champion of the weak and oppressed and an indomitable fighter for freedom and justice, whose concern not only covered every aspect of India's national life but also extended to the world and its many problems. As Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and of the most recent Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting, she had dedicated herself to world peace and progress through international understanding and co-operation. Her spirit would endure and her memory would light the way in coming years.

AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued) (A/C.4/39/8 and Add.1-2)

Hearing of Petitioners

6. The CHAIRMAN said that, in continuation of the hearing held at the 12th meeting concerning the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, two delegations had indicated their wish to put questions to one of the petitioners, Mr. Jonathan Weisgall.
7. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Weisgall took a place at the petitioner's table.

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8. Mr. PULZ (Czechoslovakia) thanked Mr. Weisgall for the useful information he had provided about Micronesia, which was most welcome because not enough information had been forthcoming from the administering Power. To supplement it he would like to know how the rights of the inhabitants of Micronesia would be protected if Micronesia were no longer a Trust Territory and how the inhabitants of Bikini would solve their particular problems.

9. Mr. WEISGALL replied that the people of Bikini would have three possible recourses to protect their rights once they were no longer part of a Trust Territory. The first was to appeal to their own Government, i.e., the Government of the Marshall Islands, where they constituted 3 per cent of the population. In a recent plebiscite in the Marshall Islands, 84 per cent of the inhabitants of Bikini had voted against the compact of free association, but were outnumbered. In negotiations regarding the clean-up of the radiological effects of the atomic tests, the people of Bikini, at United States' insistence, had participated as part of the delegation of the Marshall Islands. The United States position was not to accept responsibility for the clean-up and an agreement was reached on that basis.

10. Secondly, the people of Bikini could turn to the claims tribunal established under the compact, but that body would not have sufficient funds to pay for a clean-up even if an award were made.

11. Thirdly, recourse could be made to the United States Congress. The executive and legislative branches of the United States Government disagreed on the issue of responsibility. The executive branch, which had negotiated the compact, was unwilling to act on the clean-up, but the congressional leadership was sympathetic to the request of the people of Bikini and had shown such willingness. Because of jurisdictional problems, however, there was some doubt as to whether the people of Bikini could testify before congressional committees. He could not predict how successful any of those recourses might be, but hoped that progress would be made before the compact became effective.

12. For any disputes between the inhabitants of Bikini and the Marshall Islands Government, the only recourse was to seek a political solution through the United States Congress. However, although Congress could exert pressure on the Marshall Islands Government through its annual appropriations under the compact, the Marshall Islands Government was guaranteed United States funding for 15 years.

13. Mr. KOROLEY (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that information provided by Mr. Weisgall was very useful and that he shared Mr. Weisgall's concern and sympathy for the long-suffering people of Bikini. He wanted to know whether representatives of Bikini could come to the General Assembly and appear as petitioners before the Fourth Committee. Mr. Weisgall had said that the 1954 nuclear tests had destroyed not only Bikini but, at least in part, two other islands as well, and he therefore wanted to know whether the inhabitants of Bikini were seeking financial compensation for all three islands, and if so, what progress had been made, how the United States Administration viewed its obligation to satisfy the legitimate demands of the people of Bikini and what was the reaction of the United States Congress to those demands. Were the people of Bikini citizens

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(Mr. Korolev, Byelorussian SSR)

under United States law? Did they have recourse to United States courts and law, and if so, how did United States courts respond to their demands? He also wanted to know how United States jurists viewed the compact and wondered whether the inhabitants were properly informed regarding the implications of legal and other instruments relating to them.

14. Mr. WEISGALL replied that representatives of the Bikini people would be able to attend meetings of the Fourth Committee if required, provided they gave seven days' notice for travel purposes. Regarding the efforts of the Bikini people to seek compensation from the United States for the destruction of their islands in the nuclear-testing programme, he explained that the United States had sought to suspend any such proceedings during the negotiations over the compact. However, the motion to dismiss the lawsuit had recently been denied in the United States Claims Court. The judge had moreover found that there was a contract by the United States to care for the Bikini people, who had in exchange agreed to accept temporary exile. He had further ruled that the Fifth Amendment and Bill of Rights applied to the taking of land outside the United States belonging to the Marshall Islands.

