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President: Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)*

THIRD REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE
(A/8800/Rev.1/Add.2)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In paragraph 2 (a) of its third report [A/8800/Rev.1/Add.2], the General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of the present session of an additional item entitled "Amendment to rule 160 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly". In paragraph 2 (b) of the report, the General Committee further recommends that the item be allocated to the Fifth Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees with these recommendations?

It was so decided.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Chairman of the Fifth Committee will be informed accordingly.

AGENDA ITEM 16

Election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next item on our agenda this afternoon is the election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council to

replace those whose term of office expires on 31 December 1972. The five outgoing members are: Argentina, Belgium, Italy, Japan and Somalia. These five countries cannot be re-elected, and their names, therefore, must not appear on the ballot papers.

4. Apart from the five permanent members, the Security Council in 1973 will include Guinea, India, Panama, the Sudan and Yugoslavia. Therefore, the names of these States also should not appear on the ballot papers.

5. Of the five non-permanent members which will remain in office in 1973, three are from Africa and Asia, one from Eastern Europe and one from Latin America. Therefore, in accordance with paragraph 3 of resolution 1991 A (XVIII), the non-permanent members to be elected should be made up as follows: two from Africa and Asia, one from Latin America and two from Western Europe and other States. The ballot papers take that pattern into account and they will now be distributed.

6. In accordance with rule 94 of the rules of procedure, the election will be held by secret ballot and there will be no nominations. I request representatives to use only the ballot papers distributed and to write on them the names of the five Member States for which they wish to vote. As I have indicated, the ballot papers should not include the names of the five permanent members, the five outgoing non-permanent members or the five countries that are already non-permanent members for 1973. Any ballot paper containing more than five names will be declared invalid.

At the request of the President, Mr. Vaca Díez (Bolivia) and Mr. Psoncák (Yugoslavia) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

7. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): If there is no objection, I propose to suspend the meeting for 15 minutes while the ballots are being counted.

The meeting was suspended at 3.35 p.m. and resumed at 3.50 p.m.

8. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	118
Invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	118
Abstentions:	0
Number of Members voting:	118
Required majority:	79

* Resumed from the 2047th meeting.

Number of votes obtained:

Peru	116
Austria	115
Indonesia	115
Kenya	112
Australia	109
Haiti	1
Pakistan	1

Having obtained the required two-thirds majority, Australia, Austria, Indonesia, Kenya and Peru were elected non-permanent members of the Security Council for a two-year period from 1 January 1973.

AGENDA ITEM 22

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: 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 (*continued*)

9. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the Assembly that four draft resolutions have been submitted on this item and will be distributed shortly in documents A/L.677, 678, 679 and 680.

10. Mr. TAYLOR-KAMARA (Sierra Leone): My delegation would like to congratulate the Rapporteur of the Special Committee, Mr. Aryubi of Afghanistan, on the excellent report he has presented to this Assembly in document A/8723/Rev.1. My delegation would also like to congratulate the Special Committee on the valuable and praiseworthy work it has done under the dynamic chairmanship of Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, and its officers. Particular mention must also be made of the fact that under Mr. Salim's energetic leadership the Committee was able to complete its huge task even before the beginning of this General Assembly session.

11. Twelve years have passed since the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) and it is therefore very disappointing that there are still millions of people who are not independent and free to be represented in this august body.

12. When men decided that within a certain period of time they would be able to put a man on the moon they were able to realize that ambition because they had the technical know-how, the financial ability and the determination. However, it takes far less to implement the paragraph of the Declaration that states:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

13. What is so disturbing is the fact that most of the millions of dollars spent to launch men and objects into

space have been derived from the exploitation of both the human and the natural resources of those dependent Territories. It appears, therefore, that as long as certain developed countries are anxious to realize their dreams of material and military power, many of the Territories in southern Africa and elsewhere will be doomed to colonial domination.

14. From the Special Committee's report we note that the most persistent obstructions to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples are the military and foreign economic activities and interests in the colonial Territories. In no case have those activities been in the interest or to the benefit of the indigenous populations.

