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**2318th  
PLENARY MEETING**

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**President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA**  
(Algeria).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Aké (Ivory Coast), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

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**REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/9941)**

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**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) 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) Reports of the Secretary-General

**Report of the Economic and Social Council (*continued*)\***

**REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/9942)**

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**United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa: report of the Secretary-General**

**REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/9943)**

**AGENDA ITEM 71**

**Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Secretary-General**

**REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/9944)**

1. Mr. ARAUJO (Guinea-Bissau), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee (*interpretation from French*): I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly 10 reports of the Fourth Committee on items 13 and 23, 64 to 68, 69 and 12, 70, and 71 of the agenda. Given the heavy work programme of the Assembly in these last few days of the session I shall not attempt to detail all the aspects of the various recommendations contained in these reports but I shall confine myself to stressing the principal elements of some of them.

2. The first report, in document A/9747, concerns the report of the Trusteeship Council under agenda item 13, and the chapter of the 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 concerning Papua New Guinea under agenda item 23 [A/9623/Rev.1, chap. XX]. The draft resolution that the Fourth

\* Resumed from the 2311th meeting.

Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption is in paragraph 12 of the report. As paragraph 11 of the report indicates, the draft resolution received the unanimous support of the Fourth Committee and was adopted without objection. The Fourth Committee recommends that the Assembly should resolve in agreement with the administering Power that, on the date on which Papua New Guinea becomes independent, the Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory of New Guinea shall cease to be in force.

3. The second report, which appears in document A/9748, concerns Territories not covered by other agenda items, which the Committee considered under item 23. The Assembly will find in this report eight draft resolutions, three draft consensuses and two draft decisions that the Fourth Committee recommends for adoption.

4. These concern Niue; Gibraltar; the Seychelles; the Gilbert and Ellice Islands; Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Montserrat, the Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands; the Cocos (Keeling) Islands; the Tokelau Islands; Brunei; American Samoa, Guam, the New Hebrides, Pitcairn, St. Helena and the Solomon Islands; the Comoro Archipelago; and Spanish Sahara.

5. On Niue, the General Assembly, since this Territory has become self-governing in free association with New Zealand, would decide that the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter was no longer necessary.

6. On the Seychelles and the Comoro Archipelago, the Assembly would note with satisfaction the express wish of the populations concerned to move as early as possible towards the full independence of their respective countries.

7. On the so-called Spanish Sahara, the Assembly, while reaffirming the right to self-determination of the peoples of the Territory, would decide to request an advisory opinion on certain aspects of the question from the International Court of Justice. Meanwhile it would ask the Special Committee to keep the situation in the Territory under review, *inter alia*, by sending a visiting mission to the Territory. I should add in regard to this question that a number of delegations have informed me that the English text of the draft resolution adopted by the Fourth Committee does not exactly match the text of the original, which was prepared in French. My understanding is that the text of the tenth preambular paragraph should read in English:

“Considering, therefore, that it is highly desirable that the General Assembly, in order to continue the discussion of this question at its thirtieth session, should receive an advisory opinion on some important legal aspects of the problem.”

Similarly, the text of operative paragraph 1 should read in English:

“Decides to request the International Court of Justice, without prejudice to the application of the principles embodied in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), to give an advisory opinion at an early date to the following questions: . . .”

8. On the other Territories, the General Assembly would again reaffirm that the provisions of the Declara-

tion on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] are fully applicable to the populations of those Territories. Furthermore, in view of the positive results ensuing upon recent visiting missions to Niue, the Cocos (Keeling) Islands and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, the Assembly would stress the capital importance of sending visiting groups to those small Territories, so that the United Nations might be fully informed of the situation there and of the wishes and aspirations of their inhabitants regarding their future.

9. The third report, in document A/9749, concerns agenda item 64, entitled “Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations”. In paragraph 9 of its report, the Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution in which, among other things, the General Assembly would reaffirm that, in the absence of a decision by the Assembly itself that a Non-Self-Governing Territory had attained a full measure of self-government, the administering Power concerned should continue to transmit information with respect to that Territory.

10. The fourth report [A/9892] concerns the question of Namibia, which the Fourth Committee took up under agenda item 65. In paragraph 9 of its report, the Committee recommended to the General Assembly the adoption of two draft resolutions. Among other provisions, the Assembly would endorse the recommendations submitted to it by the United Nations Council for Namibia in its report [A/9624 and Add.1], and in this regard would call on all States and organizations concerned to intensify their co-operation and their support to the Council in implementing the tasks entrusted to it by the Assembly.

11. The fifth report [A/9939] deals with the question of Territories under Portuguese domination, considered under agenda item 66. By adopting the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 12 of that report, the General Assembly would take note of the constructive measures in regard to those Territories taken by the new Government of Portugal in co-operation with the national liberation movements. The Assembly would call upon the Government of Portugal to pursue the necessary steps to ensure the full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and of other recent measures geared towards complete decolonization, including the continuation of the negotiations with the movements concerned.

12. The sixth report [A/9940] deals with Southern Rhodesia, a question taken up by the Committee under agenda item 67. As at earlier sessions, the Committee is recommending to the Assembly the adoption of two draft resolutions. One concerns the question as a whole and the other concerns sanctions. The Assembly would deplore the failure of the Government of the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to put an end to the illegal régime of the racist minority, and would condemn the policy of States which, disregarding the sanctions of the Security Council, continue to collaborate with that régime. The Assembly would also call on the administering Power, among other things, to convene, as soon as possible, a national constitutional conference at which the genuine political representatives of the people of

Zimbabwe would be able to work out a settlement relating to the future of the Territory.

13. The seventh report [A/9941] concerns the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration, a question taken up by the Committee under agenda item 68. In paragraph 8 of the report, The Committee recommends to the General Assembly a draft resolution for adoption. Among other provisions, the Assembly would again condemn the policies of the colonial Powers and other States which continue to support or collaborate with those foreign economic and other interests engaged in exploiting the natural and human resources of the Territories. It would request all States to take effective measures to end the supply of funds and other forms of assistance, including military supplies and equipment, to those régimes which use them to repress the peoples of the colonial Territories and their national liberation movements.

14. The eighth report [A/9942] concerns the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international organs associated with the United Nations, a question taken up by the Committee under agenda items 69 and 12. In paragraph 10 of the report, the Committee recommends to the General Assembly a draft resolution for adoption. In it the Assembly would request the organs concerned to intensify their efforts as regards the rendering of the necessary moral and material assistance to the peoples of the colonial Territories and to their national liberation movements. Furthermore, the Assembly would again urge those organizations to withhold all assistance from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, to discontinue all support to them until they restore to the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, and to refrain from taking any action that might imply recognition of the legitimacy of the domination of the Territories by those régimes. At the same time, the Assembly would draw the attention of the organizations concerned to the steps towards decolonization undertaken by Portugal, thus enabling those organizations to resume their co-operation with the present Government of Portugal.

15. The ninth report [A/9943] concerns the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, a question taken up by the Fourth Committee under agenda item 70. In the draft resolution recommended by the Committee to the General Assembly for adoption, the Assembly would express its appreciation to all those who have made voluntary contributions to the Programme and would decide to appropriate a sum of \$100,000 under the regular budget of the United Nations for the financial year 1975 to ensure the continuity of the Programme pending the receipt of adequate voluntary contributions.

16. The tenth and last report of the Fourth Committee [A/9944] concerns agenda item 71, entitled "Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories". In the draft resolution recommended by the Committee to the General Assembly for adoption, the Assembly would express its appreciation to those Member States which have made fellowships available to the inhabitants of colonial Territories, and would invite all States to make or continue to make generous

offers of study and training facilities to the inhabitants of those Territories, taking particular account of the urgent need of the transitional Governments of the colonial Territories concerned in southern Africa for qualified personnel to assume responsibility for the administration and development of their countries.

17. As I indicated at the beginning of my statement, I have confined myself in these remarks to noting the fundamental elements of recommendations submitted by the Fourth Committee. I should like to stress that if I have omitted references to some of those recommendations, that omission in no way reduces the importance of the provisions that I have failed to mention.

18. On behalf of the Fourth Committee I recommend these reports to the attention of the General Assembly.

*Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Fourth Committee, with the exception of the report on agenda item 65, on the question of Namibia.*

19. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now invite the Assembly to consider the report of the Fourth Committee on items 13 and 23 dealing with the report of the Trusteeship Council and the chapter of the 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 relating to Papua New Guinea. The Fourth Committee report on this subject is contained in document A/9747.

20. As no delegation has asked to give an explanation of vote before the vote, the Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 12 of its report. In view of the fact that the Fourth Committee adopted the draft resolution without objection, may I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3284 (XXIX)).*

21. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Australia, who wishes to explain his Government's position on the resolution just adopted.

22. Mr. CAMPBELL (Australia): The decision just taken by the General Assembly has profound significance for Papua New Guinea and for my own country. It is a decision by which the United Nations has now enabled Papua New Guinea to proceed to independence before the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. This news will be received with equal appreciation and enthusiasm in Australia and in Papua New Guinea whose co-operation in the process of decolonization continues in the closest way possible. That the Assembly's decision was unanimous makes it doubly welcome, and we take it as a vote of confidence for which we are duly grateful to the Assembly.

23. My delegation wishes to respond by informing the Assembly briefly of the continuing progress towards independence which has occurred even since the Fourth Committee adopted the draft resolution on 28 November.

24. During its final session for 1974, which was concluded last week, on 6 December, the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly proceeded to com-



plete its debate on all except one of the chapters of the reports on the proposed constitution. The drafting of the constitutional bill itself is now to proceed, and the Government of Papua New Guinea proposes to introduce this bill in late February in the first session of the House of Assembly for 1975.

25. The House of Assembly, in its last session just concluded, also endorsed proposals by the Papua New Guinea Government for the transfer of powers and functions from the Australian Government covering the Supreme Court and legal matters, defence and foreign affairs. It has already passed the legislation necessary to proceed with the transfer in the defence field.

26. Papua New Guinea's request for this transfer of authority over defence and foreign relations, and the legal matters concerned, has been welcomed by the Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Whitlam. Legislative action is under way in the Australian Parliament which will enable the transfers to take place in the next few months in accordance with our long-standing policy that Papua New Guinea should exercise final authority in all matters of government before the formal step of independence.

27. Mr. Whitlam has, however, reiterated that the transfer of authority in the fields of defence and foreign relations in the period before independence will necessarily be subject to Australia's continuing international and treaty obligations. These include our obligations to the United Nations under the Trusteeship Agreement and under the Charter of the United Nations, and the Papua New Guinea Government is in agreement on this matter.

28. The Papua New Guinea Government has also especially requested that, in accordance with its wishes, we should reconfirm to the General Assembly at this time the message delivered by the Papua New Guinea Special Adviser speaking on behalf of Mr. Kiki, the Minister for Defence, Foreign Relations and Trade, to the Fourth Committee on 26 November that the Papua New Guinea Government expects independence to come before the thirtieth regular session of the General Assembly.

29. Mr. President, I thank you and the General Assembly. It is intended that we should not speak here again for Papua New Guinea.

30. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly has thus concluded its consideration of agenda item 13.

31. The Assembly will now turn to the second item on its agenda for this afternoon, the report submitted by the Fourth Committee on agenda item 23 concerning some chapters of the 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 relating to specific territories not covered by other agenda items [A/9748].

32. I shall now call on representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote on any or all of the recommendations of the Fourth Committee, in paragraphs 37, 38 and 39 of the report. Representatives who wish to explain their votes after the vote will be

allowed to do so after all the recommendations of the Fourth Committee have been voted on.

33. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Following in the footsteps of the Cook Islands and Western Samoa, another Territory under New Zealand administration, namely, Niue, has attained self-government this year. I should like to pay a particular tribute at this stage to the Government of New Zealand for the exemplary efforts that it has continued to exert in the implementation of the objectives of the Charter and the Declaration with respect to the Territories under its administration.

34. At the same time, it is equally significant that, in all three cases, the special visiting missions dispatched by the United Nations at the invitation of the administering Power have played an extremely important role in assisting the peoples concerned in the free exercise of their inalienable right.

35. In the case of Niue, the 1972 mission, headed by the Chairman of the Special Committee himself, my colleague and brother Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, and the 1974 mission, under the leadership of my friend and colleague Mr. Tadesse of Ethiopia, amply demonstrated that the active participation *in loco* of the United Nations in the process of decolonization is an indispensable element in our endeavour in this regard. Let us hope that a viable solution to the situation in the only remaining New Zealand-administered Territory, the Tokelau Islands, will be advanced as expeditiously as possible through the dispatch of another United Nations visiting mission, which has now become the established procedure in so far as the New Zealand Government is concerned—a truly commendable practice.

36. With regard to the Comoro Archipelago and the Seychelles, I have elsewhere recorded my Government's satisfaction at the expressed wishes of the peoples concerned to proceed towards their full national independence as soon as possible. I wish once again to stress the importance of the administering Powers concerned—namely, the Governments of France and the United Kingdom—working closely with the Special Committee with regard to all aspects of the processes leading to the Territories' independence, and in that respect wish to address a particular appeal to the Government of France to reconsider its attitude and to participate actively in the relevant proceedings of that Committee.

37. With respect to many of the remaining Territories that are the subject of the draft resolutions and consensus before us, one must note with a degree of encouragement and anticipation that, given the necessary co-operation of the administering Powers concerned, the populations of these Territories will be afforded the opportunity to express fully and freely their genuine and true aspirations with regard to the future status of their countries. I wish to urge the administering Powers concerned to establish specific programmes geared to the acceleration of the pace towards that end, and to keep the Special Committee fully informed of such concrete steps as might be taken in that regard.

38. With specific reference to operative paragraph 10 of draft resolution VI, concerning Pacific Territories, my delegation has no doubt whatsoever about the

competence of the Fourth Committee to deal with the subject matter. In fact, the Assembly for two years in succession urged the administering Power concerned—and here I quote paragraph 11 of resolution 3156 (XXVIII):

“... in view of its responsibility towards the welfare of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the region, to discontinue any further nuclear atmospheric testing in the South Pacific area, in order not to endanger the life and environment of the peoples of the Territories concerned.”