15. The denial of the motion to dismiss was, however, only a first step. When the compact became effective, it would probably negate the ability of United States courts to accept a suit brought against the Government. The Section 177 Agreement specifically provided that the compact constituted a full settlement of all claims, past, present and future, based on the nuclear-testing programme. The provision that the agreement was to constitute a full settlement of future claims was very important, given the lingering effects of radiation. It raised the question of the ability of a parent to bind a child in respect of a future lawsuit. Another serious question about the compact was whether the Marshall Islands Government would be entitled to espouse the claims of its citizens and negotiate a settlement with the United States. As far as the reaction of the United States Congress was concerned, he noted that it had appropriated money in 1982 for a feasibility study of a clean-up and had subsequently funded its continuation. He hoped, therefore, that the door would remain open.

16. Mr. JASSKOWSKI (German Democratic Republic) asked the petitioner why, in his view, the Trusteeship Council was not taking active measures to ensure the fulfilment of the demands of the people of Bikini Atoll, and also, whether there had been any attempt to appeal to other United Nations bodies, such as the Commission on Human Rights, the Committee of 24 or the Fourth Committee.

17. Mr. WEISGALL replied that the United States, the United Kingdom and France tended to vote unanimously on all issues in the Trusteeship Council. In seven of the last eight years, the Soviet Union and China had not participated at all. The Bikini people had tried to press their demands in the Council but the result had invariably been a vote against them. The United States representative had said that the United States would welcome the discussion of the issue in an appropriate forum, but no forum seemed to be regarded as appropriate. Regarding appeals to other United Nations bodies, he said that the Bikini people had been represented as

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(Mr. Weisgall)

petitioners in the Committee of 24 on 15 August 1984. He had himself appeared in the Fourth Committee, on 30 October, on the occasion of their first approach to the Fourth Committee. He had said at the time that he did not want the question of the clean-up of the atoll to be embroiled in the East-West conflict. No approach had been made to the Commission on Human Rights. A request had been made for an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on the question of the radiological clean-up, and the human rights issue had not therefore been raised.

18. Mr. Weisgall withdrew.

19. At the invitation of the Chairman, Miss Bounds (Micronesia Coalition) took a place at the petitioner's table.

20. Miss BOUNDS (Micronesia Coalition) said that the Micronesia Coalition had sought to bring its concerns about the moral and ethical obligations of trusteeship to the attention of the United States Administration and Congress, to the national and international church community and to appropriate bodies in the United Nations. In that context, it had reaffirmed the fundamental right of the Micronesians to express their will freely, after open debate and full information, on the compact of free association. The Coalition believed, however, that from the start of negotiations over the compact, certain non-negotiable military demands, combined with the Micronesian desire for financial security, had led to a compromise that fell short both of Micronesian hopes and United States responsibilities.

21. The United States Congress was currently considering already approved compacts between the United States and both the Federated States of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands. Since the question of the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement could soon arise, the stewardship of the United States Government should be reviewed in the light of the basic principles of independence for colonial countries and peoples. The Coalition accordingly called on the Fourth Committee to consider whether the United States had fulfilled its trusteeship obligations, and whether the negotiating process and the content of the compact of free association met the standards set by the United Nations.

22. Under United States administration, the Micronesian economy had become dependent and imbalanced. The current export-to-import ratio was approximately 1 to 3, with the bulk of the exports coming from Palau alone. Micronesians depended on United States and Japanese foodstuffs, an enormous change from their recently self-sufficient economic life. In an economy estimated to be 90 per cent dependent on United States grant assistance, virtually all wage employment was generated directly or indirectly by government welfare bureaucracy. The impact of those changes could be seen not just in statistics but in the abnormally high rates of alcoholism and suicide among young Micronesians.

23. The social impact of the Kwajalein Missile Range also deserved careful consideration. Since 1947, the largest and most favourable islands of Kwajalein Atoll had been taken over by the United States weapons-testing and communications

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(Miss Bounds)

systems. The segregation imposed and the evident differences in the health, housing and educational facilities provided for United States citizens living there and for the Marshallese, as well as Defense Department Control over access to critical supplies, were matters of deep concern.