15. We see that in the Portuguese Territories Portugal has been able with impunity to carry out its policies of colonial oppression and to pursue its colonial wars, as the result of the massive economic and military assistance which it receives from certain States, particularly from its allies in NATO, and from other trading partners. Despite repeated appeals addressed to those States by the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Governments concerned continue to supply Portugal with weapons, military equipment and material for the manufacture or maintenance of weapons and ammunition which that country uses to perpetuate its colonial domination in the African continent. They continue to participate in the Portuguese venture of exploiting the natural and human resources of the Territories, consolidating their financial and economic control and thus impeding the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration with respect to those Territories.

16. The agreement concluded on 9 December 1971 in the Azores between the Governments of the United States and Portugal, by which the former would provide the colonial régime with a sum exceeding \$400 million in all-purpose aid, is one example of such assistance.

17. It is patently clear that, if the process of decolonization is to be expedited without any further delay, an immediate end must be put to all these activities which, intentionally or otherwise, enhance Portugal's capacity to continue its colonial wars.

18. The exploitation of Namibia's natural resources by foreign economic and other interests continues at an increasingly rapid rate. All sectors of Namibia's economy are almost exclusively controlled by these interests.

19. Through the strengthening of an *entente* dedicated to the retention of a dominant position by a racist minority and to the achievement of the complete and permanent subordination of the dependent peoples to its interests, and through the resort to ruthless, inhuman measures backed by armed force, the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia are determined to exercise complete control over the human and material resources of the Territories concerned and to exploit these resources to their exclusive, and fullest possible, advantage. In their endeavours, these authorities have been enjoying the active support of international economic and financial interests which, in their sole objective of making the highest profit, relentlessly pursue exploitative policies, to the

detriment of the legitimate interests and advancement of the dependent peoples. It is to be deeply regretted that the countries in which these interests have their origin have failed to give effect to the recommendations made by the General Assembly for the cessation of these activities.

20. In some of the other dependent Territories, the colonial Powers and their allies have continued to maintain military bases and installations, on which, as part of their over-all strategy, they have continued to rely in support of military dispositions and activities elsewhere in the world. These activities and other related arrangements continue to impede the process of decolonization and, in particular, to defer economic development both through the extensive alienation of land for military purposes and by drawing the population away from productive activities.

21. In our view, foreign military, economic and other interests constitute the most serious obstacles to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This is why we fully endorse the Special Committee's recommendations which, *inter alia*,

"Condemn the colonial Powers and other States which give their active support to ... economic and other foreign interests in their exploitation of the natural and human resources of the colonial Territories and call upon these States to take effective measures to stop the supply of funds and other forms of support, including military equipment, to colonial régimes that use such support to repress the national liberation movements;

"Reiterate its urgent request that the colonial Powers and States concerned should take legislative, administrative and other measures in respect of their companies and nationals who own and operate enterprises in the colonial Territories, particularly in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese domination, to put an end to their activities which are detrimental to the interests of the inhabitants of the Territories;

"...

"Request the Secretary-General to give the widest possible publicity to the adverse effects of the activities of foreign economic and other interests in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, the Territories under Portuguese domination and all other colonial Territories, and to the resolutions of the General Assembly adopted in connexion with these activities." [A/8723/Rev.1, chap. V, para. 7 (4), (5) and (10).]

22. Last year, by the adoption of resolution 2878 (XXVI), the General Assembly requested the Special Committee, among other things,

"to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) in all Territories which have not yet attained independence and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism and report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session".

23. From its report we are pleased to note that the Special Committee has gone a long way to implement the provisions of that resolution. On 1 April the Special Committee dispatched a Special Mission to visit the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau). My delegation would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the members of that Mission on their brave venture. My delegation also congratulates the members of the PAIGC¹ who gave them safe conduct in spite of intensified Portuguese attacks.