39. Concerning the question of Brunei, a Territory which the Government of the United Kingdom itself defined in 1946 as falling within the purview of Chapter XI of the Charter, and which accordingly was noted by the General Assembly in resolution 66 (I), adopted during the very first session, among the original list of 74 Non-Self-Governing Territories, I wish to express my confident hope that the consultations envisaged by the Chairman of the Special Committee with the administering Power in this regard will result in a positive approach towards the attainment of the goals set forth in the Charter with respect to this colonial Territory. In that regard, the express readiness of the United Kingdom to co-operate with the Chairman of the Committee should be noted with satisfaction.

40. Regarding the complex problem of Spanish Sahara, my delegation was happy to be a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/L.1090 and Corr.1 when this question was considered in the Fourth Committee [*ibid.*, para. 34].

41. Unlike those Territories situated elsewhere which heretofore have presented seemingly insurmountable obstacles to the efforts of the world community to expedite the process of decolonization, the dependent Territories that are the subject of the present report continue to receive the close attention of the administering Powers concerned in the discharge of their Charter obligations. During the past two years in particular, the situation evolving in these Territories has shown an encouraging sign in favour of the interests of the populations therein. We have witnessed, as in the case of Territories administered by New Zealand and Australia, that the well-being of the peoples concerned has been further enhanced through the constructive efforts on the part of the administering Powers to associate the Special Committee closely with all aspects of the situation in those Territories.

42. In the circumstances, my delegation would like once again to endorse most earnestly the recommendations of the Fourth Committee contained in the present report that the administering Powers participate actively in the relevant work of the Special Committee, as well as receive United Nations visiting missions to the Territories under their administration.

43. For those reasons, I urge that the recommendations contained in the report be adopted unanimously by the General Assembly.

44. Mr. CHAN (Singapore): My delegation would like to explain why it has found it possible to cast a vote in favour of draft resolution VIII, on Spanish Sahara [*ibid.*, para. 37].

45. The primary issue involved in the question of Spanish Sahara is the issue of decolonization. My

Government has steadfastly held the view that in the process of decolonization the principle of self-determination enshrined in United Nations resolution 1514 (XV) must never be compromised. My delegation is able to vote in favour of draft resolution VIII because, in our construction of it, it is not inconsistent with our adherence to the principle of self-determination.

46. First, we note that this principle is reaffirmed in the third preambular paragraph of the draft resolution.

47. Secondly, operative paragraph 1, which asks the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion, states that this is “without prejudice to the application of the principles embodied in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)”.

48. Thirdly, we wish to refer to operative paragraph 3, which very clearly states that the decolonization process in Spanish Sahara shall be “in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV)”.

49. In conclusion, we wish to reiterate our Government's steadfast view that in the process of decolonization the principles that should be applied are those enshrined in resolution 1514 (XV), the most important of which is the principle of self-determination.

50. Mr. de PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation has expressed its position in detail on the question of the decolonization of the Spanish Sahara during this session of the General Assembly. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain, in his statement of 2 October in the general debate, explained the essential features of that position: our acceptance of General Assembly resolution 3162 (XXVIII), the self-determination of the inhabitants of the Sahara, and the referendum that was to be held in accordance with the terms of that resolution [2253rd meeting, paras. 163-172].

51. Our delegation also stated its position in the Fourth Committee with regard to all the matters considered there and, in particular, on the question of consulting the International Court of Justice.<sup>1</sup> Before voting on draft resolution VIII, contained in document A/9748, my delegation would like to explain why it intends to abstain, and point out, as it has already done in the Fourth Committee,<sup>2</sup> that the fourth preambular paragraph is at variance with operative paragraph 3. The fourth preambular paragraph refers to the colonial situation and the need to put an end to it as it jeopardizes stability and harmony in that region, whereas operative paragraph 3 urges the administering Power to postpone the referendum that the General Assembly had provided for by the favourable vote of the majority of those who today request that we postpone it.

52. The ninth preambular paragraph contains a statement that has nothing whatsoever to do with reality. In the discussion in the Fourth Committee no legal controversy arose over the status of the said Territory at the time of its colonization by Spain. Unquestionably this refers to Morocco's divergence of view from the doctrine established by the General Assembly.

53. As we stated in the Fourth Committee, we are not opposed to consulting the International Court of Justice, but the questions which are formulated are,

from the legal point of view, ambiguous, inadequate and irrelevant. Of course we are confident that, in order to give its opinion, the International Court of Justice will have to take into account the development of international law with regard to Non-Self-Governing Territories as it is contained in the Charter and the declarations and resolutions of the General Assembly on decolonization, in particular resolution 1514 (XV). Thus, as was well stated in the Fourth Committee a few days ago by an African representative, the people of the Sahara will be its own tribunal.

54. As we stated in the Fourth Committee, my delegation is prepared to associate itself with the request to seek an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice, as requested by this Assembly and by the Fourth Committee, provided a balance is struck between the legal and historical background of the item and the present situation, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. In this connexion, the Court would have to give its view on the legal consequences that might arise out of those provisions of the Charter and the relevant resolutions for the indigenous population, which is the key element in the decolonization of the Sahara, for the administering Power and for the neighbouring countries.

55. With respect to operative paragraph 3 concerning the postponement of the referendum that was called for in resolution 3162 (XXVIII), we shall discuss this with the indigenous population of the Sahara to ascertain their views on the matter. In due course we shall inform the United Nations of the results.

56. In any event, it is important to reaffirm in this draft resolution the right of the indigenous population of the Sahara to achieve self-determination in all freedom. For this reason we hail the fact that the text on which we are about to vote contains the essence of resolution 1514 (XV) and of the specific resolutions relating to the decolonization of the Sahara.

57. As I have already stated, we shall have to abstain in the voting. My delegation would like to request a recorded vote on the draft resolution on the question of Spanish Sahara.

58. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): As there are no further representatives who wish to explain their votes before the vote, the Assembly will now proceed to vote on the recommendations of the Fourth Committee in document A/9748.

59. With respect to the financial and administrative implications of those draft resolutions, I have been informed that the report to be submitted by the Fifth Committee in connexion with the draft resolution on the general question of decolonization in document A/L.754 and Add.1 will contain specific provisions covering the entire work programme of the Special Committee for the year 1975, including, *inter alia*, provisions regarding the visiting missions which the Special Committee intends to send to the Territories concerned. It is with that understanding that the Assembly will now vote on the various draft resolutions, consensuses and decisions.

60. I invite the Assembly to turn first to draft resolution I on the question of Niue. The Fourth Committee adopted the draft resolution without any objection.

May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 3285 (XXIX)).*

61. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now turn to draft resolution II on the question of Gibraltar. The Fourth Committee adopted that draft resolution also without objection. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 3286 (XXIX)).*

62. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We turn now to draft resolution III on the question of the Seychelles. The draft resolution was adopted without any objection by the Fourth Committee. May I take it that the Assembly also wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 3287 (XXIX)).*

63. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I invite the Assembly to turn now to draft resolution IV on the question of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. The Fourth Committee adopted the draft resolution without any objection. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution IV was adopted (resolution 3288 (XXIX)).*

64. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I invite the Assembly to turn now to draft resolution V on the question of Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Montserrat, the Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands. A recorded vote has been requested on this draft resolution.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Austria, Belgium, Canada, Central African Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Iceland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Draft resolution V was adopted by 117 votes to none, with 17 abstentions (resolution 3289 (XXIX)).<sup>3</sup>*

65. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I invite the Assembly to turn now to draft resolution VI on the question of American Samoa, Guam, the New Hebrides, Pitcairn, St. Helena and the Solomon Islands. A recorded vote has been requested on this draft resolution.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

*Against:* France.

*Abstaining:* Austria, Belgium, Canada, Central African Republic, Denmark, Finland, Germany (Federal Republic of), Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Draft resolution VI was adopted by 111 votes to 1, with 20 abstentions (resolution 3290 (XXIX)).<sup>3</sup>*

66. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now invite the Assembly to turn to draft resolution VII on the question of the Comoro Archipelago. The draft resolution was adopted by the Fourth Committee without any objection. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution VII was adopted (resolution 3291 (XXIX)).*

67. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now invite the Assembly to turn to draft resolution VIII on the question of Spanish Sahara. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, Germany (Federal Republic of), Greece, Grenada, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay, Venezuela.

*Draft resolution VIII was adopted by 87 votes to none, with 43 abstentions (resolution 3292 (XXIX)).<sup>3</sup>*

68. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I invite the Assembly to turn now to draft consensus I in paragraph 38 of the report [A/9748] concerning the question of the Cocos (Keeling) Islands. The draft consensus was adopted by the Fourth Committee without objection. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft consensus I was adopted.*

69. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Draft consensus II concerns the question of the Tokelau Islands. The draft consensus was adopted by the Fourth Committee without objection. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft consensus II was adopted.*

70. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Draft consensus III concerns the question of Brunei. The Fourth Committee adopted the consensus without objection. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft consensus III was adopted.*

71. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now invite the Assembly to turn to the two draft decisions adopted by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 39 of the report.

72. Draft decision I concerns the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). It was not put to the vote in the Fourth



Committee. May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt the draft decision?

*Draft decision I was adopted.*

73. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now invite the Assembly to turn to draft decision II, which concerns the questions of Belize, of French Somaliland, and of Antigua, Dominica, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent. Since there was no vote in the Fourth Committee on that decision, may I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt it?

*Draft decision II was adopted.*

74. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to explain their votes after that series of votes.

75. Mr. GUILHEM de LATAILLADE (France) (*interpretation from French*): For reasons we have already had an opportunity to explain in the Fourth Committee, the French delegation did not wish to oppose the adoption by consensus of the draft resolution concerning the Comoro Archipelago. On the eve of the elections that are to take place there next week, we should like once again to express our satisfaction at the realism and understanding that prevailed in our debates. We would simply refer the Assembly to the declaration we made in the Fourth Committee on this subject.<sup>4</sup>

76. Mr. MORETON (United Kingdom): My delegation did not participate in the vote on Brunei, for reasons that were explained fully in the Fourth Committee.<sup>5</sup>

77. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We come now to the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 64, entitled "Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations" [A/9749]. In paragraph 9 of the report, the Committee recommends a draft resolution to the General Assembly for adoption. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany (Federal Republic of), Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian

Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 124 votes to none, with 3 abstentions (resolution 3293 (XXIX)).<sup>6</sup>*

78. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall consider the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 66, entitled "Question of Territories under Portuguese domination" [A/9939] before we begin the consideration of item 65. I shall now call on the delegations that wish to speak in explanation of vote before the vote.

79. Mr. TUPE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): When the draft resolution on the question of Territories under Portuguese domination was adopted in the Fourth Committee by consensus, my delegation was, for reasons beyond its control, unable to be present and to explain its position. That is why I am now taking the floor to say that my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution in paragraph 12 of document A/9939.

80. The Albanian people and Government have always firmly supported the struggle of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies to recover their national freedom and independence. If the struggle of these peoples has now won some major successes, this is beyond question thanks to the firmness, the courage, the perseverance and the self-sacrifice they have shown and continue to show in their heroic and resolute struggle against foreign domination and the colonialist yoke. For those reasons, therefore, in accordance with our policy of principle, we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution. Nevertheless, I wish to enter certain reservations on some paragraphs of the preamble and operative part of the draft resolution.

81. It is our view that the references in the third, seventh and ninth preambular paragraphs and in operative paragraphs 2, 7 and 8 to the Government of Portugal, weaken the truths set forth in the eighth preambular paragraph, which is perfectly in keeping with the facts.

82. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 12 of its report [A/9939]. That draft resolution was adopted by the Fourth Committee without objection. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3294 (XXIX)).*

83. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall turn now to the draft decision recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 13 of its report [A/9939]. The Fourth Committee adopted that draft



decision without objection. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

*The draft decision was adopted.*

84. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on the representative of Portugal, who wishes to make a statement in explanation of vote after the vote.

85. Mr. da COSTA LOBO (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation takes great satisfaction in being able to associate itself with the consensus that has emerged in the vote on the draft resolution concerning Territories under Portuguese administration. We rejoice in this circumstance all the more because, in a way, it is symbolic of the renewal of Portugal's participation in the collective undertakings of the international community intended to promote the welfare of our peoples and co-operation among nations.

86. My delegation is particularly gratified at the recognition of the progressive and unequivocal evolution of the process of decolonization that was begun on 25 April. We believe we can state that, so far as this goes, the draft resolution is no more than a reflection of the many statements from the most diverse sectors of the General Assembly, both in the general debate and the consideration of various agenda items.

87. I should like to express Portugal's gratitude to all the delegations that have addressed to us words of sympathy, friendship and trust. For our part, it is our firm intention to continue the process of decolonization as rapidly as possible.

88. Thus, in conformity with the announcement made a few days ago by the Minister for Interterritorial Co-ordination of Portugal [*see 2305th meeting*], some very important negotiations will shortly be taking place with the three liberation movements of Angola: the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola [FNLA], the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [MPLA] and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola [UNITA]. We look forward confidently to these negotiations opening the way to the transitional period which must necessarily precede the independence of the Territory.

89. The Portuguese Government is resolved to continue unswervingly to discharge the tasks incumbent on it to guarantee to the peoples of all the Territories under its administration the exercise of the right to self-determination and independence and we hail the resolution just adopted as a positive contribution to the continuance and to the conclusion of this task.

90. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now draw the Assembly's attention to the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 65, the question of Namibia [A/9892], which contains two draft resolutions recommended to the Assembly for adoption [*ibid.*, para. 19]. In connexion with this agenda item, a draft resolution has been submitted in document A/L.751. I now call upon the representative of Saudi Arabia, the sponsor of this text, to introduce it to the Assembly.

91. Mr. BARODY (Saudi Arabia): I should like my colleagues in the Assembly to note very carefully what I have to say about this question of Namibia, which will be as short as is humanly possible, before

I introduce the draft resolution in document A/L.751. I do sincerely hope that while I present this resolution they will have the text before them.

