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Third Committee

Summary record of the 40th meeting

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Tuesday, 5 November 2013, at 10 a.m.

Chair: Mr. Tafrov...... (Bulgaria)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.

Agenda item 67: Elimination of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance (*continued*)

- (a) Elimination of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance (continued) (A/68/18 and A/68/329)
- (b) Comprehensive implementation of and followup to the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action (*continued*) (A/68/333, A/68/564, and A/67/879)

Agenda item 68: Right of peoples to self-

determination (continued) (A/68/318 and A/68/339)

Mr. Llorentty Solíz (Plurinational State of 1. Bolivia) said that groups which had been marginalized by the colonial authorities — indigenous farmers, women, people of African descent and minorities were now playing an active role in rebuilding the Bolivian State and affirming their values and identity. His Government had ratified the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action, and had enacted a law against racism and all forms of discrimination which established mechanisms and procedures to prevent and sanction acts of racism and discrimination, whether overt or covert. It had also established a national committee against racism and all forms of discrimination, which with tasked developing, was promoting and implementing comprehensive policies and norms.

2. In the twenty-first century, peoples and social movements were calling into question the paradigms of capitalism and neoliberal globalization, and a world order based on the unequal distribution of wealth which had resulted in underdevelopment and poverty. His country's new philosophy of "*Vivir Bien*" (living well) was an alternative to that model and fostered solidarity, cooperation, a sense of community, and most importantly, respect for Mother Earth.

3. The right of self-determination was of crucial importance. His Government supported the right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination. It also called for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories, including Palestine and the Syrian Golan, and for respect for the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to establish their own independent and sovereign State. The Jewish settlements in Palestinian territory must be halted immediately and unconditionally, as those settlements were in breach of article 49 of the Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

Ms. Hewanpola (Australia) said that her 4. Government resolutely supported the right to freedom of religion or belief, and of everyone to live and participate in a society free from racism and racial discrimination. Those rights were protected by Australia's Constitution and reflected in its laws. Her Government deplored all acts of violence based on race, religion or beliefs, or lack of tolerance for the right to freedom of expression, and believed that Governments had a responsibility to encourage a healthy community dialogue on cultural, ethnic, racial, linguistic and religious diversity that allowed for the peaceful expression of opinions and exchanges of views. It noted that discrimination based on racial and religious factors exacerbated the persistent and chronic inequalities faced by persons and groups around the world.

5. Australia was home to a diversity of peoples of different faiths and beliefs, and recognized that cultural diversity was an important element in the advancement of society. Her Government valued the role of human rights education in promoting tolerance and in eliminating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance against all groups, including migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, minorities and indigenous peoples. It remained firmly committed to the elimination of all forms of racially motivated hate speech, including the dissemination of ideas of racial superiority or the incitement of racial hatred, institutional racism and racial discrimination.

Ms. Najwa (Maldives) said that it was only 6. through the realization of the basic right to selfdetermination that other goals, such as dignity, justice, progress and equity, could be pursued. Millions of people in the world were being denied the right to determine their own fate, whether owing to military intervention, aggression, occupation or exploitation by foreign powers. Concerted international action was needed to alleviate their suffering. As a party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, her Government deplored the exploitation of people in the name of development and their abuse without regard to their human rights or dignity. It also deploted the exploitation of natural resources in territories traditionally occupied or used by indigenous groups, without regard to their cultural integrity or preservation,

7. Her Government was deeply concerned about the deteriorating human rights situation in Palestine. In that respect, it supported a two-State solution, with the state of Palestine established in accordance with the 1967 borders and with East Jerusalem as its capital, and called upon the United Nations to guarantee the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people.

8. The right of self-determination was best addressed through constructive and participatory dialogue between all parties concerned. The international community should help to create mechanisms that fostered the exchange of information and the inclusion of minorities in decision-making, especially on issues affecting them.