24. The visit of the Special Mission has established:

(a) That there are indeed liberated areas in Guinea (Bissau), thus giving the lie to what the Portuguese Foreign Minister in his intervention referred to as "fictitious liberated areas" [2048th meeting, para. 36];

(b) That the liberation movement in Guinea (Bissau), the PAIGC, is in effective control of two thirds of the Territory;

(c) That in spite of Portuguese bombings and raids the PAIGC was able effectively to ensure the safety of the Special Mission throughout its stay;

(d) That many of the weapons used by the Portuguese army were manufactured in some Western countries;

(e) That the PAIGC is engaged in an elaborate work of reconstruction replacing the outmoded colonial machinery by new administrative, political and judicial institutions truly representative of the people and that new educational and health services were also being created.

25. As a result of the Special Mission's report [A/8723/Rev.1, chap. X, annex I], the Special Committee on 13 April unanimously adopted a draft resolution at Conakry in Guinea [*ibid.*, chap. X, para. 34]. That draft resolution, *inter alia*, has given recognition to the PAIGC as the only and authentic representative of the people of Guinea (Bissau).

26. Mr. Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC, has confirmed that in fact three fourths of Guinea (Bissau) are now in the control of the PAIGC. We therefore fully support the Special Committee's resolution. As we mentioned in the general debate [2060th meeting], the liberation movements are a necessity in the struggle for self-determination. It is therefore gratifying to note that in spite of Portuguese military superiority the people's will has finally triumphed in Guinea (Bissau).

27. This young nation, which we understand has had its first elections and has formed a National Assembly, deserves the full support, both moral and material, of every State which believes in independence and self-determination. Those whose connivance with Portugal gave rise to 10 years of war in Guinea (Bissau), which led to loss of life and property, can make atonement—if we can call it that—by giving every support to the new nation of Guinea (Bissau).

28. Further provisions of resolution 2878 (XXVI) called on all administering Powers to co-operate fully with the

¹ Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

Special Committee by permitting visiting groups to have access to the colonial Territories and to ascertain the wishes and aspirations of the inhabitants of those Territories under their administration.

29. In June of this year, at the invitation of the Government of New Zealand, the Special Committee sent a Visiting Mission to the island of Niue. The Special Committee was also represented in the United Nations Visiting Mission to observe the elections to the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly in February of this year, at the invitation of the Australian Government.

30. Those Missions have served to prove once more that there exists no substitute for first-hand information on the political, economic and social situation in the Territories and on the views, wishes and aspirations of the people as ascertained directly by missions as a means of enhancing the capacity of the United Nations effectively to assist the people concerned to achieve the goals established in the Charter and the Declaration and at the same time to ensure that the people are sufficiently cognizant of the applicability of the Declaration to the various possibilities open to them within that context.

31. The Governments of Australia and New Zealand deserve public praise for their co-operation with the Special Committee and the General Assembly resolution in this regard. It is our hope that other administering Powers will follow such fine examples.

32. With respect to the question of the dissemination of information advocated by the Special Committee, we believe that publicity for all aspects of decolonization is a very effective way to achieve what non-implementation of United Nations resolutions has failed to do. We support the Special Committee's view that:

“a co-operative effort should be made by all Governments and competent national and international organizations to arouse world public opinion with a view to assisting the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde to achieve self-determination and independence. The information and evidence which the Mission was able to obtain should be brought to the attention of the whole international community as a means of bringing about an intensification of diplomatic and political pressures on the Government of Portugal in order to obtain its compliance with the decisions of the United Nations.”
[A/8723/Rev.1, chap. X, para. 36 (9).]

33. It is not possible in this brief intervention to touch on all the very valuable points raised in the Special Committee's report. But suffice it to say that through the untiring efforts of the Committee and with the co-operation of some administering Powers a final turning-point has been reached in the field of decolonization. For, in this year alone, a liberated colonial area has been visited by a United Nations Special Mission; a liberation movement has finally liberated three fourths of its country's territory and has held elections and formed a National Assembly; with the wise guidance of the administering Powers, two other Territories are on their way to independence; members of liberation movements have been granted observer status in the deliberations of the United Nations.

We believe that from now on there will be no turning back. Decolonization has gained momentum. The concerted efforts of the entire United Nations and its specialized agencies are required to give it a final upward thrust.

34. The Special Committee and the Governments of Australia and New Zealand deserve our congratulations, and the best way of showing our appreciation is by giving full support to all the recommendations contained in the report before this Assembly.

35. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Sweden wishes to speak to introduce draft resolution A/L.679. I now call upon him.

36. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): It is my pleasant duty to introduce on behalf of 61 sponsors draft resolution A/L.679.

37. The decision of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] to convene a world conference for the support of victims of colonialism and *apartheid* in southern Africa was mentioned during the visit to the Nordic countries in October 1971 of a high-level OAU delegation headed by the President of Mauritania, Mr. Ould Daddah. During the visit to Norway the delegation proposed that the conference should be held in Oslo, and the Government of Norway agreed to that proposal. That decision was subsequently brought to the attention of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, which took note with satisfaction of the plans of the OAU to convene an international conference against colonialism and *apartheid* in Oslo in the spring of 1973 [resolution 2878 (XXVI)]. Since then, an organizing committee composed of representatives of the OAU and the host country, as well as the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the African liberation movements recognized by the OAU, has met to make the preparations necessary for the conference. The United Nations Association of Norway has consented to act as technical secretariat for the conference. For practical reasons, the organizing committee decided to postpone the convening of the conference until the spring of 1973. The conference has now been scheduled to be held from 9 to 14 April 1973.

38. The main purpose of the conference is further to strengthen and solidify world public opinion against colonialism and *apartheid* and to formulate a programme to hasten the process of decolonization and the abolition of *apartheid* in southern Africa. The conference will be organized as a meeting of experts, not as a formal conference between government representatives. The number of participants will be limited to approximately 200. Invitations to participate will be extended, *inter alia*, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the members of the Security Council, the United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Nordic countries, specialized agencies such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation, as well as members of the Liberation Committee of the OAU and

the nine African Liberation movements recognized by the OAU. The Nordic countries have agreed to contribute, in all, about \$80,000 towards the expenses of the conference.

39. As a result of the discussions held in the organizing committee, it was felt that it would be desirable and useful to obtain a larger measure of support and involvement on the part of the United Nations in the arrangement of that conference. This would enhance the prestige and standing of the conference as well as facilitate the technical and practical arrangements.

40. In the draft resolution that will shortly be distributed, the Secretary-General is requested to organize the planned conference in Oslo in 1973 in co-operation with the OAU, and is authorized to provide technical services, documentation and substantive staff to the conference. He is also requested to report to the next session of the General Assembly on the organization and the results of the conference.

41. We believe that the draft resolution merits and will receive the unanimous support of the membership of this Organization. The record of the United Nations with regard to the questions of decolonization and the abolition of racial discrimination should warrant the unanimous adoption of this draft resolution.

42. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): The views of my Government on the question of decolonization have been clearly stated on numerous occasions in the General Assembly as well as in other forums of the United Nations. The world Organization has undoubtedly played a highly significant role in accelerating the process of decolonization and in promoting a peaceful and orderly transfer of power in many formerly dependent Territories. We believe the United Nations can be justly proud of its achievement in restoring freedom and independence to formerly dependent peoples. However, as pointed out by the Special Committee in its report to the General Assembly,

“... the process of decolonization as regards several Territories has fallen far short of the purposes and objectives set out in the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples” [*A/8723/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 185*].

We also agree with the Committee when it states that

“Particularly disquieting has been the failure so far of collective efforts by the international community to put an end to the impasse in the colonial Territories in Africa, where no less than 18 million dependent peoples live under conditions of ruthless discrimination and repression and are denied the most fundamental human rights”. [*ibid.*]

43. The United Nations has repeatedly called for moral and material assistance to those peoples of southern Africa that are struggling to exercise their legitimate right to self-determination and independence. My Government feels that it is the duty of the Members of our Organization to respond positively to those appeals. Our representative in the Fourth Committee has given more detailed information about the Norwegian humanitarian and economic assistance

to the African liberation movements, and I refer members to that statement.²

44. I would like to stress the importance which my Government attaches to co-operation and consultation with the liberation movements as to the ways and means of channeling our humanitarian and economic assistance to the peoples in the liberated areas. It gives me pleasure to mention in this connexion the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa, which will be held in Oslo in the spring of 1973 and to which we have just heard the preceding speaker, the Swedish Ambassador, refer. The main purpose of that Conference is to formulate, through an extensive exchange of views, a programme for future action in order to hasten the process of decolonization and the abolition of *apartheid* in southern Africa. We trust and believe that the experts participating in that Conference will have fruitful discussions leading to constructive and practicable conclusions.