92. From this same rostrum in 1967, at the fifth special session of the Assembly, on what was then known as South West Africa, the Mandate for that Territory having been entrusted to South Africa by the League of Nations through the United Kingdom in 1920, I made it clear that, since I had lived under mandates in the Middle East, my preoccupation then was how to see that South West Africa would be liberated. I was conscious of *apartheid*. I did not want to mix issues. We fought against racial discrimination, but I thought it was the better part of wisdom not to enlarge my criticism of the Republic of South Africa lest what I said should be taken up by our adversaries who would confuse the issue. Therefore, my preoccupation was to see how South West Africa—later called Namibia—would be liberated.

93. In fact, I had private conversations with none other than Mr. Muller who is still, I believe, the Foreign Minister of South Africa. It was upon his request that I met him, and he asked me if I should like to meet him privately. I said, "No, I am afraid of no one. I will meet you in the delegates' lounge."

94. And we met several times. I told him that his country could no longer afford to rationalize its occupation or its supremacy over Namibia. Anyway, I was, so to speak, the liaison between Mr. Muller and my African brothers. And from this very rostrum I submitted a draft resolution for the liberation of the people of Namibia.<sup>7</sup>

95. My African colleagues rallied around me and some of them even asked to co-sponsor the resolution with me. I said, "No, it is better that you keep aside so that if there is need, you could perhaps make suggestions to me and I will tailor my resolution in a way that would redound to the best interests of the people of South West Africa".

96. That was the understanding. I do not say that at that time Mr. Muller accepted all the terms I gave him. I thought that it might take three or four years instead of one year to see that South West Africa was liberated. And then what happened? For some reason my colleague of those days from the United States, Mr. Goldberg, seemed to have won the approval of those Africans who rallied around my draft resolution, and said, "Why talk about South West Africa? You call that land Namibia. Why not have a council for Namibia?"

97. I warned them that calling the administration of the Territory a council does not solve the problem. So the United Nations Council for Namibia was established [*resolution 2243 (S-V)*], and with all due respect to its members, who are patriots, South West Africa—in other words, Namibia—is still under the rule of South Africa. Seven years have gone by. Nothing has happened; South Africa is not even here to listen to what we have to say.

98. This is an impasse as far as I am concerned, because I am concerned with the liberation of the people of South West Africa—or Namibia, as we now know it. That is why when the question was again brought to the attention of the Security Council I thought it was my sacred duty to do something on

behalf of the people of Namibia, and I submitted a draft resolution. Not being a member of the Council I could not put it to the vote, nor were any of my Asian and African colleagues willing to submit the draft resolution for a vote, on the grounds that they were working on a broader draft resolution. And then nothing emerged from the Council.

99. But I was tenacious as far as the liberation of the people of Namibia was concerned, so on 4 November this year I submitted to the Fourth Committee a draft resolution [see A/9892, para. 11], which was not exactly a replica of my draft resolution before the Security Council, but was based on it. My African colleagues and brothers were working simultaneously on a comprehensive draft resolution which finally emerged—and I have here draft resolution A/C.4/L.1072/Rev.1 [ibid., paras. 12-17]. Indeed, it is a thesis. This draft resolution is a thesis on the question of Namibia.

100. It is divided into several sections: a preamble, and then I—Basic principles, II—Action by the Security Council, III—Action by the United Nations Council for Namibia, IV—Action by Member States, V—Action by the Secretary-General, VI—Action by specialized agencies and other international organizations, and VII—Membership of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

101. It is more than a synthesis; it is a thesis on the problem, with all its ramifications, embracing the question of racial discrimination and *apartheid*. Nothing was left out; it was all incorporated in that draft resolution, which was later adopted [ibid., para. 19, draft resolution I].

102. In the meantime, suggestions were made to me by several African colleagues that perhaps I might remove mention of the Trusteeship Council from my draft resolution, perhaps I might consider eliminating the idea of co-administrators, because they might be partial, and perhaps I might highlight the role of the United Nations Council for Namibia, which is stationed here in the United Nations.

103. I thought the matter over very carefully, and now as I read this draft resolution of mine you will find that I avoided the question of *apartheid*, I avoided complicating the issue by accusing South Africa—although I could rightly do so—of having failed to do many things, not only as far as Namibia was concerned but also as far as the majority of blacks in its own country were concerned. As we say in Arabic: "I did not want to wrestle with the guardian of the vineyard. All I wanted was to eat some grapes"—that is, get some results. In other words, I wanted to put the Government of South Africa on the spot without calling them names. Either they will liberate the people of Namibia, or they will not.

104. So, heeding the suggestions I received from my African brothers, I tailored the draft resolution so that it could be a test case, one of the last tests to see whether South Africa really intends to liberate the people of Namibia or just wants to confuse the issue by taking this long thesis adopted by the Fourth Committee—a text which I am sure will be adopted here, and to the terms of which I subscribe fully. They will take that long document and find faults that suit them, in order to confuse the issue. That is why my draft

resolution is to put South Africa on the spot. It is a test draft resolution that will determine what will happen to the long draft resolution, the "thesis", as I called it.

105. Suffice it for me to say before I read my draft resolution and ask you to ponder over it before you vote, that it is a supplement to the "thesis" and they are not mutually exclusive. It is a part of the long thesis that was adopted by the Fourth Committee, and therefore there should be no reason why we should not find out whether South Africa has good intentions within a short period of time, or lacks goodwill towards the people of Namibia.

106. With your permission, Sir, and by the generosity of my colleagues in listening to it, I shall read draft resolution A/L.751 and, if anybody has any remarks, let them come up to the rostrum and make them, and if they are reasonable I shall incorporate them into my text—a text submitted a full month after the original text, which I have tailored in accordance with the suggestions that were made to me by my African colleagues.

"Taking into account all the resolutions on the question of Namibia adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council." — no enumeration—

"Recalling that the Mandate for the Territory at present known as Namibia was conferred upon His Britannic Majesty in accordance with a decision taken by the League of Nations in 1920."

This is factual.

"Noting that His Britannic Majesty entrusted the Mandate for the Territory to the Union of South Africa with a view to preparing the people for self-determination and eventual independence in conformity with the spirit and letter of the decisions of the League of Nations pertaining to Mandated Territories."

This is factual.

"Taking into account the fact that over half a century has elapsed since South Africa assumed the responsibility of preparing the people of Namibia to govern themselves, during which period all other Mandated Territories have gained full independence."

In fact, it is not 50 years, it is 54 years; that is why I say, "over half a century".

"Mindful of the fact that, since it has affirmed and reaffirmed the right of peoples to self-determination, the United Nations has assumed the responsibility of accelerating the process of liberation of Non-Self-Governing Territories,

"1. Urges South Africa to transfer without delay the administration of Namibia to the United Nations;

"2. Requests the Secretary-General, after consultation with the Security Council, to devise machinery which would ensure the transfer of the administration of Namibia to the United Nations within one year or less;

"3. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia and the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia to co-operate closely with the Secretary-General in effecting the transfer of administration from South Africa to the United Nations;

"4. Refers the present resolution to the Security Council for further action at the earliest possible time."

107. This draft resolution, as I read it, supplements this thesis of a draft resolution, which will no doubt be thoroughly discussed in the Security Council. Therefore, from my humble experience with this question from the beginning of the United Nations, and having had experience with Mandated Territories, I do urge my colleagues to vote unanimously, hoping that this will be a test case for South Africa. Whether they will heed this draft resolution remains to be seen, and if they do not, then I shall be active in the Security Council and in this very Assembly until the people of Namibia are liberated.

108. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call upon those representatives wishing to explain their vote on the two draft resolutions recommended by the Fourth Committee and on the draft resolution in document A/L.751, just introduced by the representative of Saudi Arabia.

109. The first speaker is the representative of Guyana, President of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

110. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): It is with considerable reluctance that I take the floor to explain my vote on draft resolution A/L.751. We have, of course, listened to the introduction of this draft resolution by our good friend and colleague, Mr. Baroody, the tale of whose contribution to the cause of decolonization needs no repetition in these halls. We are fully cognizant of the role that he, his Government and the people of Saudi Arabia have played in the effort to accelerate the process of decolonization all over the world.

111. Having said that, however, it behoves me to draw to the attention of the Assembly the fact that a draft resolution in similar terms was presented to the Fourth Committee, and the records in the report of that Committee before us indicate that the draft resolution was not pressed to a vote.

112. I must say that I have held extensive consultations with the members of the United Nations Council for Namibia and, indeed, with other Members of this Organization, and, without endeavouring or attempting to go into the substance of the draft resolution or questioning the motivation, the honesty and the sincerity of the position of its sponsor, I must very candidly say that the draft resolution in its present form will create considerable difficulties—I repeat: considerable difficulties—for the United Nations Council for Namibia and, I believe, for many members of this Assembly as well.

113. To accept it in its present form and in the context of all the efforts that are being undertaken to bring about a dramatic change in the situation in relation to Namibia would, in the view of my delegation, only émbangle the situation. I should like to make a last, final appeal to the sponsor, if he is so disposed, to withdraw the draft resolution.

114. What I say subsequently should not be interpreted in any way as having any coercive element, but I would be less than honest if I did not say that it would pain my delegation to vote against it—as it would have to do, if this draft resolution were pressed

to a vote; and I believe that that would be the position of a substantial part of this Assembly. I should therefore like to appeal to the sponsor to withdraw the draft resolution, and to say that, if it is not withdrawn and is put to a vote, the delegation of Guyana will vote against it.

115. Mr. BANDA (Zambia): Like my colleague from Guyana, we too would be compelled, most reluctantly, to vote against the draft resolution sponsored and introduced by our colleague and brother Mr. Baroody on the question of Namibia. It would be very sad for us to have to vote against it, but it would be difficult for us to vote for it because, unfortunately, we do not see anything in its substance to justify our support.

116. I fully realize that I am treading on sensitive ground when I have to stand up publicly and challenge Mr. Baroody, who has been here for many years and has tremendous experience at least in manoeuvring resolutions through these halls. However, I think he will agree that times do change, and sometimes it is even good for an elephant to tolerate ants biting at it. In any case, my delegation feels that Mr. Baroody's contribution to the cause of liberation and freedom in the world is beyond questioning. It is for that reason that our delegation finds it difficult to understand why it is not possible to consult and agree on some of these draft resolutions before we come here to vote.

117. As a delegation we are new here and not in a position to quote historical precedents. However, we feel that even those who are able to cite their successes over the past 25 years should now be satisfied that they have influenced the course of events for so long.

118. The delegation of Zambia would like, humbly and insistently, to ask Mr. Baroody to consider withdrawing his draft resolution, as has been requested by the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, because we feel that it will create a little confusion in the minds of delegations that think like ours.

119. We feel that there is nothing new in his draft resolution to justify its being put to the vote. In any case, we feel that he is giving too much time to the South African Government to resolve the question of Namibia—time that they have had in the past and time that the people of Namibia can very ill afford.

120. Ambassador Baroody, I should like you to understand very clearly that we normally very much appreciate your contribution to the resolutions adopted by this Assembly; however, we—and, I am sure, many other delegations here—would find it extremely difficult to adopt this draft resolution.

121. We have asked to be allowed to speak to make our position absolutely clear. We hope that we are not incurring the usual wrath and eloquence of Mr. Baroody; I would be the saddest person to have to be confronted by him today. However, I hope he will stand up and, with the usual courage of his convictions, withdraw the draft resolution.

122. Ambassador Baroody, as you know, I belong to one of those delegations which you have been kind enough to consult and which find it difficult to accept your draft resolution. We feel therefore that, since this matter is of such vital interest to the people of Namibia and considering the development of events in Africa,

it will surely not do this Assembly any good to have to disagree on who sponsors what draft resolution.

123. We feel that the draft resolutions sponsored by the United Nations Council for Namibia and the African group should be adequate, even for the interests of Mr. Baroody.

124. Mr. PAQUI (Dahomey) (*interpretation from French*): In truth, I did not intend to speak; I would have preferred to wait to see whether Mr. Baroody would reply to the appeal addressed to him. Indeed, it is very difficult to come to the podium of this Assembly to oppose a draft resolution submitted by a man with so much experience. But, for the reasons explained by preceding speakers, if Mr. Baroody does not heed the appeal that has been made to him to withdraw the draft resolution, the delegation of Dahomey would be compelled to vote against it.

125. My delegation would like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution submitted by Mr. Baroody, which reads:

*“Urges South Africa to transfer without delay the administration of Namibia to the United Nations.”*

If today we ask South Africa to “transfer without delay the administration of Namibia”, that means reverting to the situation in which we found ourselves at the time when the International Court of Justice handed down its decision on South Africa’s presence in Namibia.<sup>8</sup> So, to request South Africa “to transfer . . . the administration” is tantamount to saying that we recognize its presence there as legal—and it is not legal, as was stated by the International Court of Justice in its advisory opinion.

126. Furthermore, Mr. Baroody speaks of “machinery which would ensure the transfer”. That is precisely the difficulty since, if I correctly understood his statement earlier in this meeting, he is not too happy about the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia. But the machinery to which he refers would to some extent bypass the powers of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

127. I ask members of the Assembly to turn to draft resolution I in paragraph 19 of document A/9892. They will see that in operative paragraph 5 of section I, the General Assembly would demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal by South Africa from Namibia. Hence, there is a kind of overlapping of the two texts, since what Mr. Baroody is asking for is already in the text submitted by the African group to the Fourth Committee and recommended by that Committee to the Assembly for adoption.

128. Moreover, we find a slight contradiction between Mr. Baroody’s idea and operative paragraph 3 of his draft resolution, in which the United Nations Council for Namibia—whose existence he questions to some extent—is requested to co-operate.

129. That is why we join the colleagues who have preceded us to this rostrum in asking Mr. Baroody to be good enough to withdraw his draft resolution, which causes us some difficulties. If he does not, we shall be obliged to vote against it and to ask the Assembly too to do likewise.

130. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I know that Mr. Baroody has asked to be allowed to speak, but before calling upon him I shall ask the Assembly to vote on the two draft resolutions recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 19 of its report [A/9892].