9. **Ms. Gae Luna** (Indonesia) expressed her delegation's support for the Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent since they still faced major challenges throughout the world, especially in tackling social inequality, economic disadvantages and environmental degradation. In that respect, concerted efforts were needed at all levels to bring about the proposed international decade for people of African descent; that initiative would benefit the international community as a whole since it would contribute to the full realization of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all people.

10. Her Government was committed to eradicating all forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. It stressed the importance of national programmes to combat and prevent the spread of extremism by upholding the principles of equality and non-discrimination. Governments must not only align their legislation with the relevant international instruments, but also raise public awareness in order to foster tolerance, respect for cultural diversity, and mutual understanding. The mass media played an important role in promoting a culture of peace and tolerance by helping to combat racial stereotypes that were used in the name of freedom of expression and by ensuring that the voices of minorities were heard.

11. For its part, Indonesia, as one of the most diverse countries in the world, with at least 1,000 ethnic groups and over 500 languages, had strengthened national mechanisms to promote and protect all citizens from acts of discrimination. It had adopted a law on the elimination of racial and ethnic discrimination which, inter alia, mandated the national human rights commission to monitor existing policies and laws that might contravene the country's obligations under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and to investigate allegations of acts of discrimination. Her Government had fostered education and reconciliatory dialogue as part of its efforts to promote tolerance and mutual respect between societies, cultures and religions at the national, regional and international levels. It had also facilitated the establishment of an interreligion harmony forum in approximately 200 provinces in the country and had conducted interfaith dialogues with a number of other Governments at the bilateral level, and also at the regional and interregional levels.

12. In view of the urgent need for a more robust framework for international cooperation in combating intolerance, her Government had proposed that an international instrument for preventing incitement to hostility and violence on the basis of religion or belief should be developed. Regardless of what form such an instrument took, it should be the result of international consensus and take into account Member States' national constraints, in order to foster a sense of ownership among all stakeholders.

13. Ms. Al Dhaheri (United Arab Emirates) said that her country's Constitution guaranteed freedom, access to justice, independence of the judiciary, equality, civil liberties and the preservation of human dignity and prohibited torture and arbitrary detention; all such guarantees accorded with the precepts of the Islamic religion, which was one of the pillars of society of the United Arab Emirates. As a party to several international human-rights instruments, her Government was active in such initiatives as the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations and the Human Rights Council and the Executive Board of UN-Women. Recent initiatives included the launch of the Hedayah Centre of Excellence on Countering Violent Extremism. In that context, her delegation called for the strengthening of international efforts to combat racial discrimination in all its forms and stressed the need to spread a culture of tolerance among peoples.

14. Her country was host to an expatriate community composed of nationals of over 200 countries, all of whom worked and coexisted peacefully in its territory and had the freedom to practice their religion and establish culture-specific educational institutions. Labour laws had been strengthened to ensure respect for workers' rights and access to the justice system. Tangible legislative, social and economic gains had been made in the implementation of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The right to litigate and the protection of complainants were guaranteed. Her Government had also adopted a global plan on human trafficking that provided for protection and rehabilitation of victims.

15. The United Arab Emirates had achieved high levels of social and economic development, as evinced by its strong human development and gender equality indicators. Her Government attached particular importance to education, to which it had allocated 22 per cent of the regular social development budget.

16. Despite the recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination in all relevant international instruments and by the international community as a whole, the Palestinian people continued to be prevented from realizing that right, owing to the Israeli occupation of its territory since 1967. Israel's actions, as the occupying Power, including the continued building of illegal settlements on occupied Palestinian land, the separation wall, the illegal annexation of East Jerusalem and the changing of demographic realities, were in flagrant violation of international humanitarian law and international resolutions. The United Arab Emirates condemned Israel's arbitrary and illegitimate policies and urged the international community, especially the Security Council, to take serious steps to help the Palestinian people to exercise its right to selfdetermination and establish an independent State within the 1967 borders, with Jerusalem as its capital, based on the road map and the Arab Peace Initiative and all relevant international resolutions. Her delegation pledged its continued support to the Palestinian cause and looked forward to the day when Palestine would gain full membership in the United Nations.