45. Mr. MALILE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The Albanian delegation believes that the General Assembly should attach particular importance and devote special attention to questions relating to the struggle of peoples against colonialism and neo-colonialism, because those questions are directly tied to the inalienable rights of peoples to a free and independent life. Furthermore, the colonial oppression and the policy of intervention and aggression practised by the colonialist and imperialist Powers constitute threats to international peace and security.

46. One of the greatest victories of the peoples following the Second World War was the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism. But despite that, certain countries of Africa and other parts of the world are still suffering under colonial domination and in those areas the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* is ferociously practised.

47. The oppressed peoples have quite rightly risen up, weapons in hand, in a struggle to free themselves from barbarous colonial oppression and to regain their freedom and national sovereignty. Heroically they are facing oppression, terror, mass destruction and genocide. The struggle for liberation in Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique and the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, and other oppressed peoples, has taken on huge dimensions.

48. Faced with that situation, the United Nations has not performed its duty to make its contribution in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. The innumerable resolutions of the United Nations against colonialism and racial discrimination have remained a dead-letter, mainly because of the flagrant violation of those resolutions by certain Members of our Organization.

49. The General Assembly has condemned the war of the Portuguese colonialists against the peoples of Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique, together with the barbarous domination of a group of racists in Rhodesia and the *apartheid* practised in South Africa. It has condemned

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Fourth Committee, 1982nd meeting.*

the political and military bloc of the colonial and racist régimes of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia, considering it as being contrary to the interests of international peace and security, and it has called upon Member States to give no assistance or support whatsoever to the members of that bloc. But what has in fact occurred? The Governments of the United States of America and the United Kingdom, and those of other countries members of NATO, have shown contempt for the will of the overwhelming majority of Member States; they have trampled those resolutions underfoot and have increased the military, economic and political assistance and support given to those régimes. It is because of that aid and support that the racist régimes can continue their colonial war and repression and their arrogant defiance of all the peoples of Africa who love peace and freedom.

50. The colossal amount of capital invested in South Africa by the Western Powers have transformed that country into a bastion of racism and reaction.

51. Portugal's Fascist régime obstinately pursues its policy of barbarous oppression in the Territories under its domination and engages in armed provocations against independent African countries. In order to stifle the heroic national liberation struggle, the Portuguese colonialists keep about 200,000 troops in Africa and, to carry on their despicable colonial war, they spend millions of dollars every year, sums which Portugal—the most backward country in Europe—would never be able to afford without the aid of some NATO countries, chiefly the United States.

52. By their assistance and support to the colonial and racist régimes in the continent of Africa, the United States and certain other member countries of NATO are not only aiming at the complete destruction of the liberation movements but, at the same time, at creating a firm basis for imperialism. We now know full well that the bloc composed of the colonialist and racist régimes, aided and abetted by international imperialism, are threatening the independent African countries by force of arms. The attack against Guinea, the armed provocations against Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Senegal, and so on, are further proof that provocation and armed intervention continue to be imperialism's preferred method of undermining the political and economic independence of new States and of isolating these countries and keeping them under its domination.

53. While on the subject of developments in southern Africa and the efforts of imperialism to prop up a long-standing colonial Power such as Portugal and the racist régimes, we cannot be silent about what is happening in northern Africa where Israeli aggressors are endeavouring by terror to colonize the occupied Arab territories.

54. Racial discrimination in a good many countries has resulted in tens of millions of human beings being kept in a state of oppression and slavery. Racism is an instrument used by imperialism to divide peoples, to prevent the exploited from uniting against the exploiters, the peoples from uniting against those who occupy and colonize them. It is no accident that the policy of racial discrimination is broadly practised precisely in those countries where the most reactionary Governments are in control, by circles

which are carrying out a policy of occupation and colonization. In the opinion of the Albanian delegation, the struggle against racism is part and parcel of the over-all struggle of peoples against imperialism and colonial domination.