131. Draft resolution I is entitled “Question of Namibia”. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/9957. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Draft resolution I was adopted by 112 votes to none, with 15 abstentions (resolution 3295 (XXIX)).<sup>9</sup>*

132. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Under section VII of the resolution just adopted, the General Assembly

*“Requests the President of the General Assembly, on the basis of consultations to be undertaken by the Secretary-General with the regional groups, to nominate during the current session of the General Assembly additional members of the United Nations Council for Namibia with a view to ensuring a broader representation in the Council”.*

133. Consultations on this matter are still taking place. The President of the Assembly will submit the names of the additional States nominated for membership of the United Nations Council for Namibia at a later meeting, for the approval of the Assembly.

134. Draft resolution II is entitled “United Nations Fund for Namibia”. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implica-



tions of that draft resolution is contained in document A/9957, the Fourth Committee adopted draft resolution II without objection. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 3296 (XXIX)).*

135. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Saudi Arabia to speak in connexion with draft resolution A/L.751. I should like to express the hope that he will heed the appeal made to him by the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the representatives of Zambia and Dahomey not to insist that a vote be taken on that draft resolution. I fully understand his reasons for submitting this text, but I hope that, out of his friendship for the African countries, he will not insist that it be put to the vote.

136. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): Far be it from me to say that I am always right. Similarly, I believe that my three friends and colleagues who have just stated their position on my draft resolution should not think that anyone in the United Nations has a monopoly on knowing how a certain subject should be dealt with here. That is why I made it clear that I had been active on this question since 1967. In 1967 the reason my African brothers gave for not rallying round me was that the three or four years that my draft resolution called for were too long. I would only note that seven years have now passed since 1967.

137. I had in mind the people of Namibia, not the United Nations Council for Namibia, with all due respect to its members and to its President.

138. It is not a question of "I told you so". I hope I shall be proved wrong. All I have said in this draft resolution is that South Africa should liberate Namibia within one year or less. I do not think that that is such a long time. After all, it took a Second World War for the Mandated Territories of the Middle East to be liberated. Twenty-eighth years were required—from 1920 to 1948—before those countries could be liberated from the Mandatory Powers.

139. When I say that I have some experience it is an understatement. I fought the Mandatory Power in my part of the world. I was not talking in theory. But in deference to my three colleagues—and I hope I am wrong in my appraisal of the situation—I shall not withdraw this draft resolution but I shall suspend it, and I request that the verbatim record include it word for word. I hope that my African brothers will succeed with their draft resolution. But if they do not, I may want my draft resolution to be resuscitated.

140. I just want to say briefly that last year I put forward a draft resolution in the First Committee on the question of Korea. The three major Powers decided on a consensus. I told them that on the basis of my humble experience, the consensus would not work. They said, "No, this time it is going to work". And my good friend, the Chairman of the First Committee, Mr. Borch of Denmark, said, "They will see to it that it will work". You know what happened this year. A year passed just like that.

141. I am not making conditions, but I would like my African brothers to promise me in their mind that if they do not succeed with their long draft resolution they will come back and ask me for suggestions, which I will

humbly give them. It is not a victory of votes. I could easily have this draft resolution voted on and put a defeat on record. That would not be a defeat for Baroody, but a defeat for my brothers and for the people of Namibia, and I love both of them, whether they are from Namibia or from outside Namibia. Far be it from me, having served here 29 years, to want to achieve a paper victory. Many a time I have submitted draft resolutions stubbornly—but I was right to be stubborn—and lost, but I was vindicated later.

142. I ask you, Mr. President, to declare this draft resolution suspended. If I see the need to resuscitate it, I shall do so, perhaps at the Assembly next year or at any special session, or in the Security Council. Since they have pleaded with me not to press the draft resolution to the vote, I appeal to them once in a while to consult someone like myself, who has had experience in these matters and who has at heart the self-determination of the Namibian people and who does not care a damn about majority votes.

143. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank Mr. Baroody for the understanding he has shown in not pressing his draft resolution to a vote. His comments will of course be recorded in the verbatim record of this meeting.

144. To complete consideration of this item, I would draw the attention of members of the Assembly to the note by the Secretary-General in document A/9863 which deals with the appointment of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia. In his note, the Secretary-General proposes to the General Assembly, for its approval, the extension of the appointment of Mr. Sean MacBride as United Nations Commissioner for Namibia for a further one-year term until 31 December 1975.

145. May I consider that the General Assembly approves the proposal of the Secretary-General?

*It was so decided.*

146. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We have concluded our consideration of agenda item 65, with the exception of the appointment of additional members to the United Nations Council for Namibia.

147. We shall now take up the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 67, on the question of Southern Rhodesia [A/9940]. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote before the vote on one or both draft resolutions recommended by the Fourth Committee to the General Assembly for adoption.

*Mr. Ghorra (Lebanon), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

148. Mr. da COSTA LOBO (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): The first draft resolution contained in paragraph 13 of document A/9940 embodies principles of the highest importance, which Portugal endorses clearly and unequivocally. This is particularly the case with respect to the fifth, eighth and tenth preambular paragraphs, and to operative paragraphs 1, 9 and 12. The devotion of my Government to these principles has already been recalled on many occasions and, in particular, in the Fourth Committee when we explained the vote of our delegation on the draft resolution which was then before the Fourth Committee.<sup>10</sup> However, we cannot ignore the fact that our abstention



at that time, despite our statements in support of the legitimate claims of the overwhelming majority of the population of Southern Rhodesia, Zimbabwe, to its inalienable right to self-determination and independence, might have given rise to some doubts, either on the categorical and unquestionable character of the Portuguese Government's adherence to those principles or on the consistency with which we uphold them in respect of the various peoples and Territories still under the colonial régime.

149. In view of the great importance that we attach to the fact that the international community should have no doubts about the firmness of our attitude, our delegation will now vote in favour of the draft resolution in question. The objections that we raised during the vote in the Fourth Committee with regard to the use of certain expressions are, of course, still valid. Thus we continue to believe that some of the paragraphs, particularly the sixth and the eleventh preambular paragraphs, refer to the attitude and behaviour of the United Kingdom in a manner which, in our opinion, is neither fair nor reasonable. We understand the indignation of the sponsors of this text, caused by the continued illegal and unjust situation prevailing in the Territory, a situation which is condemned by my Government also. However, it seems to us that, with regard to the responsibility of the administering Power in maintaining the situation, the complexity of the problem has been forgotten or minimized in some of the provisions of the draft resolution in question. That has led to the adoption of some formulas which, in our opinion, are devoid of realism and objectivity, such as, for instance, operative paragraph 5.

150. In thus announcing the vote of the Portuguese delegation in favour of the draft resolution, I should like to reiterate our strongest reservations regarding the language and content of the paragraphs I have just referred to.

151. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now vote on the two draft resolutions recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 13 of document A/9940. I shall first put to the vote draft resolution I. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian

Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay.

*Draft resolution I was adopted by 111 votes to none, with 18 abstentions (resolution 3297 (XXIX)).*

152. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now put to the vote draft resolution II. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Iceland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay.

*Draft resolution II was adopted by 112 votes to none, with 18 abstentions (resolution 3298 (XXIX)).*

153. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now consider the report of the Fourth Committee on item 68 of the agenda on the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to elim-

inate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa. The report is contained in document A/9941.

154. I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution in paragraph 8 of document A/9941, recommended by the Fourth Committee to the General Assembly for adoption. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 118 votes to none, with 13 abstentions (resolution 3299 (XXIX)).*

155. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now invite the Assembly to turn to the report of the Fourth Committee [A/9942] on agenda items 69 and 12, on the 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 and the report of the Economic and Social Council [A/9603, chap. VI, sect. F].

156. We shall now vote on the draft resolution in paragraph 10 of document A/9942 recommended by the Fourth Committee to the General Assembly for adoption. The Fourth Committee adopted the draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3300 (XXIX)).*

157. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We turn now to the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 70 concerning the United Nations

Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. The report is contained in document A/9943. In paragraph 9 of its report, the Fourth Committee recommends a draft resolution for adoption by the General Assembly. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution appears in document A/9958. The Fourth Committee adopted the draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3301 (XXIX)).*

158. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We turn now to the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 71 [A/9944], concerning offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories. In paragraph 8 of its report, the Fourth Committee recommended a draft resolution to the General Assembly for adoption. The Committee adopted the draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3302 (XXIX)).*

159. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We have now concluded consideration of all the agenda items allocated to the Fourth Committee, with the exception of the nomination of additional members to the United Nations Council for Namibia under agenda item 65.

## AGENDA ITEM 23

**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*)**

160. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Afghanistan to introduce the draft resolution in document A/L.754 and Add.1.

161. Mr. MANGAL (Afghanistan): It is an honour for the Afghan delegation to introduce, on behalf of the sponsors, the draft resolution contained in document A/L.754 and Add.1, on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

162. The provisions contained in the preamble as well as the operative part of the draft resolution reflect the present status of the decolonization efforts of the Organization with a view to the implementation of the Declaration.

163. After recalling resolution 1514 (XV) and all the previous resolutions, particularly resolution 3163 (XXVIII), concerning the implementation of the Declaration, the General Assembly, in the preamble to the draft resolution, would condemn the continued colonialist and racist repression of millions of Africans in Namibia and Zimbabwe by the racist Government of South Africa and the illegal white minority régime of Southern Rhodesia respectively, referring to the failure of the Government of the United Kingdom to take effective measures to put an end to the illegal

racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia, and strongly deprecating the policies of those States which help perpetuate the domination of the peoples in the Territories concerned.

164. In the preamble, the Assembly would welcome the changes in the colonial policy of Portugal and the constructive steps taken so far towards the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration with respect to the African Territories under its administration, expressing the hope that these changes and developments, together with the intensified activities of the national liberation movements, would accelerate further the decolonization process in South Africa.

165. While also welcoming the positive moves towards self-determination and independence in some of the remaining Territories, in particular Niue, Papua New Guinea, the Seychelles and the Comoro Archipelago, the Assembly would express concern at the slow process of decolonization in many other Territories. It would note with satisfaction the constructive results achieved by the increased co-operation and active participation in the work of the Special Committee of representatives of the administering Powers and the readiness of the Governments of Australia, New Zealand, Portugal and the United Kingdom to receive United Nations visiting missions in the Territories under their administration. The Assembly, however, would deplore deeply the negative attitude taken by those administering Powers which have not so far heeded the repeated appeals addressed to them by the General Assembly and the Special Committee to co-operate with the Committee in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it. The General Assembly, reiterating its conviction that the complete and faithful implementation of the Declaration will bring about with the greatest speed the total eradication of racial discrimination, *apartheid* and violation of basic human rights of peoples in colonial Territories, and noting with satisfaction the arrangements for the representation of the national liberation movements concerned in the work of the Special Committee and some other related organs of the United Nations, would reaffirm resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) and all other resolutions on decolonization, and call upon the administering Powers to take all the necessary steps to enable the dependent peoples of the Territories to exercise fully and without delay their right to self-determination and independence.

166. The General Assembly would also call upon all States, in particular the administering Powers, and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, to give effect to the recommendations concerning the speedy implementation of the Declaration and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

167. I should like to draw the special attention of the Assembly to the provisions of operative paragraph 5 of the draft whereby the General Assembly would reaffirm its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples under colonial and alien domination to exercise their right to self-determination and independence by all the necessary means at their disposal, and note with satisfaction the progress made by the national liberation movements, particularly in Africa, towards the national independence of their countries.

168. Other operative paragraphs are devoted to such important aspects of the question as the affirmation, once again, that the continuation of colonialism and alien domination in all its forms and manifestations, including racism, *apartheid* and the activities of foreign economic and other interests in the colonial Territories and the waging of colonial wars to suppress the national liberation movements taking place in the colonial territories and Africa, is incompatible with the Charter and other international legal instruments.

169. Another important aspect of the question covered by the operative part of the draft resolution is the request to all States, directly and through their action in the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, to withhold or continue to withhold assistance of any kind from the Government of South Africa and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia because of their policies of colonial domination.

170. Other paragraphs are self-explanatory and need no further comment. The remaining operative paragraphs, which are equally important, are concerned with the mandate of the Special Committee and other aspects of the matter, including a call to those administering Powers which have not as yet decided to co-operate to do so, in part by permitting the access of visiting missions to the Territories under their administration in order to secure first-hand information and ascertain the wishes and aspirations of the people of those Territories.

171. Finally, the General Assembly would request the Secretary-General to provide the Committee with the facilities and personnel necessary for the implementation of the present draft resolution.

172. Having introduced the draft resolution, I should like to express the hope of its sponsors that it will receive the unanimous support of the General Assembly. Taking into consideration the principle of collective responsibility of States in dealing with an important issue such as this, the unanimous adoption of the draft resolution should be considered as a very realistic expectation.

173. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Iraq to introduce the draft resolution in document A/L.755 and Add.1.

174. Mr. ARAIM (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the delegations of Afghanistan, Algeria, Australia, Bulgaria, Burundi, Chad, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Egypt, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Kuwait, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Nigeria, Oman, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Upper Volta, Yugoslavia and Zambia, I should like to present the draft resolution contained in document A/L.755 and Add.1 concerning the dissemination of information on decolonization. This topic was the subject of close attention by the Special Committee on decolonization, which has consistently discussed this subject in depth.

175. The sponsors of the draft resolution have reaffirmed the important role played by international publicity in stepping up international support given

to the national liberation movements, and to the struggle of militant peoples for self-determination and independence. The United Nations also has an effective role to play in this connexion because its different organs, particularly the Office of Public Information, are called upon to exert increased efforts to clarify the various dimensions of the struggle of peoples against colonialism and racial persecution.

176. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 1514 (XV), called for the need to continue to work by all means to disseminate information on colonized territories and peoples. The preambular paragraphs of the draft resolution deal with different aspects of the dissemination of information on peoples and countries subject to colonial domination.

177. In operative paragraph 1, the General Assembly would approve the chapter of the report of the Special Committee concerning the question of publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. As members know, the Special Committee has made appreciable efforts in this connexion and its efforts have covered different fields in order to create an international awareness of the reality of the situation in countries subject to colonial domination.