17. Mr. Al-Moumani (Jordan) said that the right to self-determination was indispensable for the enjoyment of all other rights; no pretext could be invoked to hinder its exercise. Jordan fully endorsed the desire of the Palestinian people to exercise its right to selfdetermination and establish an independent and sovereign, contiguous and sustainable State with East Jerusalem as its capital, within the 1967 borders, alongside the State of Israel. The Palestinian-Israeli negotiations currently under way had created the hope of attaining a just and comprehensive peace, which would result in Palestinian self-determination. His delegation called upon the Israeli Government to halt its illegal policies, including the creation of new facts on the ground through the construction of settlements on occupied Palestinian land, including East Jerusalem.

18. **Mr. Rahman** (Bangladesh) said that his delegation agreed with the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance that poverty and racism were inextricably linked. In many parts of the world, racist attitudes and hate speech still persisted, and with the advance of new forms of communication like the Internet, subtle forms of racism had emerged. Certain religions were stereotyped and defamed in many societies, exposing their followers to discrimination. Migrants had become special targets of racism and violence; host Governments often applied discriminatory and restrictive rules on the entry of migrants and ignored discrimination in wages, housing and education, and incidents of violence against migrants.

19. In Bangladesh, the Constitution prohibited discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, caste, sex, or birthplace; it guaranteed equality before the law and encouraged affirmative action for particularly disadvantaged groups. At the global level, Bangladesh was a party to all the major human rights conventions, including the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and was resolute in its support to persecuted communities around the globe in the defence of their legitimate rights.

20. Efforts to combat racism and racial discrimination had to be undertaken in conjunction with poverty eradication and human development. Such efforts must involve intercultural dialogue, tolerance and respect for diversity, and also education, which could do much to promote tolerance and mutual trust. Governments bore the primary responsibility for eradicating hatred and intolerance, while protecting all persons within their countries through the implementation of national laws. Impunity for racist crimes must be eliminated through effective and timely prosecution. While freedom of expression was an essential element for a democratic and tolerant society, it could not be abused for propagation of racist prejudice and religious intolerance. Broad international cooperation was essential in order for such efforts to be effective.

21. **Ms. Rasheed** (Observer for the State of Palestine) said that Israel, the occupying Power, had

deliberately ignored the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights along with all aspects of international and humanitarian law with respect to the Occupied Palestinian Territory. Israel had violated, trampled on and violently withheld the inherent right to self-determination of the Palestinian people. The continued construction of settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory was an obstacle to the establishment of a Palestinian State and caused daily violations of many rights. Even though the international community was united in its view that Israel's settlement building was illegal, and despite the resumption of peace talks, Israel was carrying out its expansionist policies unabated. Those policies were in breach of the Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and relevant provisions of customary law, and also amounted to war crimes that fell under the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court. Those actions were clearly inconsistent with Israeli political rhetoric supporting negotiations to establish a viable, independent, contiguous and sovereign Palestinian State.

22. The illegal settlements were being built for the exclusive benefit of the Jewish population of Israel and were maintained through a system of complete segregation which was rooted in racism and racial discrimination, negating the most basic rights of the indigenous people. The occupying Power ignored settler violence against Palestinians, their property and their land and even encouraged it at times. Israel must cease its settlement activities in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem. To speak of peace while engaging in its destruction made a mockery of the international community's support for the two-State solution, diminished its viability and obstructed the achievement of a real peace agreement.

23. The adoption of General Assembly resolution 67/19 on the status of Palestine demonstrated strong support for the inalienable rights and legitimate national aspirations of the Palestinian people, including self-determination and a life of freedom and dignity in the independent State of Palestine, with East Jerusalem as its capital. Serious, practical measures needed to be undertaken by the international community to compel Israel to halt its illegal settlement activities and all other related unlawful policies and usher in a new era of peace and security for Palestinians and Israelis alike.