55. The powerful blows of the national liberation movements have compelled the former colonial Powers to release their hold on their colonies, but those Powers have not yet abandoned their policy of domination. Because of the changes which have occurred in the world, the imperialists of yore and those of today are resorting to new neo-colonialist methods in order to carry out their colonial expansion. The internationalization of capital, the removal of former barriers of the colonial empires in favour of other Powers kept out during the period of the occupation and dividing up of the colonies in the last century, are all aspects of this expansion.

56. The neo-colonialists are endeavouring to establish their relations with newly independent countries on a so-called moderate basis, the idea being to secure their positions and to be omnipresent in the economic, ideological and political life of these countries. They are doing everything they can to incite hostility in relations among the new States and to organize plots and armed incidents with a view to creating a tense situation favourable to intervention.

57. By new forms of penetration under the label of "assistance" to the developing countries, the American, British and West German monopolies are mercilessly exploiting the natural resources of the new countries. Plunder by the United States monopolies in developing countries is today one of the main reasons for the economic and social difficulties which can be observed in these countries. By holding in their hands the keys to the economy of a number of countries in Latin America, American monopolies often play the part of a State within a State. The colonialists, both old and new, through the plunder of raw materials, through inequitable agreements and treaties, have subjected to their exploitation a number of former colonial and dependent countries. They are doing their utmost to prevent the nationalization of enterprises and of various sectors of the economy and, consequently, the creation and strengthening of the national economy.

58. The liberation struggle that is being waged in countries still languishing under colonial domination, the struggle against racism and neo-colonialism aimed at consolidating national independence and social progress, is a powerful and irreversible trend of our times. It is no easy struggle, particularly since the two major Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are attempting to lay down the law in the world and to divide up the zones of influence.

59. The Albanian delegation would like once again to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the danger inherent in Soviet-American collaboration, a danger which threatens the freedom of peoples. The policy of "positions of strength" and of aggression, the so-called economic assistance to developing countries, the pressure and the military and economic blockades which the two super-Powers apply against sovereign States not only threaten the freedom of peoples and international peace and security, but also encourage and facilitate the actions of colonialists

and racists in the colonial countries. The neo-colonialists do not fail to put forward all kinds of theories in an attempt to legalize their imperialist policies. The theory of "limited sovereignty" of the Soviet revisionists is aimed at legalizing intervention in the internal affairs of other States, at denying the rights of peoples to sovereignty, and at arrogating to themselves the right to impose upon the smallest and weakest the will of the greatest and the most powerful.

60. For its part, the United States holds Puerto Rico in a state of occupation and denies its people the right to self-determination. It practises brutal intervention in the internal affairs of other peoples and States and, through its aggressive military bases, is present everywhere, on every continent.

61. The most blatant manifestation of the expansionist policy of the United States is its aggression against the Viet-Nameese people and the other peoples of Indo-China. The bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the massacres and the innumerable crimes against the civil population, the bombing of diplomatic legations of various States in the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the loss of life among the diplomatic corps accredited to Hanoi, including the Chargé d'affaires of Albania, as well as another officer in the Albanian Embassy who was severely wounded, bear witness to the ferocity of American imperialism. In the opinion of the Albanian delegation, the struggle for the total liquidation of colonialism is indissolubly linked with the struggle to put an end to American aggression in Viet-Nam and throughout Indo-China.

62. Imperialism is endeavouring forcibly to alter the course of history and to stifle national liberation movements. The struggle of peoples for independence, to free themselves from every form of oppression and domination, is to them a sacred duty. The armed struggle in colonies and countries dominated by racist groups—the broad movement sweeping through the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to eradicate colonialism—is growing apace. Peoples now realize from their own experience that freedom will not come to them through resolutions adopted by the United Nations, which are trampled underfoot by the imperialist Powers: they are convinced that only through their resolute and determined struggle will they recover their liberty. The colonialists and neo-colonialists do not hesitate to use the most brutal forms of violence when it comes to defending their positions as oppressors. It is only natural, therefore, that they should meet the resistance and the resolute struggle of peoples which refuse to live in slavery. It is also natural that freedom-loving peoples should actively support this struggle. The majority of Member States represented in this Assembly, which themselves have experienced the burden of colonial domination, cannot fail to make all necessary efforts in order to succour other peoples in their just struggle to shake off the foreign yoke.