178. In operative paragraph 2, the Assembly would reaffirm the importance of urgently effecting the widest possible dissemination of information on the evils and dangers of colonialism and on the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by peoples in colonized countries in the world at large and in the African continent in particular.

179. In operative paragraph 3, the Assembly would request the Secretary-General to pursue measures designed to give publicity to matters pertaining to decolonization through the strengthening of the activities of information centres and the consolidation of working relations with the Organization of African Unity [OAU], as well as the strengthening of ties with non-governmental organizations. Co-ordination and consultation with these organizations would effectively contribute to the objective of achieving the widest possible dissemination of information about national liberation movements and creating a general international awareness in support of the peoples' struggles.

180. In operative paragraph 4, the Assembly would request the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee and through the Office of Public Information and the unit on information relating to decolonization, to continue the efforts of the United Nations in this connexion.

181. In the two operative paragraphs 5 and 6, the Assembly would call upon Member States, specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations to co-operate with the United Nations in order to disseminate information on decolonization.

182. In operative paragraph 8, the Special Committee would be requested, in view of its experience and its wide contacts with national liberation movements, to continue to seek suitable means of disseminating information on decolonization.

183. Many of the speakers who preceded me have stressed the importance of information in exposing

the violations committed against militant peoples and their leaders in their attempt to achieve their right to self-determination. We are called upon now, more than ever before, to redouble our efforts and to give support on all levels to the national liberation movements. The clarification of the true situation in the Territories subject to colonial domination is one of the basic tasks which should be shouldered by the United Nations.

184. The Office of Public Information is called upon now more than ever before to enlighten world public opinion on the developments in the struggle waged by people against colonialism in the world, particularly on the African continent; and it is also called upon to disseminate specific information about the steps taken by the General Assembly, particularly this year, and by the other organs of the United Nations to put an end to the colonial régimes and systems.

185. On behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution I should like to express the hope that this draft resolution will be adopted unanimously and that Member States will take the necessary steps to present a true and clear picture of the struggle of militant peoples for liberation and independence, and to expose the violations which have been committed against these peoples.

186. Mr. HUSSEIN (Somalia): Before giving the views and policy of my Government on the various issues that come under the heading of decolonization, I should like to pay a tribute to the members of the Special Committee on decolonization, and especially its Chairman, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, whose outstanding contribution to the cause of decolonization is well known to us all. Referring to Mr. Salim's active leadership as Chairman of the Special Committee, the Secretary-General, at the Committee's first meeting in January this year, rightly emphasized the importance of the work of the Committee in view of the major crisis that existed in southern Africa, where there is a series of threats to peace in the area, threats which also have a broader implication for international stability.

187. The excellent and comprehensive report of the Special Committee [A/9623/Rev.1] provides a most useful survey of the problems of decolonization, and also shows the valuable work being done by the Committee to further the goals of the international campaign against colonialism and racial discrimination.

188. While expressing my delegation's appreciation of the work of all those who contribute to the cause of decolonization, special tribute must be paid to the invaluable role played by the Secretary-General in this many-sided and complex question.

189. The Special Committee on *Apartheid*, under the chairmanship of Mr. Ogbu of Nigeria, and the United Nations Council for Namibia, headed by Mr. Jackson of Guyana, are also making essential contributions to the cause of liberating oppressed peoples from racist and colonial domination. Our tribute is also due to them.

190. It is now well over a decade since the majority of the world's former colonial peoples claimed their right to self-determination and independence, and in doing so brought about one of the major developments of this century. There has been time for the effects



of that development to be seen in historical perspective. Certainly the principles contained in resolution 1514 (XV) have been re-enforced and re-emphasized as the decolonization process has unfolded and as the United Nations has come within a reasonable distance of its goal of universality of membership.

191. If the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples needs any further validation, it has been provided by the developments of the past decade. In spite of the natural difficulties of establishing statehood and in spite of the obstacles provided by the colonial legacy, the resources of the former colonies are now being marshalled for the benefit of their own peoples rather than for the benefit of other peoples in other lands, and this is obviously a more just state of affairs than the one which existed previously.

192. In the international sphere, the developing countries, through their adherence to the principle of non-alignment, have made a valuable contribution to the balancing of international politics. Their attempt to bring about a more just and equitable order in our economically interdependent world is another example of the impact of the decolonization process.

193. The former colonies that are now sovereign States have not only sought to consolidate their own independence. Knowing from first-hand experience of the stultifying and dehumanizing effect of colonialism and racism, they have spearheaded the campaign to bring about self-determination and independence for the remaining peoples that still suffer under those forms of oppression. And if the developing countries are beset by political, social and economic problems, a look around the world today will show that not even a high state of development is a guarantee of freedom from national problems of the most difficult and dangerous kind.

194. In other words, all peoples share equally the right to national sovereignty, and all share equally in the obligations, the responsibilities and the challenges of independence.

195. My delegation believes that no country is too small to make a significant contribution to peace and progress for the world's peoples. It will be recalled, for example, that it was the representative of a small State—Malta—who brought to the attention of the international community the important question of the use of the resources of the sea-bed. The Somali Government hopes that the people of small territories such as the Seychelles, Spanish Sahara and the so-called French Somaliland will be fully supported by the United Nations in the expression of their aspirations for self-determination and independence and that the strategic and material interests of administering Powers will not stand in the way of their enjoyment of their inalienable rights.

196. We were gratified to hear from the statement of Mr. Sauvagnargues in the general debate [2238th meeting, para. 125] that France—one of the first Powers to foster self-determination—is currently completing its endeavours in this domain by preparing for the accession to independence of the Comoros. We commend those positive steps towards the completion of the process of decolonization, but it is our fervent hope that the people of the only remaining

French colonial Territory in Africa—namely, the so-called French Somaliland—will also be allowed a genuine and truly democratic possibility of expressing, freely and without undue pressure, their right to self-determination and independence, pursuant to resolution 1514 (XV).

197. We hope, too, that the process of self-determination will be carried out within the framework provided by the United Nations for the accession to independence of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories. It is regrettable when some administering Powers are unco-operative about United Nations visiting missions or other United Nations involvement in the decolonization process. Such involvement is in the best interests of the administering Powers, since it makes evident their sincerity and impartiality towards the peoples who are exercising their inalienable rights. In this context, Australia and New Zealand are to be commended for their co-operation with the United Nations over the progress of Papua New Guinea and Niue towards independence.

198. I ventured in my opening remarks to make some general observations about the decolonizing process because in recent times the efforts of third-world countries to ensure that the remaining colonial Territories of the world enjoy their just and inalienable rights are increasingly criticized and opposed by those countries which, in a more distant past, fought to obtain many of those same rights, and often through a resort to armed struggle.

199. Theoretically, all States look forward—in conformity with the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—to a world where the dignity and worth of the human person is universally affirmed and where world peace is strengthened by universal respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. In practice, many seek to denigrate the international campaign against racism and colonialism. It is only too clear that the third world's concern for those millions of oppressed peoples in southern Africa and elsewhere who suffer under the most abhorrent forms of racism and colonialism is not shared by the very States which consider themselves to be the leading proponents of freedom and democracy and whose co-operation would be most valuable for the success of the liberation struggle.

200. When one considers how widespread and pervasive are the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV); when one considers the military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers which impede the accession to independence of colonial peoples; when one considers that even the most moderate measures taken by the United Nations bodies over the years to end the unjust rule of minority régimes have been undermined by the non-compliance of some Member States, it has to be concluded that, in certain quarters, only lip-service is paid to the principle of the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination.

201. The most oppressive forms of colonialism are, of course, those which have been imposed on the peoples of southern Africa. The independent African States, with the support of other third-world countries, and the socialist and Scandinavian States have responded with appropriate support at different stages



of the liberation movements. At the end of the 1960s, the Lusaka Manifesto,<sup>11</sup> adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU at its sixth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa in September 1969, reflected the hope of the oppressed peoples that the minority régimes might still be persuaded to make a commitment to social justice. In 1971, the Mogadiscio Declaration<sup>12</sup> reflected the end of patience with the long years of waiting for change; it reflected, too, the realization that international dialogue only supported the minority régimes in their oppressive policies, and that the only avenue left was armed struggle by the victims of colonialism.

202. The successful war of liberation in the Portuguese Territories has vindicated this view of the southern African situation. It has also provided a symbol of achievement for those who still suffer and struggle under racism and colonialism and it is a warning to the minority régimes that they will not be able to continue forever in their unjust course.

203. The recent dramatic developments in the decolonization process are also a tribute to the wisdom and political vision of the new Government in Portugal, which is acting in accordance with the letter and spirit of resolution 1514 (XV). The sovereignty of Guinea-Bissau is firmly established, and the presence of a member of its delegation as Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee is evidence of the ability and willingness of the new State to take on the responsibilities of membership in the world community of nations.

204. My delegation welcomes the statement of the Portuguese Minister for Interterritorial Co-ordination reaffirming his Government's pledge that Portugal will turn over its remaining prerogatives of government and sovereignty in Mozambique to the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO] on 25 June 1975 [2305th meeting, paras. 70-71].

205. The establishment of a transitional Government and the setting of a date for the independence of Sao Tome and Principe are new and happy developments for which the Portuguese Government is also to be highly commended.

206. With regard to Angola, my Government appreciates the fact that the Portuguese Government and the liberation movements are faced with a situation that will require the goodwill and co-operative efforts of all concerned so that the goal of independence can be speedily achieved. The commitment of the Portuguese Government to that goal is obviously a strong one and we look forward to welcoming an independent and sovereign Angola to the United Nations in 1975.

207. My delegation cannot fail to commend the Portuguese Government for the steps taken towards the independence of the Cape Verde Islands and for its respect of the principle that the will of the majority, freely expressed, must be respected.

208. Having heard the statements made successively by three spokesmen of the highest authority in the "new Portugal", and aware of the concrete actions taken by the Portuguese Government from 25 April 1974 onwards, my delegation feels assured of the genuineness and sincerity of Portugal's policy of decolonization, particularly since it is based on the four

essential principles outlined by Mr. de Almeida Santos, namely: recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence; rejection of all forms of racism; recognition of the historic role of the United Nations; and recognition of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [*ibid.*, para. 63].

209. It would be imprudent, however, to ignore the fact that there are still difficulties ahead for the former Portuguese colonial Territories on the path to nationhood. Internal and external forces of reaction are only too ready to attempt to reverse the progress already made towards the establishment of just societies based on equal rights for all. The world community must keep a vigilant eye on any developments that might undermine the victories achieved at such great cost. It is also essential that the United Nations and its specialized agencies give substantial material support to Guinea-Bissau and other Portuguese-administered Territories so that their independence can be firmly established and consolidated.

210. During this session of the General Assembly we have welcomed the triumph of the liberation struggle in one part of southern Africa. We know that eventually right and justice will triumph throughout the continent, but we cannot be blind to the fact that the most difficult tasks still remain to be done. The *London Observer*, commenting last month on the future of the minority régimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, said:

"They are on the losing side . . . They are surely doomed. (And the Africans of South and Central Africa will certainly call for support in bringing about that result. If the West will not help them—by, for instance, putting pressure on South Africa—then the Africans will turn for assistance to Russia or China or the Arab States, or all of them . . . That invitation will not be ignored.)"

211. The essential question is whether change will be brought about through wise adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, or whether it will be brought about at great cost in human suffering and human lives.

212. In this context, my delegation cannot help noting the difference between the attitude of the new Portuguese Government and that of successive Governments of the United Kingdom as far as adherence to their mutual commitments and responsibilities as administering Powers is concerned. Prompt action by the joint forces of FRELIMO and the Portuguese Government has recently prevented attempts in Mozambique by minority reactionary groups to seize power, and the Government has clearly shown that it supports the just claims of the liberation movements to political leadership as the true representatives of the majority of the people. The failure of the United Kingdom Government to do likewise in 1965—thus protecting the rights and freedoms of the majority in Southern Rhodesia—presents a sad contrast.

213. Africans have always hoped for peaceful solutions to the problems of southern Africa, even while they have been determined to secure freedom from oppression by armed struggle if necessary. The current efforts of African heads of State to bring about a new momentum towards peaceful and constitutional change

in Southern Rhodesia are new evidence of the hope for peaceful change. My delegation shares what, I am sure, is the universal wish: that the efforts of the Presidents of Botswana, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia will meet with success.

214. It is indeed a welcome development, too, that the liberation movements which represent the people of Zimbabwe have agreed to unite in preparation for any conference for the transfer of power to the majority. It is our sincere hope that the white minority in Southern Rhodesia will seize this opportunity by accepting these constructive and reasonable proposals for the settlement of the anomalous situation in Southern Rhodesia.

215. In this connexion, my delegation hopes that the entire world community will demonstrate, without a shadow of doubt or reservation, that, while it will welcome the significant progress towards the goal of majority rule, it will not change its stand against the illegal régime until the legitimate rights of the people of Zimbabwe have been totally restored. We must not be deluded into forgetting, through a false sense of optimism, that majority rule in Southern Rhodesia has been denied in order that an *apartheid*-type society can be imposed on the African people, and that the illegal régime has already taken substantial steps towards implementing a "bantustan" plan based on the South African model.

216. Now is not the time for those who have violated the Security Council's mandatory sanctions, either openly or secretly, to undermine further the effectiveness of this important measure of support for the liberation struggle. Sanctions should be comprehensively and rigorously observed so that the advantage gained by recent events can be pressed home.

217. Those who continue to give moral and material support to the illegal régime through friendly relations, diplomatic contacts and trade and communications links may bear the responsibility of tipping the scales in favour of continued intransigence by a régime which feels secure in the knowledge that it can continue its unjust and racist policies with impunity. That was the case when South Africa first began to implement its *apartheid* policy. It would be extremely unfortunate if the mistakes of the past, made in the context of the South African situation, were to be repeated in the case of Southern Rhodesia. The illegal Smith régime can continue with impunity to deny to the people of Zimbabwe their human rights and freedoms, or the just struggle of that people's liberation movements can be assisted by a world community clearly determined to continue its support until the unjust situation in Southern Rhodesia is ended.