24. Mr. Musayev (Azerbaijan) said that greater attention should be paid to the persistence of racial prejudice and negative stereotypes, hate speech by public officials and the media, and violent attacks on groups with a view to creating ethnically homogenous societies. Particular attention should be given to the implementation of discriminatory polices and practices in situations of foreign military occupation, including those aimed at altering the demographic balance in occupied territories and preventing forcibly displaced populations from returning to their homes. It was also crucial for justice, truth and reconciliation mechanisms to address the legacies of grave human rights violations and abuses committed during conflicts, and for perpetrators of war crimes, genocide, ethnic cleansing and other crimes against humanity to be held accountable.

25. It was internationally recognized that the Nagorno-Karabakh and seven surrounding districts of Azerbaijan were under Armenian military occupation. It was clear that the creation of a monoethnic culture in that area, both by expelling the Azerbaijani population and by refusing to permit its return, and the establishment of a separatist regime, constituted an integral part of Armenia's policy of hatred based on historical, cultural, racial and religious prejudices. Armenia's claims regarding secession of part of the territory of a neighbouring State were curious since, unlike Azerbaijan and other States in the region, Armenia was a monoethnic country, and had achieved that situation by expelling all non-Armenians, including Azerbaijanis. High-ranking Armenian officials regularly made inflammatory statements that openly promoted ethnically and religiously motivated hatred and intolerance.

26. It was essential to recall the direct involvement of the current political and military leadership of Armenia in brutal massacres that had claimed the lives of thousands of Azerbaijani civilians, including children, women and the elderly. Armenia's support for terrorists and war criminals was demonstrated by their glorification at the State level, including their elevation to the status of national heroes and the bestowing of State decorations on them. The international community, including United Nations bodies and other international organizations, had repeatedly expressed serious concern about the spirit of intolerance that prevailed in Armenia, in addition to its discriminatory policies and practices. Strengthened efforts and political will were needed to address the challenges of human rights and democracy, and due emphasis should be placed on the inherent dignity and equal and inalienable rights of all individuals.

Statements in exercise of the right of reply

27. **Mr. Kariv** (Israel) said that history had demonstrated that peace could not be imposed by external forces, but rather that it should be negotiated directly by the parties concerned. When President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt had decided to break the Arab circle of hostility, he had found Israel prepared, and the dismantling of Israeli communities had been included in the peace talks. Similarly, when King Hussein of Jordan had decided to step forward, Israel had again been prepared, and peace had been achieved.

28. Major breakthroughs in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process had not been achieved through external intervention but through direct negotiations, which were necessary to bring about the difficult compromises necessary for a lasting peace. Israel had demonstrated its readiness to make the difficult concessions that would be required under any peace accord. Only Israel and the Palestinians could create two States in which their respective peoples could live side by side in peace and security.

29. His Government had consistently demonstrated its willingness to recognize Palestinian aspirations for self-determination, yet the Palestinians had yet to recognize Israel as the nation-State of the Jewish people or its right to live in peace and security. His Government called upon all countries concerned with the aspirations of the Palestinian people and the achievement of peace in the Middle East to support direct negotiation between Israel and Palestinians.

30. **Mr. Sargsyan** (Armenia) said that it was regrettable that the representative of Azerbaijan continued to distort and misrepresent the decades-long struggle of the people of Artsakh (Nagorno-Karabakh) for their inalienable right to self-determination and to make groundless and false accusations against Armenia and Artsakh. As was well known, it was Azerbaijan which, more than two decades earlier, had unleashed hostilities against Nagorno-Karabakh and occupied Armenian territories, forcing hundreds of thousands of Armenians, including tens of thousands of defenceless women and girls, to abandon their homes and become refugees and internally displaced persons. That aggression had had unpredictable consequences for Azerbaijan itself.

31. Azerbaijan's decision to speak under the agenda item concerning the right to self-determination was provocative, given its denial of that same right to the people of Nagorno-Karabakh. Its legally, politically, historically and morally deficient attempts to claim territorial integrity with respect to the region were invalid. The representative of Azerbaijan should recall that his country had been given jurisdiction over the Armenian region of Nagorno-Karabakh illegally and unjustly by an arbitrary decision of the regional Communist party bureau in 1921.