63. The Albanian people and Government have great sympathy for and stand fully behind the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique, as well as the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and other peoples that are fighting for their freedom. They firmly support the struggle of

millions of people against racial discrimination, exploitation and imperialist oppression, and are convinced that their struggle for freedom and social progress will be crowned with success. History throughout the ages has shown that no force in the world can stifle the struggle of a people that is determined to live in freedom.

64. The Albanian delegation has supported and will continue to support any effective step which would help to promote the struggle of peoples to put an end to colonial, neo-colonial and racial oppression and any interference jeopardizing the sovereign rights of peoples.

65. Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cisse (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Twelve years have gone by since the adoption by the United Nations General Assembly of resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Historic in its content, that Declaration was no less so in its scope, because it laid down for the first time the principle of the self-determination of peoples still under foreign domination. That decision was a manifestation of concerted action by African States which, for the most part, having achieved national sovereignty, were to lead the international community, and in particular the colonial Powers, to acknowledge the inalienable right of African peoples to independence.

66. But for the past 12 years those same Powers, under cover of a so-called mission of salvation to lead peoples which are the heirs of formerly flourishing civilizations and structured societies, have obstinately refused to apply the principles of democracy and justice in the name of which they themselves, not without struggle and bloodshed, had founded their own institutions.

67. The United Nations, it should be emphasized, is the victim of the hypocrisy of imperialism, which ceaselessly undermines its authority and dangerously weakens its action by persistently attempting to maintain the hegemony which was the rule in centuries past. However, inter-State relations are today based on the principle of sovereign equality among all peoples and on the right of self-determination, which must be recognized and exercised. Africa cannot tolerate discrimination among peoples and cannot allow the colonialist Powers of the West to trample arrogantly and disdainfully upon the freedom of our struggling brethren.

68. History is studded with examples which prove that the national liberation struggle is merely the result of fruitless political and social demands. The colonial administration, blinded by its temporary supremacy, can only reject and minimize, in the absurd logic of its own system, what it has always considered to be the hostility of isolated individuals to its oppressive and dehumanizing power. But this state of affairs is actually the manifestation of a popular awareness which leads on to armed struggle for national independence.

69. There can be no doubt that the collapse of colonial empires is a process which began after the Second World War and which has provoked among all peoples oppressed by imperialism and colonialism legitimate acts of political and social emancipation. We know of no force powerful enough to stem this irreversible current of history. Not even

the most highly developed State, using the deadliest technological means, can crush the liberation struggle of an entire people. The example of the peoples of Indo-China, who have been resisting United States aggression for many years, is sufficient proof that their victory is not contingent on negotiations or political deals. So we have good reason to believe that the struggling peoples in Guinea (Bissau), the Cape Verde Islands, Angola and Mozambique are on the verge of national independence, and that Portuguese colonialism, which is trying to conceal a defeat of which no one can be ignorant today, will have to accept this reality without further delay.

70. Chapter X of the report of the Special Committee [A/7323/Rev.1] tells us what is being done by the PAIGC in this former Portuguese colony. The Special Mission sent by the Special Committee to the liberated areas, which are completely controlled by the valiant soldiers of Amílcar Cabral, indicates unequivocally that we are now dealing with a *de facto* State.

71. May I stress all the threats and attempts at aggression with which Portugal, in order to hide its defeat, beset the three-man United Nations Special Mission. The furtive trip to Bissau by the Portuguese Overseas Minister during that period was intended to perpetrate a crime against a United Nations Mission. On behalf of the people and Government of the Republic of Guinea, I wish to address my warm congratulations to Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC, and to the heroic people of Guinea (Bissau) and the Cape Verde Islands on the occasion of the first legislative elections which have just taken place in the liberated areas. This in itself is a basic act of national sovereignty.