218. The results of those past mistakes are still clearly in evidence. The majority of the people of South Africa remain virtually enslaved under *apartheid*. In Namibia, which is held illegally by South Africa in defiance of the United Nations and of the International Court of Justice, the situation is deteriorating steadily. In spite of official pronouncements and promises to the contrary made by the Pretoria régime, the evidence provided by reports and studies of the Special Committee shows that *apartheid* has never weighed as heavily on the people of Namibia as it does at the present time. The various strands of the *apartheid* policy have now been closely woven into a net

which effectively encloses and traps the African peoples in the inferior and demeaning situations devised for them by the racist minority.

219. In Namibia, for which the United Nations has a special responsibility, one can see clearly a shameful but well-known pattern. It is the pattern of brutal repression of the legitimate political, social and economic aspirations of the majority, of the fragmentation of the Territory so that its rich resources can be plundered for the benefit of the privileged few, and of the dehumanizing effects of racial discrimination.

220. My delegation fully supports the judgement of the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Salim, that nothing less than South Africa's immediate and unconditional withdrawal from the Territory would be acceptable to the oppressed masses of Namibia. We share also the hope that the Security Council will take effective measures to secure South Africa's compliance with its resolution 310 (1972).

221. It has long been recognized that the southern African situations are interrelated and that the Republic of South Africa has been at the heart of that interrelationship. In the past, its racist and colonialist tentacles reached out in support of Portuguese colonialism. Today, thanks to the realistic change in policy of the new Portugal, its influence has been nullified in that area. But its oppressive policies are still concentrated on the subjugation of its own non-white majority, on the consolidation of its *apartheid* policy in Namibia and on its military and economic collusion with the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, which shares its racist philosophy.

222. In calling for the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations and in using their influence to exclude the South African delegation from the current session of the General Assembly, the African third world and the socialist States were driving home the point that a Member State of the United Nations has responsibilities and obligations as well as rights and privileges. If its most solemn obligations are rejected with confirmed intransigence and contempt—as they have indeed been rejected by South Africa for the past 29 years—then the authority and the credibility of the United Nations will be seriously undermined. But it is not the dignity of our Organization, important as it is, which should be our prime concern. We should be most concerned about the plight of the oppressed peoples and the failure of our supposedly advanced sense of moral consciousness to attack vigorously a uniquely inhuman system whose existence undermines the humanity of all men. And let us not be deluded into thinking that this system can be made acceptable by a few cosmetic changes. It must be eliminated completely because it is a crime against humanity.

223. The question that remains for the future is whether the liberation struggle will be a long-drawn-out and bloody one—which it will be if the oppressed peoples find themselves compelled to struggle in that way—or whether it will be shortened by a concerted effort to support the legitimate struggle of the freedom fighters with all the resources available to the United Nations and its family of agencies, and with the unfailing co-operation of Member States.

224. South Africa can continue to receive the economic and financial support of its main trading partners and can continue to be armed by the shameless violators of the arms embargo, or, in the words of paragraph 22 of the Lusaka Manifesto, it can be "ostracized by the world community" until it accepts the implications of man's common humanity.<sup>11</sup>

225. Those States whose nationals are plundering the resources that rightly belong to the people of Namibia can continue their collusion with powerful commercial interests and with the illegal South African administration, or they can take steps to enforce the Decree on the Natural Resources of Namibia enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974 [A/9624/Add.1, para. 84] and they can act in accordance with other United Nations measures dealing with the Namibian natural resources.

226. Those permanent members of the Security Council and other countries of the United Nations which are also trading partners of the minority régimes can continue to show their support for the forces of racism and colonialism, or they can take appropriate action under the Charter, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, to end the illegal South African occupation of Namibia and to remove the threat to peace posed by the virulent racism and colonialism of the minority régimes.

227. Those are the alternatives which face the world community, and in particular those Powers which have special responsibilities for world leadership. It will not do for those States to make formal pronouncements of their abhorrence for *apartheid* and then go on not only to give comfort and support to the racist régimes through military, economic, diplomatic and social co-operation, but to go so far as to find it necessary to make statements threatening and intimidating, in plain language, those who, faithful to the basic principles of the Charter, had raised their voices against the crimes perpetrated by the supporters of *apartheid*.

228. May I take the liberty of reminding those who may think that by making such intimidating speeches in this august Assembly they can prevent the Member States, especially the smaller ones, from discharging their duties according to the dictates of their conscience, and on the basis of the merit of each case, that they cannot turn the clock back? It is time which has brought about the change. May I advise those countries to adapt themselves to the present realities? To lose sight of these inevitable changes in international politics is, in my opinion, to walk blindfold. It is to this "wind of change" that those countries must adapt themselves. To do otherwise is to try sailing against the wind.

229. As the current Chairman of OAU pointed out in this august Assembly on 9 October 1974 [2262nd meeting, para. 70], the campaign against colonialism and racial discrimination is not just an African responsibility; it is a world responsibility, for the evils that the campaign seeks to eliminate are antagonistic to the principles of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and these are principles which all Member States are pledged to uphold.

230. Mr. LUDWICZAK (Poland): I should like in the first instance to express my delegation's appreciation

of the presentation of the Special Committee's report by Mr. Arteaga Acosta of Venezuela, Rapporteur of the Special Committee. I should also like to express our most sincere and warm appreciation to the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, for the dynamic manner in which he has carried out his important and responsible task.

231. The last few months have seen substantial progress towards those goals which the General Assembly in 1960 set forth in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Indeed, several factors made this progress possible: first, the successful struggle of the national liberation movements; secondly, the dominant trend in international relations, which is the consolidation of international peace and security; and thirdly, the changes that have taken place in Portugal.

232. What has taken place on the African continent in the last few months leads us to believe that we are witnessing the process of decolonization finally entering into a new stage, one that is irreversible.

233. The African national liberation movements, particularly those of the Portuguese Territories, have clearly been the decisive element in that change. Their heroic and just struggle, as well as the positive transformations that have taken place in international relations, the process of political *détente*, contributed substantially to the change that has occurred in Portugal's African policy.

234. As a result of those factors, an important step forward has been made. Guinea-Bissau is now an independent State, recognized by the entire international community; it has been admitted into the United Nations. Agreement on the attainment of independence by Mozambique has been reached. The process of decolonization in Angola, the Cape Verde Islands and other colonies still under Portuguese administration is being carried out.

235. The Government and the people of Poland have consistently supported the legitimate struggle of the liberation movements in Africa. From the very inception of the United Nations, Poland has constantly pursued a policy of assisting all actions aimed at national liberation of colonial countries and peoples. We have always taken an active part in working out, adopting and implementing effective international measures aimed at solving problems relating to decolonization, at eliminating colonialism and neo-colonialism, and at eradicating racism and racial discrimination.

236. Guided by those considerations, Poland welcomed with satisfaction the new situation in Portugal which resulted from the emergence of Portuguese democratic forces on the political scene. Following the removal of the Portuguese fascist colonial régime headed by Caetano, Poland established diplomatic relations with the new Portuguese Government.

237. My delegation followed with particular attention the important statements delivered from this rostrum by the President of the Republic of Portugal, General da Costa Gomes [2269th meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal, Mr. Mario Soares [2239th meeting], and the Minister for Interterritorial

Co-ordination of Portugal, Mr. Antonio de Almeida Santos [2305th meeting].

238. We noted with particular appreciation the President of Portugal's statement that his country is "fully determined . . . to initiate the irreversible and definitive process of decolonization in the Territories under Portuguese administration" [2269th meeting, para. 12].

239. Reaffirming its obligations under the Charter and resolution 1514 (XV), the Government of Portugal has pledged its full co-operation in implementing those provisions. Portugal has reaffirmed its recognition of the right to self-determination and independence of all its overseas Territories. It has pledged its full support for the territorial integrity of each Territory and opposition to any attempt at their dismemberment.

240. We welcome indeed this new unequivocal position of the Portuguese Government. We hope that nothing will interfere with the process of Portuguese decolonization and that the peoples in the Territories concerned will soon attain their long overdue independence.

241. The Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in the introduction to his report to the current session of the General Assembly on the work of the Organization, said:

"The dramatic change in policy by the new Government of Portugal towards its overseas territories has heightened prospects for the early completion of the decolonization process on the African continent." [A/9601/Add.1, sect. IX, p. 6.]

My delegation fully shares these views.

242. Following the process of decolonization that Portugal has undertaken in Africa, new favourable conditions have been created for the final liquidation of the remnants of colonial régimes, for the complete elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism and racism and for the full, speedy and effective implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. That is why we feel that now, more than ever before, the United Nations should most closely follow developments in the south of Africa, and take appropriate steps to strengthen and accelerate the new process of decolonization.

243. I have taken some time to outline the most significant elements on the positive side of the balance-sheet of the implementation of the Declaration. Naturally, the most decisive factor continues to be the will of the peoples under colonial and racist domination, their political maturity and their determination to persist in the struggle. In this regard also an important step forward has been taken. The liberation movements further consolidated their unity and there has been a substantial growth in the support extended to them by the indigenous population.

244. Unfortunately the balance-sheet also contains many elements on the debit side.

245. The situation in Namibia, the Trust Territory of the United Nations, remains extremely serious. It is a direct consequence of the continued refusal by the racist South African régime to comply with the decisions of the Security Council and resolutions of the General Assembly, as well as the advisory opinion of

the International Court of Justice.<sup>8</sup> South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia, refusing to withdraw from the Territory. It continues to extend its system of *apartheid* to Namibia and to implement its policy of fragmentation of the Territory into so-called "bantustans". The situation in the Territory has become more difficult as a result of the increasing economic involvement in Namibia of some Western countries.

246. In Southern Rhodesia a white minority continues to hold the people of Zimbabwe under its racist domination. South Africa retains a stronghold in Southern Rhodesia. Yet all our objectives remain fully valid. It is then only logical and right that the oppressed people of Zimbabwe and their liberation movements should be taking more determined action to change the illegal *status quo* and to exercise their rights to self-determination, freedom and independence.

247. There are important factors impeding the full implementation of the Declaration. The failure to co-operate on the part of certain Powers was and remains the main negative element. Owing to the support they receive, forces of colonialism and racism in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia persist in their defiance of the provisions of numerous United Nations resolutions. The persistence of the racist colonial system is due to the activities in the dependent Territories of foreign economic interests, expressed in the economic involvement and exploitation of natural resources in those Territories by some Western Powers, mainly members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO].

248. Now more than ever, the United Nations should reinforce its action to put an end to the racist régimes in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, to eliminate the last strongholds of colonialism and racism in Africa and to use all ways and means to force the minority régimes and their allies to comply with the General Assembly resolutions and decisions of the Security Council relating to Namibia and Zimbabwe and to the right of their peoples to self-determination and independence.

249. The peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, fighting for their freedom with determination and unity, are there to win, and it is the duty of the international community to assist them in every possible way to succeed in achieving the goals of their legitimate struggle as soon as possible. I should like to interject, in this context, that we are gratified to note the recommendations agreed upon in the Fourth Committee concerning the role that should increasingly be played by the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system in providing moral and material assistance to colonial peoples in Africa struggling for their liberation and independence [see resolution 3300 (XXIX), para. 4].

250. As regards the position of my country, Poland has persistently maintained a policy of close solidarity with the national liberation movements and of moral, political and material assistance in their struggle. That is the guideline of Poland's foreign policy. The Polish Committee for Solidarity with Peoples of Asia and Africa provides material assistance to the national liberation movements on a bilateral basis, as well as through the intermediary of the Special Fund of OAU.



251. In my statement I have attempted to deal with the most fundamental trends. I have not elaborated on the situation in the specific Territories, since the Polish delegation spoke on those matters in the Fourth Committee.

252. In conclusion, the Polish delegation wishes to make the following observations.

253. First, the necessity for early completion of the decolonization process calls for concerted efforts, both within and outside the United Nations, to implement fully the objectives set forth in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the programme of action of 1970 [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*]. Those efforts, aimed also at eliminating crises and tensions endangering international peace and security, are an important part of an over-all struggle to consolidate the process of *détente* and to broaden its scope.

254. Secondly, all efforts should be made in this world body and outside it to enhance the cause of self-determination and independence of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and to terminate the racist régimes of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. It is therefore my delegation's earnest hope that the Security Council, which is soon to consider measures with regard to developments in Namibia, will intensify its pressure to attain those fundamental rights for the Namibian people.

255. Thirdly, now, when decolonization is in its final stage, the Western Powers should use their influence to induce the minority régimes in Africa to comply with the decisions of our Organization. They should sever their economic relations with the racist régimes of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

256. Fourthly, it is the responsibility of our Organization to render support and assistance in every possible manner to the peoples in the dependent Territories and to their liberation movements, thus enabling them to achieve their right to self-determination and independence.

257. With those objectives in mind the Polish delegation fully supports the contents of the report of the Special Committee [*A/9623/Rev.1*] now before us and shares the relevant conclusions and recommendations contained therein. We shall vote for the draft resolutions that have been submitted under this item.

258. We hope that the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted in 1960 on the initiative of the Soviet Union, will soon be effected and that the peoples still under colonial domination will no longer be deprived of their right to self-determination and independence.

259. Mr. ŠMÍD (Czechoslovakia): In the months that have passed since last year's deliberations on the situation with regard to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples we have witnessed a number of truly significant events in the struggle of the peoples of the colonial and dependent Territories for freedom.

260. In September this year, three new independent States, the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Grenada, were admitted to membership in the United Nations.

*Mr. Upadhyay (Nepal), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

261. The determined efforts of the Portuguese people to obtain democratic rights combined with the heroic struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese Territories against the joint enemy, fascism and colonialism, have brought to an end the fascist dictatorship in Lisbon and have produced a fundamental change in the policy of Portugal vis-à-vis its colonies. The new Government of Portugal has recognized the principle of self-determination and independence of the colonial peoples, in accordance with the Declaration, and has proceeded in a convincing manner to its concrete implementation.