32. Prior to the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the people of Nagorno-Karabakh had peacefully exercised their right to self-determination in accordance with existing laws, which had also served as the basis for Azerbaijan's own achievement of independence. Ironically, in 1991, the current Republic of Azerbaijan had declared the Soviet constitutional legacy null and void and had proclaimed itself the successor of the first Republic of 1918. Nagorno-Karabakh had never been part of the first Republic, as had been officially documented by the League of Nations. Although Azerbaijan based its legal and constitutional legitimacy on the pre-Soviet legal regime of the first Republic, its territorial boundaries were based on the Soviet legal regime, which it had chosen to denounce.

33. The representative of Azerbaijan's decision to speak about combating racism and xenophobia was no less perplexing as his country's President had recently made public threats to renew the war on Nagorno-Karabakh, extolled the ethnic cleansing of Armenians living in Azerbaijan, and warned of his Government's readiness to repeat such atrocities. He had also claimed essentially all of Armenia's sovereign territory, including its capital city Yerevan, and praised a murderer who had killed a sleeping Armenian officer during a North Atlantic Treaty Organization peacekeeping programme.

34. Azerbaijan tried to disguise its wrongdoings and evade responsibility for its actions, but if it wanted to achieve peace and find a resolution to the conflict, it should direct its energy and resources to substantial and constructive, as opposed to merely formal, negotiations, and refrain from making groundless and provocative remarks. 35. **Ms. Rasheed** (Observer for the State of Palestine) said that Israel had made an attempt to distort facts and shift attention away from itself instead of acknowledging its role as the occupying Power or any wrongdoing against the Palestinian people. Though there were peace talks in progress, the situation on the ground remained unchanged. The occupation, and violations of international law, humanitarian and human rights law still persisted, and the Palestinian people continued to suffer.

36. The right to self-determination was a fundamental right, not a right to be granted after the conclusion of negotiations. Israel spoke with ease about peace and its commitment to peace, yet one only needed to look at its actions to determine the sincerity of its words. It was responsible for the theft of Palestinian land and natural resources, construction of settlements and infrastructure, arrest and detention of Palestinians, demolition of homes, dispossession and displacement of entire families, killing of civilians, imprisonment of 1.7 million Palestinians in Gaza, and the daily humiliation of Palestinian civilians at over 500 obstacles and checkpoints throughout the Occupied Palestinian Territory. Those were hardly policies and practices demonstrative of the genuine pursuit of peace. Nor were they supportive of Palestinian aspirations. The General Assembly was not the proper forum for Israel to make false claims about its role as the occupying Power or to deny the lengthy list of human rights violations it had committed over the past 40 years. In so doing it was making a mockery of the Organization and wasting both the Organization's time and that of the Palestinian people.

37. Mr. Musayev (Azerbaijan) said that the representative of Armenia's comments were illustrative of Armenia's deliberate efforts to mislead the international community. It should be recalled that Armenia's unilateral attempts to achieve the secession of Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan had never been legitimate or peaceful, nor had Armenia's claims been consistent with the applicable national or international legal norms. The unlawfulness within the Soviet legal system of any attempts aimed at either unification of Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia or its secession from Azerbaijan without Azerbaijan's consent had been confirmed at the highest constitutional level. Accordingly, Azerbaijan had been entitled to achieve independence within the territorial boundaries in existence during the Soviet era.

There was overwhelming documentary evidence 38. proving that Armenia had initiated the war. It had attacked and occupied Azerbaijan, including the Nagorno-Karabakh region and seven adjacent districts; carried out ethnic cleansing on a massive scale; and established an ethnically constructed subordinate separatist entity on the captured Azerbaijani territory. In 1993, the Security Council had adopted four resolutions condemning the use of force against Azerbaijan and the occupation of its territories and demanding the immediate, full and unconditional withdrawal of the occupying forces from all the occupied territories of Azerbaijan. The Council had confirmed that Nagorno-Karabakh was a part of Azerbaijan and had reaffirmed respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and the inviolability of its international borders. In other words, what the representative of Armenia had described as the exercise of the right to selfdetermination by the ethnic Armenian group residing in Azerbaijan had been unequivocally qualified by the Security Council and other authoritative international organizations as the illegal use of force by Armenia, also involving the commission of other crimes of serious concern to the international community.