24. In view of the existing inequality, it should be asked whether the compact promoted autonomous development. Furthermore, the military components of the compact would outlast all the rest. For example, the United States had a 30-year option on Kwajalein Missile Range but the economic provisions of the compact were to last for only 15 years. The people of Kwajalein and neighbouring Ebeye had already rejected the compact in a plebiscite, and the question arose whether Micronesian self-determination was being held ransom to other interests. The Coalition was also concerned about the power of the United States to extend indefinitely denial of access to third countries for military purposes. Since military purposes could be very broadly defined, such power could jeopardize future economic and social decisions by Micronesians.

25. The moral and legal questions underlying the Section 177 Agreement with the Marshall Islands also needed scrutiny. As the Administering Authority, the United States was responsible for the known, foreseen and still-to-be-discovered results of the nuclear tests conducted in the Marshall Islands. The Section 177 Agreement, however, released the United States from any further responsibility, even though all the long-term effects of low level radiation were not yet known. The barring of future claims took on new significance in the light of the recent United States Claims Court decision establishing the right of the Bikini people to sue the United States for damages suffered.

26. The Agreement also left the Marshallese with little choice as to where to turn for help in analysing and treating their health problems. Since they lacked both educational and technical information about the issues they faced, that was a serious shortcoming. The critical situation of the radiation victims had been noted in the report of the World Council of Churches team which had visited the Marshall Islands in 1983. Those unresolved health, social and economic problems inevitably affected the ability of the Micronesians to determine freely their political status. Furthermore, United States aid policies had resulted in the division of the Trust Territory into four entities and the continuing fragmentation of the Micronesian people into opposing economic interest groups.

27. The Coalition hoped that the compact negotiation process in Palau would receive special attention. The Palauans had recently held a fifth vote upholding their constitutional law on the testing, storage or disposal of nuclear weapons or materials. The United States Government had called the conflict between that democratically-established provision and the military clauses of the Compact an "internal matter" and had not notified the United Nations of the most recent vote. However, that supposedly internal matter had prevented it from submitting the Palauan compact for consideration by the Congress. In view of the economic dependency it had created in the Territory, the United States Administration could afford to play a waiting game.

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(Miss Bounds)

28. The freely expressed wish of the Palauans to avoid problems related to militarization was made more important by the fact that the most recent version of the compact agreement appeared to allow the United States far more freedom of access to Palauan land for military purposes. The Coalition supported the Palauan concept of a nuclear-free zone as a possible beginning towards international resolution of problems of militarization. It hoped that the pressure on the Palauans to subvert their democratic constitutional processes could be minimized through international surveillance.

29. The points she had raised constituted serious questions that needed full discussion before the Trusteeship Agreement was terminated. The Coalition welcomed the concern frequently expressed over the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands in the Committee of 24's annual reports to the General Assembly. It particularly appreciated the Committee's expressed desire to co-operate with the Trusteeship Council and hoped that such co-operation would be possible. It supported the participation of the Fourth Committee also because it believed that the fullest possible debate was the best guarantee that the process of terminating the Trusteeship would be in accordance with agreed principles of decolonization.

30. Miss Bounds withdrew.

31. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. McGee (Minority Rights Group) took a place at the petitioner's table.

32. Mr. McGEE (Minority Rights Group) said that he had visited the Republic of Palau from 29 August to 5 September 1984, in order to inform himself at first hand of the situation of that emerging nation, held in suspense by disagreement between the wishes of the United States and the will of the people of Palau as expressed in their 1979 Constitution. Palau was being treated separately from the rest of the Trust Territory because the Palauans continued to insist on remaining free of nuclear substances, while the United States was determined to force them to change their Constitution. The other emerging Trust Territories had been able to have a single plebiscite to determine their status, but Palau had had a series of five national referenda, the latest of which, held on 4 September 1984, he had been able to witness.

33. The peoples of Micronesia were apprehensive and confused about their future relationship with the United States. The Minority Rights Group had frequently expressed concern about the practices and interpretations of the Administering Authority in regard to votes on the decolonization process. The latest version of the compact had been defeated because the Constitution of Palau required a 75 per cent majority vote in order to alter its ban on nuclear substances. The final unofficial count had once more been far short of the 75 per cent required for approval. There was a feeling, however, that the United States would go on trying until it achieved success in some form or other.