262. The people of Zimbabwe, with the Zimbabwe African People's Union [ZAPU] and the Zimbabwe African National Union [ZANU] in the vanguard, leaning on the broad support of the indigenous population of the country, has achieved important successes in its struggle in the past year.

263. In its just struggle for independence, the people of Namibia unites the ranks of its freedom fighters politically as well as in matters of organization, availing itself of further new experience. These freedom fighters are led by the South-West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], which has enlarged the range of its effective action.

264. Under the impact of the activities of national liberation movements, influenced also by the positive changes in the Portuguese Territories, the bells now toll for the last main strongholds of colonialism and racism in southern Africa, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. In this context, the importance of the developments in the Territories under Portuguese administration lies, *inter alia*, in providing an inspiring incentive for the struggle of other colonial and dependent peoples and in limiting the space in which the racist minority régimes and their allies in NATO can manoeuvre. The resistance of the reactionary forces is not, however, diminishing. On the contrary, it has recently increased in a carefully prepared search for a substitute for the lost buffer zone represented not long ago by the former colonial Territories of Mozambique and Angola. At the same time, we cannot fail to see that the national liberation movements in Africa have at present a realistic chance to use the favourable moment for a concerted and organized effort against the forces of reaction in the south of Africa.

265. The governing circles of Pretoria and Salisbury have now been seized with fear for the future fate of the racist régimes. According to certain information, in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia alone, about 15,000 mercenaries, led by professional killers who have proved their "skills" in the well-known events in the Congo and in their murderous actions against the African patriots on other fronts, are undergoing intensive training. A flow of money and material is pouring from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to the separatist groups in Angola and Mozambique—groups which would be glad to attempt to repeat there the experience of their masters. The present régime of South Africa is strengthening its military potential with the generous assistance of certain member States of NATO. Today South Africa offers itself to international imperialism not only as an instrument to suppress directly the advancing national



liberation movement but also as a permanent source of pressure and threats and the potential direct use of force against the neighbouring independent States in the whole of free Africa.

266. The Czechoslovak delegation is of the opinion that the Special Committee on decolonization should keep under careful observation the question of the planned use of mercenaries against the national liberation movement of the African people.

267. The colonial and racist circles, in close collaboration with the imperialist military and industrial complexes of certain NATO States, are today reassessing their tactics to strengthen anew under changed conditions the positions of the racist régimes, to protect their political, military and strategic positions in southern Africa as well as the interests of imperialist monopolies and transnational corporations, which are becoming richer every day from the huge wealth of natural resources in the south of Africa.

268. In this context, the Czechoslovak delegation views as particularly useful the fact that the inter-governmental Commission on Transnational Corporations, established by the Economic and Social Council [see *Council resolution 1913 (LVII)*], will also fully analyse the consequences of the activities of the transnational corporations and of their branches in the colonial and dependent Territories. The results of such an analysis would undoubtedly serve as valuable information also for the work of the Special Committee, enabling the Committee, on the basis of it, to adopt an objective position on the question of the activities of foreign economic and other vested interests in colonial and independent Territories and to submit it for consideration to the General Assembly. We are convinced that the knowledge of the impact produced by the transnational corporations on these Territories will also cast a proper light on the efforts by some delegations which have, in the course of the recent deliberations of the Trusteeship Committee on the activities of imperialist monopoly interests in the colonial and dependent Territories, attempted to dress the wolf in sheep's clothing. The Czechoslovak delegation recommends that the Special Committee should not leave out of account the question of co-operation with the Commission on Transnational Corporations when planning its work for the coming year.

269. The favourable developments we have witnessed recently in the struggle against the remnants of colonialism clearly demonstrate that the process of decolonization is an irreversible one. Colonial peoples can rely in their just struggle for freedom and independence on the material strength and active support of the States of the Socialist community, non-aligned countries and other progressive forces of the world.

270. The socialist States, consistently proceeding from the principles of their foreign policy, regard as their paramount international duty the providing of all-round assistance to strengthen the national liberation struggle as a whole, one of the main components of the foremost progressive forces of our time. The colonial peoples struggling for the implementation of their right to self-determination and independence are finding out every day who and where their enemy is and who their true allies and friends are.

271. The intentional twisting of facts and efforts to cast a shadow on the policy of socialist States, among other things by statements to the effect that *détente* is allegedly in contradiction to the vital interests of the struggling colonial peoples, are intended to complicate the international situation in the narrow and egoistic interests of certain circles and, in the final analysis, to serve imperialist forces which are always ready to attempt to reverse the successfully advancing process of decolonization in the world. The history of recent years unequivocally proves the fact that it is under the very conditions of *détente* that national liberation struggles in a number of countries may be brought to a successful conclusion. There is no doubt that in conditions of the cold war, in conditions of an over-all sharpening of the international situation, this would have been far more difficult and complicated, since such conditions would make easier military intervention and other so-called classical forms of assistance to the colonialists on the part of their allies in the major imperialist countries.

272. Complete liquidation of the remnants of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, declared by the United Nations to constitute crimes against humanity and a threat to international peace and security, represents one of the primary tasks faced by this Organization since its very inception. The last hotbeds of colonialism and the potential danger presented in our times by the existence of the last stronghold of racism and colonialism in South Africa constitute one of the serious obstacles on the way towards a further improvement of the international climate.

273. The present international situation and the successes of the national liberation struggle create favourable conditions for the complete elimination of the last remnants inherited from the shameful era of colonial empires. In this context, the Czechoslovak delegation is of the opinion that the thirtieth session of the General Assembly might become an important milestone in the decisive growth of the authority of the United Nations, in its important influence on the solving of grave international issues, including such pressing tasks as the necessity of bringing to a complete end the process of decolonization.

274. In this context, Czechoslovakia fully supports the proposal put forward at this session by the representative of Mongolia [2305th meeting, para. 142] that the General Assembly should urgently appeal to all the administering Powers to establish, as soon as possible, a specific time-table for the accession to self-determination and independence of all the Territories under their administration. The General Assembly should invite these Powers to inform the Secretary-General and the Special Committee on decolonization of this time-table in the course of 1975 and not later than at the beginning of the next session of the General Assembly.

275. Czechoslovakia, as a member of the Special Committee on decolonization, which has won through its active work, particularly in recent years, the authority of the recognized principal operative body of the United Nations in the struggle against colonialism, is of the opinion that the General Assembly should request the Special Committee to work out concrete suggestions and recommendations aimed at accelerating the full implementation of resolution 1514

(XV) and the resolution which will be adopted in connexion with our current discussion, and to submit them to the General Assembly at its next session.

276. We also fully support the proposal by the Bulgarian representative that the General Assembly should call on the Special Committee on decolonization to prepare an analytical study of the implementation of the Declaration by the administering Powers and submit it for consideration to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session [2317th meeting, para. 48].

277. In conclusion, I should like to say that, as in the past, Czechoslovakia is prepared to participate actively by doing its share in the fulfilment of the tasks assigned to the Special Committee on decolonization by the current session of the General Assembly, aimed at a speedy and final realization of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

278. Mr. MANGAL (Afghanistan): As a result of the recent important developments in the field of decolonization, particularly in Africa, a disturbing *status quo* and a colonial rule of long years by Portugal, to which the United Nations had to devote a great deal of its effort and energy, are now coming to an end. The process of decolonization and the transition from domination and dependence to freedom and independence have already begun. Guinea-Bissau is already an independent State and a Member of the United Nations. Mozambique will become independent next June, and efforts for the early independence of Angola and the other Territories under Portuguese administration continue.

279. This situation, which has been brought about by the protracted struggle of the colonial peoples concerned and by the internal changes in Portugal, as well as by the continued efforts of the United Nations, has shaken the very foundations of colonial domination and the continuation of the inhuman policy of *apartheid* by the Government of South Africa. The colonial alliance existing between the racist Government of South Africa, the illegal minority régime of Southern Rhodesia and the former régime of Portugal has lost one of its main partners.

280. In the course of the process of decolonization, Grenada became independent this year and joined the United Nations. A number of small territories have exercised their right to self-determination as a result of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and with the close co-operation of the administering Powers concerned with the United Nations. In this connexion, the co-operative attitude of the two administering Powers, namely, Australia and New Zealand, with the United Nations should be mentioned.

281. These developments and positive changes further strengthen the conviction that the struggle of people still under colonial and alien domination will eventually succeed. It is, further, a warning to those States which continue to deny these fundamental rights to the peoples still under alien domination. The outcome of colonial and alien domination is the inevitable triumph of the struggle of peoples for their right to self-determination and independence and the failure of attempts and policies aimed at subjugating peoples

to colonial rule and domination and denying them these fundamental rights.

282. However, despite all these positive developments in the field of decolonization and the continued efforts of the United Nations, the goals and objectives set forth in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted almost 14 years ago by the General Assembly, have yet to be fully realized. Millions of people in the world are still under colonial and alien domination and are struggling for their right to self-determination and independence. The inhuman policies of the Government of South Africa and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia still persist. The Government of South Africa has continued its illegal occupation of Namibia, and the denial to the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence, without any legal grounds or legitimate authority, continues—a continuing act of aggression against the people and territory of Namibia, which is an international Territory according to General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), adopted in 1966, by which the Assembly terminated the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia.

283. Colonial wars and repressive policies continue against colonial people. Their political leaders are detained or imprisoned without trial, and their basic human rights are being violated. Furthermore, the decolonization process in certain dependent Territories is slow and unsatisfactory. Although some administering Powers have adopted a most co-operative attitude towards the United Nations in dealing with the Territories under their administration, others have continued their refusal to co-operate with the United Nations. Relevant resolutions adopted and appeals made by this Organization in this regard have remained unimplemented and unheeded.

284. The administering Powers, under Article 73 (c) of the Charter, have assumed certain obligations and should recognize that the interests of the inhabitants of the Territories which have not exercised their right to self-determination are paramount, and make every effort to promote the well-being and the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples of the Territories concerned. Thus their co-operation with the United Nations is essential in dealing with the Territories under their administration.

285. The full implementation of the Declaration, which both entails a moral responsibility and implies a legal obligation on the part of this Organization, though recommendatory in nature, should be considered within the concept of collective and international responsibilities of Member States.

286. It is a matter of serious concern that the subjection of peoples to alien domination, the exploitation of their natural resources and the denial of their fundamental human rights still continue in defiance of the United Nations Charter and the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. All Member States, under Article 2, paragraph 5, of the Charter, assume a legal commitment, an obligation that is comparable to that of the United Nations itself, to act in accordance with certain principles. One of these principles is that—and I quote from the Charter—“All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assist-

ance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.”

287. Accordingly, the continuation of assistance by certain countries, Members of this Organization, to the racist Government of South Africa and to the illegal minority régime of Southern Rhodesia is an impediment to the speedy implementation of the Declaration, and constitutes a violation of that provision of the Charter.

288. The General Assembly should take note of this failure of certain Member States to extend their support to the United Nations in the implementation of the resolutions adopted in accordance with the United Nations Charter. The Charter contains provisions outlining collective obligations of Member States for preventing threats to world peace and security. The United Nations itself has repeatedly affirmed that the continuation of the policies of *apartheid* by the Government of South Africa and the situation in Southern Rhodesia constitute threats to international peace and security. All threats to peace should be terminated.

289. The speedy and faithful implementation of the Declaration can provide for the elimination of threats to world peace and security arising from the denial of the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

290. The success or failure of the United Nations in carrying out its responsibilities for maintaining world peace and security and for the realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence as well as the well-being of the peoples of the world depends on the amount of support which the Member States extend to this Organization and on the extent of their compliance with the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the Organization. As far as the implementation of the Declaration is concerned, certain States apparently have not faithfully supported the United Nations or its relevant resolutions. I have just mentioned the violation by these States of Article 2, paragraph 5, of the Charter as an example.

291. After 14 years since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it is the opinion of the Afghan Delegation that the time has come for the United Nations to review the implementation of the Declaration in the light of the commitments and obligations of Member States under the Charter. In our view, violation of the substance of the Declaration can constitute a violation of the Charter itself.

292. Afghanistan has always maintained that all peoples still under colonial and alien domination have the inalienable right to self-determination and independence, and that an immediate end should be put to colonial and alien domination and to the remnants of classical colonialism everywhere, based on the right to self-determination and free will of the peoples concerned.

293. My delegation would like to emphasize once again that the natural resources of the Territories still under colonial and alien domination shall not be exploited while the peoples of the Territories concerned have not exercised their right to self-determination and independence. The continued exploitation

of those resources therefore constitutes a violation of the established right and sovereignty of peoples over their natural resources. Furthermore, such practices by States and the activities of foreign economic and other interests in those Territories lack any legal justification and are considered an impediment to the speedy implementation of the Declaration.

294. Afghanistan has always supported the struggle of peoples under colonial and alien domination and will continue to do so until all the remnants of colonialism and alien domination are liquidated. This is one of the main elements of our foreign policy. Our position against colonialism, alien domination, *apartheid* and occupation of Territories by force is based on our genuine faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter, the right of people to self-determination and independence and equal rights for all peoples without any discrimination.

295. Mr. AL-MASRI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The events witnessed by the world this year in the field of decolonization include the consolidation of the struggle of national liberation movements and the struggle against racism, at the head of which must be placed the coup which overthrew the fascist imperialist clique in Portugal on 25 April last, thus paving the way for the liquidation of Portuguese colonialism and the restoration of the lawful rights of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies struggling for their self-determination, sovereignty and independence. The significant achievements accomplished by the international community during the present session of the General Assembly include the isolation of the racist settler régime in South Africa and the reassertion of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, the most important being the recognition of the right of self-determination and the granting of observer status to the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the representative of the Palestinian people, as well as to the liberation movements recognized by OAU. This is considered an important and historic turning-point, not only in the history of our Organization, but in the history of mankind and humanity as a whole, humanity which has struggled and still struggles against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and all kinds of foreign domination.

296. These events have turned a new and bright page in the history of humanity, and isolated imperialist and colonialist régimes and the racist settler régimes in Asia, Africa and occupied Palestine, as well as in other parts of the world. These events have served to consolidate the legitimate national liberation movements and have made the end of those régimes inevitable in the face of the escalation of the liberation struggles and the unification of peace-loving forces throughout the world.