39. **Mr. Kariv** (Israel) said that the Palestinian representative's continued use of United Nations resolutions as justification for laying blame on Israel was a constant source of amusement. It should be recalled that the United Nations had first granted Palestinians self-determination via the 1947 Partition Plan in General Assembly resolution 181 (II). At that time, the future State of Israel had supported the resolution; however the entire Arab world, including the Palestinians, had violently rejected it.

40. It was easy to blame Israel for the events that had transpired since then, but it should be recalled that throughout the period from 1947 to 1967, the Palestinians had made no attempt to establish a State on the territory then under Israeli control. The current peace process was their first real attempt at self-determination since 1947. He did not wish to elaborate on the Palestinian role in existing terrorism and provocation, but urged the international community to regard the issue from that historical perspective.

41. **Mr. Sargsyan** (Armenia) said that the representative of Azerbaijan's references to occupation and aggression were baseless and demonstrated that Azerbaijan was not interested in finding a solution

based in international law, while also reflecting a systematic disregard of the rule of law and of fundamental freedoms. The people of Nagorno-Karabakh had exercised their inalienable right to selfdetermination in compliance with international law. They held free and fair elections and had stable political institutions, legitimate authorities, a functioning government and an independent judiciary. In Artsakh, civil society continued to participate actively in the political process.

42. Armenia attached the utmost importance to justice, the rule of law, maintaining peace and security, promoting and protecting human rights, tolerance and anti-discrimination in the region. With regard to the allegations that his Government was not implementing Security Council resolutions, it should be noted that the current situation in the region stemmed from Azerbaijan's decision to use force to suppress the people of Nagorno-Karabakh and impede their exercise of their right to self-determination. Azerbaijan itself had violated the Security Council resolutions urging all parties to pursue negotiations within the framework of the Minsk Group of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Azerbaijan kept violating the 1993 Security Council resolutions, not only by failing to immediately cease all hostilities, but also by further intensifying its aggression and military operations against Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia using mercenaries closely linked to notorious terrorist organizations. It was not surprising that the three permanent members of the Security Council who had been the mediators of the 1994 ceasefire agreement had made no mention of those resolutions.

43. His Government called on Azerbaijan's leadership to cease its hostile policies and warmongering towards Armenia and Armenians, promote tolerance and equal treatment within its society and vis-à-vis its ethnic minorities, and prepare its people for peace and not war.

44. **Mr. Musayev** (Azerbaijan) said that he categorically rejected the remarks made by the representative of Armenia, that were full of distortions and illustrated Armenia's usual forgetfulness. It was clear that Armenia was attempting to create an erroneous impression of the real situation on the ground and to deflect the attention of the international community from the urgent need to address the main problems caused by its continuing aggression against Azerbaijan. That futile effort easily collapsed against the background of the position of the international

community and the diametrically opposite facts of the situation.

45. The relevant Security Council resolutions were the most authoritative rulings on the issue, declaring Armenia's claims to the territory of Azerbaijan null and void. It was well known that, in accordance with international law, the principle of self-determination applied to three categories of peoples; the peoples of sovereign States, the peoples of colonially formed territorial units and peoples under foreign domination, subjugation and exploitation, including peoples under foreign military occupation. There was no doubt that the members of the Armenian ethnic minority group living in Nagorno-Karabakh did not belong to any of those categories of peoples and would never be considered an independent subject with the right to self-determination.

46. Armenia, on the other hand, had committed aggression, had expelled hundreds of thousands of people from their places of permanent residence, had occupied Azerbaijani territories, had committed grave international crimes during the war, and had committed gross violations of the right of self-determination of the people of Azerbaijan. He hoped that after a careful reading of the relevant international documents, the representative of Armenia would refrain from making irrelevant comments in the future.

The meeting rose at 11.20 a.m.