72. For those who participated in the debate in the Fourth Committee on the recommendation of observer status for the liberation movements, following recognition of the PAIGC as the sole legitimate authority in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, the only action that the international community must take now is to give official recognition to this observer status for the liberation movements, which sooner or later must take their seats as full Members of our Organization. In this connexion, we are all aware of the manoeuvring by the delegations of the imperialist and colonialist Powers to ensure that the international community does not recognize these movements. However, even as they do so, we challenge imperialism and all the colonialist Powers to contain the emancipation struggle which the peoples that love peace and justice will not cease to wage within the United Nations. My delegation must criticize the particularly negative attitude of certain great Powers in withdrawing from the Special Committee. It is hardly conceivable that in the common search for solutions to problems which are of concern to all mankind these States should refuse to collaborate with the Committee on decolonization or should refrain from participating in the work of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* since its inception.

73. In Mozambique and Angola, Portuguese colonialism can resist the revolutionary thrust of the peoples of those areas. We repeat that even the most powerful State, no matter what its economic and military strength, no matter what sophisticated means of destruction it may have at its disposal, can stem the tide of history. We wish to pay a

well-deserved tribute to the leaders of FRELIMO³ and MPLA⁴ and to assure them of the material and moral support of decent people everywhere in facing the unholy alliance of the forces of evil, the enemies of the freedom of peoples—the NATO Powers that continuously support and finance the racist minorities of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia against the joint efforts of Africa and its friends.

74. In Rhodesia, where the Government of the United Kingdom persists in legitimizing the régime of Ian Smith through new proposals for a settlement, for which secret negotiations are now going on, the people of Zimbabwe have already shown their political maturity and their determination to win their independence.

75. We denounce as an insidious manoeuvre this British duplicity which would have our Organization adopt economic sanctions against the rebel régime of Ian Smith while at the same time the United Kingdom is elsewhere trying to gain time and consolidate its trade and financial interests in that colony, which is still under its administration. Neither the Pretoria-Salisbury-Lisbon axis, nor the import of Rhodesian goods by the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and others in violation of resolution 253 (1968) of the Security Council can contain Zimbabwe nationalism. The double game being played by the British Government is too well known for us to be taken in by it. The community of nations must see to it that the authorities in London do not drag us into a political impasse but rather begin a process for the recovery by the Zimbabwe people of their usurped rights. Through his policy of provincialization, recently illustrated by the expropriation of the Tagwenas, Ian Smith has proved that he is nothing less than a Vorster puppet.

76. The militarist South African régime knows that the NATO investments designed to make South Africa a nuclear Power are simply a bugbear, which could only frighten the adherents of this heinous system based on the separate development of races. This show of strength is in fact an obvious sign of psychotic terror on the part of the white man in South Africa. He knows that his supremacy is an illusion that cannot long persist. This is even more true with regard to Namibia, whose administration is now the responsibility of the United Nations.

77. In this connexion, once again we turn towards the trading partners of South Africa, which also happen to be permanent members of the Security Council. By continually violating the arms embargo against the South African régime, these States—France, the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and others—prove that they are helping, by their continued assistance to the Pretoria authorities, to jeopardize peace and security in southern Africa.

78. Consequently we are determined to call for the application of Chapter VII of the Charter to South Africa.

79. I cannot fail to address to the Special Committee the tribute it justly deserves for including in its agenda the questions of the Comoro Archipelago and Puerto Rico, and

³ Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

⁴ Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.

I hope that everything will be done to initiate the debate on this new chapter of its programme of work.

80. My delegation takes this opportunity to thank the OAU for its initiative in proposing an international conference on colonialism and *apartheid* to be held in Oslo in 1973. We have no doubt that the Secretary-General of the United Nations will lend his full co-operation to ensure the success of that conference.

81. The Government of the Republic of Guinea is sure that the work of this session of the General Assembly will contribute in large measure to the solution of questions of decolonization. Just as in 1960, a new chapter must be opened in the history of the liberation of peoples.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.