34. The opposition to the compact included that of traditional chiefs, churchwomen, grassroots organizations and the Palauan National Senate. The

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(Mr. McGee)

Constitution of Palau not only contained a complete ban on nuclear and hazardous substances but narrowly restricted eminent domain, reserved land ownership for Palauans by blood, and established a Palauan Territory based on an archipelagic baseline. The compact would circumvent those protections, yielding much sovereign authority to the United States. The opposition group had also criticized the Palau Government for rushing the plebiscite and crippling efforts to inform the public of the implications of the nearly 400-page compact, which had never been translated into the language of the people; and for allegedly putting pressure on Government workers and their families to vote in favour of the compact.

35. There was a wide divergence of views within the Palau Government itself on the implications of the compact. The Palau President's position that the compact would maintain the nuclear ban had been contested by an official Senate position that various articles of the compact would in effect authorize the United States to use, store, test or dispose of nuclear or other harmful substances when deemed necessary in order to carry out its responsibilities for security and defence matters.

36. Moreover, the referendum itself was being legally challenged as the first to have been called by an executive order rather than with the legislative approval of both houses of the Palauan Congress and the first to have been held without the presence of official observers from the United Nations. The referendum had, in fact, been financed by a special appropriation from the United States, largely earmarked for "public education". Such "public education" had taken the form mostly of pro-compact statements and documents, a number of which had omitted reference to key parts of the compact and the conditions for its adoption.

37. The Constitution of Palau reflected the strong feelings of the people about their land. The concept of turning over use of the land for military purposes had been seen as a degradation of status and of the people's basic integrity.

38. The United States had fallen far short of its trusteeship obligations to assist the Trust Territory towards the development of an independent economy. The Territory was completely dependent on imports. Koror had been a city of 30,000 inhabitants in 1940 with sidewalks and municipal buildings and the country had had a system of paved roads and public works from one end to the other. Currently there were only 6,000 persons in Koror. No serious medical treatment was available for the thousands of Palauans who had been under the protection and development assistance of the United States for thirty-seven years.

39. That Palau had been made dependent was evident and the official report of the United States to the Trusteeship Council for 1983 had implied quite clearly that the United States would use the pressure of withholding fiscal support and other services to force Palauans to comply with its wishes.

40. The Minority Rights Group considered that the citizens of Palau had every right to remain nuclear-free while retaining an independent status with continued support from the United States. It was the responsibility of the United Nations to guarantee that Palau would determine its own future. If the right of self-

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(Mr. McGee)

determination meant anything in 1984, it must mean that a small nation should be able to stand outside of the nuclear brinksmanship of the world's great Powers. The people of Palau were owed that in justice and they should not be bribed and browbeaten into compliance. The United States had an obligation to terminate its trusteeship role in a spirit of co-operation with the will of the majority of the Palauan people as freely expressed on five occasions.

41. Mr. McGee withdrew.

AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (A/39/23 (Parts VI and VIII), 133, 139, 156, 236, 401, 494, 560, 581, 590 and Corr.1; A/AC.109/761-763, 764 and Add.1, 765 and Add.1, 766-770, 775-776, 777 and Add.1, 778-780, 785-787)

- (a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES
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AGENDA ITEM 103: INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (A/39/23 (Part IV), 136, 519, 590 and Corr.1):

- (a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

AGENDA ITEM 105: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES BY THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS (A/39/23 (Part IV), 293 and Add.1-3, 581; A/AC.109/L.1504, L.1509, L.1514 and Add.1)

- (a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (A/39/3 (Part II), 581, 590 and Corr.1)

- (a) REPORT OF THE COUNCIL
- (b) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
- (c) REPORTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

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AGENDA ITEM 106: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/39/351)

AGENDA ITEM 107: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/39/541 and Add.1, 581)

42. Mr. PULZ (Czechoslovakia) said that the specialized agencies and other international organizations of the United Nations system had contributed greatly to decolonization, but could do more, particularly by providing tangible assistance to the colonial peoples and their national liberation movements. UNDP, FAO, WHO and UNESCO had done commendable work, particularly for the people of Namibia, which they helped not only by their efforts to satisfy current needs but also by creating the preconditions for development after independence through the proper use of the country's natural, mineral and human resources. The role of the specialized agencies in training qualified personnel to run the Government and manage the economy after independence was especially important. His delegation also welcomed the help given by the specialized agencies to a number of small colonial Territories, but also insisted that such help did not relieve the colonial Powers of their obligation to promote the economic and social progress of those Territories.

43. The specialized agencies must not limit themselves to removing traditional colonial structures because there was currently a pronounced trend for foreign private capital, particularly transnational corporations, to exercise complete control over the economies of colonial Territories. His delegation therefore welcomed the help being given by the specialized agencies to the peoples of newly independent States, particularly the African front-line States, which were being terrorized by the aggressive and subversive actions of the Pretoria régime, and felt that those agencies should play an even greater role in counteracting neo-colonialist pressure.

44. The work being done by UNESCO and by the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations in disseminating objective and accurate information about decolonization was especially important. It was disturbing, however, that certain specialized agencies, namely, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, continued their relations and co-operation with the Pretoria régime, especially in the form of loans, despite the appeals of the international community and despite the fact that South Africa did not meet the criteria normally required for such loans. His delegation firmly supported the demand that all relations and co-operation between the specialized agencies and South Africa should be ended until the Namibian people's right to self-determination was fully implemented and apartheid completely eliminated.

45. In the light of the above, his delegation fully supported the resolution of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in paragraph 14 of document A/39/23 (Part IV) because it indicated what role the specialized agencies must play in promoting decolonization in accordance with their specific nature and spheres of competence.

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46. Mr. MIKAYA (Malawi) said that the conditions in Territories still under colonial domination were a denial of basic human rights and that colonial and economic exploitation must be eradicated from every land on earth.

47. It was his country's hope that Namibia would become independent without further delay, under the terms of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which was the most realistic means of solving the Namibian issue. Malawi appealed to the Secretary-General to continue negotiating with all parties concerned, since all that was required to achieve a constructive compromise was political will.

48. Equally important was the question of Western Sahara, which was also stalemated, as the war continued. Malawi appealed to the parties concerned to accept and implement the realistic proposals made by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session in 1983.

49. Like other peace-loving nations, Malawi strongly opposed apartheid and any racial discrimination. Its Constitution recognized the sanctity of personal liberties and of equal rights and freedoms for all, and recognized the need for the ultimate unification of the people of Africa for their common welfare and advancement.

50. Malawi's approach to the fight against colonialism was that of contact and dialogue. It believed in a constructive and practical approach if the oppressed were to be rescued from political bondage.

51. Mr. TSHAMALA N'JI-LAMULE (Zaire), speaking on agenda item 18, said that the Declaration on decolonization had, almost 25 years earlier, been met in Africa with the euphoria of recovered rights and freedoms, the search for African identity and the emergence of the Pan-African movement. That had also, however, been a time of ideological dissensions, fanned by foreign powers who understood the economic stakes involved.

52. The new African Governments, seeking to modernize their countries and set up plans for the economic and social development they required, while at the same time preserving their national and territorial unity, saw their hopes for rapid development frustrated in part by the unhealthy world economic climate. Another factor was the selective nature of foreign investment in Africa, which was directed massively towards South Africa even though sorely needed elsewhere on the continent. Thus had South Africa grown economically and militarily strong at the expense of the rest of Africa.

53. It was not surprising that the most serious impediment to the total eradication of colonialism lay in the arrogance and insubordination of that same privileged and protected South Africa, which was illegally occupying Namibia and preventing its independence, while at the same time denying millions of South African blacks the most elemental human rights on their own soil.

(Mr. Tshamala N'Ji-Lamule, Zaire)

54. The hypocritical proponents of special solutions in the case of Namibia were also those who were responsible for the impotence that afflicted the United Nations. Namibia must become independent without delay under the terms of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and there should be no attempts to link its independence to any unrelated issues.

55. The international community, knowing the true nature of the apartheid régime, had been taken in neither by the "negotiated settlement" predicated on the creation of bantustans, nor by the supposed "new constitution". By rejecting both, the international community was indicating that the apartheid system could only be abolished, not reformed.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.