297. The world has listened with great attention to the new leaders of Portugal, the President, General da Costa Gomes, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Mario Soares, and the Minister for Interterritorial Coordination, Mr. de Almeida Santos, when they declared here their new political principles and their firm determination to liquidate the fascist colonial system. The achievements they have already accomplished in this field are worthy of all our appreciation, taking into account the fact that only a few months have elapsed

during which their important accomplishments have had their impact not only in Africa but throughout the world. This will consolidate the just struggle of peoples against imperialism, against the racist régimes and against all forms of foreign domination.

298. The four principles enunciated by the Minister for Interterritorial Co-ordination of Portugal, Mr. de Almeida Santos, in his address delivered before the General Assembly on 3 December 1974 [2305th meeting, para. 63], recognized the right of peoples to self-determination and rejected all forms of racism. He recognized the historic role of the United Nations, the strength of its Charter and resolutions at the international level and the importance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, together with an embodiment of those principles in the Algiers agreement on Guinea-Bissau,<sup>13</sup> the Lusaka agreement which set 25 June 1975 as the date for achieving the independence of Mozambique under the leadership of FRELIMO [see A/19769, annex I], and the Algiers agreement of 26 November 1974, setting 12 July 1975 as the date for independence of Sao Tome and Principe [see A/19953].

299. This constitutes a turning-point and an element of pressure against the remnants of colonialism and racist settler régimes throughout the world. While we appreciate all this, we look forward to further accomplishments and achievements and to more action in order to expedite the relinquishment of the remaining Portuguese colonies, the most important of which is militant Angola, whose heroic people are struggling for independence.

300. If the new Portugal has given promises and hopes to be translated into realities, by liquidating the colonialist heritage left over from the Portuguese fascist régime, other imperialist and colonial régimes and racist settler régimes in occupied Palestine, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa still hold on to their positions. They still perpetuate their aggressive racist policies to oppress and persecute the peoples of Palestine, Zimbabwe and Namibia and, supported by world imperialism, deprive them of their legitimate rights to self-determination, sovereignty over their Territories and the achievement of independence. We look forward to the closer co-operation of honourable forces struggling throughout the world to support the liberation movements of those peoples, in order to bring about speedier decolonization by those régimes.

301. Despite the fact that the militant experience of peoples throughout the world has proved that the will of the people always ultimately triumphs and that oppressive and aggressive forces are always vanquished and defeated, the international community is still divided into groups: on the one hand, there are a few States which derive their power, culture and prosperity from the exploitation of peoples they had previously enslaved; and, on the other hand, there is a majority of nations which have rid themselves of the shackles and bonds of colonialism and exploitation through a long and bitter struggle.

302. It is indeed regrettable that, despite the radical changes in international relations and concepts following the Second World War, but particularly during the 1960s, which witnessed the independence of several peoples which had suffered under the yoke of impe-

rialism and exploitation, a handful of States, the heirs of the past colonial era, still try to dominate through their fascist mentality—for example, the former fascist Portuguese régime—peoples fighting for independence and try to impose their will on the international community and to support colonial and racist settler régimes which are in fact part and parcel of that clique. They attempt to continue the war that they have always waged against the will of peoples, denying those peoples their lawful and natural rights, first and foremost among them being the right to self-determination and independence, in utter defiance of their human conscience and the logic of history.

303. The positions adopted by that small group of countries are not only contrary to the nature of human evolution but also a violation of the United Nations Charter and the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. That small group does not limit itself to support of colonial and racist settler régimes and providing them with their latest technology and weapons of mass destruction in order to uphold them in their war against struggling peoples, but commits other actions that are becoming more evident against the just demands of the struggling peoples; among other things, they constantly oppose the invitation to liberation movements to participate in the work of international organizations as observers. We should like here to assert that the national liberation movements—from Puerto Rico to Namibia, Zimbabwe and occupied Palestine, as well as other countries that have been deprived of their right to existence and self-determination—have every right to be represented in this Organization; and we here state that the seats occupied by the settler-racist régimes—the settler-racist Israeli régime in occupied Palestine, the settler-racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and the settler-racist régime in South Africa—are in fact, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, seats that rightfully belong to the peoples of Palestine, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

304. Mr. CONSALVI (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Today, 150 years after the battle of Ayacucho determined the political independence of South America, several heads of State and representatives of neighbouring countries are meeting in Peru to celebrate that event and to subscribe to the Declaration of Ayacucho. In that Declaration,<sup>14</sup> the countries gathered there have committed themselves to fight against the economic domination that has occurred during the past few years.

305. Today, at this very moment, the heads of State of Central America are meeting in Venezuela, on the banks of the Orinoco River, in the iron belt of Venezuela that we have just nationalized and regained for our country. Like the heads of State meeting at Lima and the heads of State of the Caribbean who will soon meet, those heads of State of Central America, who are now holding fraternal consultations in Ciudad Guayana, will also approve a similar declaration, which is in absolute agreement with the text that established the United Nations and its doctrine.

306. One hundred and fifty years after the battle of Ayacucho—as we were reminded this morning by the representative of Cuba—our peoples are meeting once again. We are doing this with constructive purposes.



in search of common understanding and the coexistence of all the peoples of the world.

307. However, peoples which were freed more than a half a century ago face significant problems, and that shows us how complex and how slow the process of the affirmation of sovereignty is. I cannot at this moment refrain from making mention of these circumstances, at a time when the General Assembly is studying the question of colonialism.

308. Venezuela has always given special importance to the question of colonialism in its many forms and manifestations. The traditional anti-colonialist stand of my country has been demonstrated by the fact that since 1961, when the Special Committee on decolonization was established pursuant to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in the historic General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), we have been a member of that body.

309. The Special Committee has, throughout the years, carried out very important and fruitful work in the process of decolonization. The Venezuelan delegation has actively participated in the Committee's work and has scrupulously backed its innumerable resolutions and decisions.

310. Significant progress has taken place in the struggle against colonialism during the course of this year. The Special Committee has, nevertheless, to face a series of colonial problems that still exist as a result of the obstinate resistance of certain régimes to the inexorable course of history towards a world completely free of the colonialist spectre.

311. As a country which has maintained and still maintains very deep human ties with Portugal because a large number of citizens of that nation have found a favoured land in Venezuela, my delegation notes with great satisfaction the democratic path taken by Portugal and the intelligence with which it is solving the old problems of African Territories under its administration.

312. Similarly, we must pay a tribute to the courageous peoples of those Territories, who have tirelessly struggled for their freedom.

313. As a staunch admirer of the African liberation movements, I can only regret the absence of the man who laid the basis for the independence of Guinea-Bissau, the great leader Amílcar Cabral. The admission of Guinea-Bissau as a Member of the United Nations and the imminent independence of Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and Angola are facts that speak for themselves. Those Territories are leaving behind 500 years of colonial history.

314. In reviewing the state of the colonial question in 1974, we must draw attention once again to the very serious problems that still exist in southern Africa. In Southern Rhodesia, the racist minority led by Ian Smith insists on maintaining its domination over the vast African population of the Territory. In order that a solution may be obtained rapidly to that problem, the Venezuelan delegation has supported the idea of convening a constitutional conference at which the real political representatives of Zimbabwe could draft a plan for the Territory's future that would later be submitted to the people for their approval through free

and democratic procedures. We recognize that it will not be easy to convene such a conference, but we trust that every effort will be made to overcome any obstacles on the path of its convening. To that end we have been pleased to learn of the latest events in Southern Rhodesia, and we hope that they will lead to the establishment of a majority Government in that Territory.

315. In Namibia, unfortunately, no encouraging events have taken place. Despite the advisory opinion by the International Court of Justice<sup>8</sup> that the occupation of Namibia by South Africa is illegal, and despite the decisions repeatedly taken by the United Nations on this subject, South Africa continues to occupy that Territory.

316. We hope that the significant events that have taken place in Mozambique and Angola will give a favourable impetus to the elimination of these colonialist pockets in southern Africa.

317. One item to which my delegation pays special attention is the activities of foreign interests—basically economic interests—that are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization. We fully support the inalienable right of the indigenous peoples of the colonial Territories to political independence and to sovereignty over their natural resources and the enjoyment of such resources.

318. Venezuela has followed with great interest the consideration of the question of the small colonial Territories. These large groupings of islands have a whole series of common characteristics, such as small size, limited population and inadequate resources, but solutions in respect of these Territories must be adapted to the facts of their situations. That is why we have urged in the Special Committee on decolonization and in the Fourth Committee that more appropriate and realistic consideration be given to these Territories.

319. With the progressive decolonization of the African continent, the United Nations will be able to give greater attention to these islands. It is obvious that if these Territories are to be studied adequately the co-operation of the administering Powers will be required. Such co-operation should be reflected in, among other things, access by visiting missions to the Territories so that the United Nations may obtain first-hand information and determine the true aspirations of the inhabitants.

320. In that respect it is noteworthy that the work of the Special Committee has been very fruitful. As a result of invitations extended by New Zealand, Australia and the United Kingdom, the Special Committee sent visiting missions to Niue, the Cocos (Keeling) Islands and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, respectively. Venezuela had the honour of being a member of the Mission that visited Niue to observe the referendum held by that Pacific island. The people of Niue, by an overwhelming majority, chose self-government and free association with New Zealand.

321. Before concluding, I should like to state that the United Nations and all its Member States should exert extraordinary efforts to ensure that colonialism, this aberration of the past, disappears once and for all from the world scene.

322. Venezuela has decided to withdraw from the Special Committee on decolonization. We have been a member of that Committee since it was established, and my Government deems it appropriate to make it possible for another Latin American country interested in colonial questions to participate in the work of the Special Committee. Venezuela's withdrawal from the Committee should in no way or in any circumstances whatsoever be regarded as demonstrating a lack of interest in a question that has received our strongest backing within the United Nations.

323. Finally, on behalf of my country and my delegation, I should like to express our gratitude to the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, for his very generous words about Venezuela's contribution to the consideration of the anti-colonial question in the United Nations, in the statement he made to the General Assembly at its 2305th meeting, on 3 December.

324. Mr. KHALID (Pakistan): After almost a decade of stagnation we are again witnessing some forward movement in the process of decolonization. This welcome change is especially noticeable in the case of the Territories under Portuguese administration, where the long, heroic struggle by the people to free themselves from colonial rule has combined with the new enlightened policy of the metropolitan Power to create conditions suitable for their speedy independence. The proclamation of the independence of Guinea-Bissau made by PAIGC in September last year and the 13-year-old war of liberation waged in the Portuguese colonial Territories generated such force that the anachronistic policy of colonialism and the Portuguese Government that had unwisely followed that policy were swept away early this year. We view with appreciation the new Government of Portugal taking a progressive and forward-looking approach to the future of its overseas Territories. Guinea-Bissau is a Member of the United Nations. The indigenous people of Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe are already exercising governmental power and the dates for the independence of their countries have been set with mutual agreement. The prospects of early freedom for Angola and Cape Verde have never been so bright.

325. For this welcome change my delegation pays a tribute to the liberation movements, which were never daunted by heavy odds, and to the new leadership of Portugal for the bold steps it is taking to liquidate its colonial empire. In this regard, the useful role played by the United Nations, particularly the Special Committee on decolonization and the Secretary-General, also deserves our appreciation.

326. In this time of euphoria, we should constantly bear in mind that the process of decolonization in the Territories under the Portuguese administration is not yet complete. We have to be watchful against the reactionary forces' staging a comeback in the metropolitan country and against the attempts to foist Southern-Rhodesian-style régimes on the newly emerging States. The abortive attempt in Mozambique to keep it under minority rule shows how real this danger is. We are hopeful that there will be no let-up in the process of the accession of the Portuguese overseas Territories to independence.

327. The wind of change sweeping the Portuguese overseas Territories is undoubtedly going to blow

to the other Territories still subject to colonial rule and racial discrimination. Regrettably, the authorities in those Territories either have not fully perceived the inexorability of change or are deliberately slow in responding adequately to the call of time.

328. The occasional apparently liberal proclamations made by the Pretoria régime cannot hide the deteriorating situation in Namibia. In that international Territory, the illegal occupier continues with its policies of fragmentation, *apartheid* and exploitation of the mineral and human resources. The year 1974 witnessed further intensification of repression characterized by mass arrests of political opponents and their public flogging. The report of the *Ad Hoc* Working Group of Experts appointed by the Commission on Human Rights to study the treatment of political prisoners in southern Africa and the Territories under Portuguese administration<sup>15</sup> provides evidence of torture and inhuman treatment being meted out to the Namibian political prisoners.

329. The intensification of repression, far from intimidating the Namibian people into submission, has further strengthened their resolve to liberate themselves from the occupation of South Africa. The Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, are waging a gallant struggle on both the military and political fronts. At this critical time in the life of Namibian nationhood, the United Nations Council for Namibia, the body entrusted by the General Assembly to administer the Territory till it achieves independence, is doing very useful work in providing moral and material assistance to the Namibian people, safeguarding their national assets, preparing them for administering their country on independence and intensifying international pressure for South Africa's political and economic isolation.

330. Namibia is the direct responsibility of the United Nations. This Organization is committed to ensuring South Africa's total and unconditional withdrawal from that international Territory. There can be no compromise on this point.

331. The minority régime in Zimbabwe entered the tenth year of its illegal rule on 11 November 1974. All attempts in the past to bring majority rule to that land foundered on the obstinate refusal of the Smith régime to part with the political and economic power illegally enjoyed by a small white minority. We hear that yet another effort is currently under way to resolve the Southern Rhodesian situation. The world will be watching with interest the talks reported to be now taking place in Lusaka. The basic principles of the solution acceptable to the United Nations, however, remain unchanged. Zimbabwe must attain independence through strict adherence to the essential elements of democratic process, that is, majority rule based on universal adult franchise.

332. Pakistan associates itself with the call for widening the scope of sanctions against the Smith régime to include all measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter and the extension of these sanctions to Pretoria, whose military and economic collaboration helps Salisbury in defying the world community.

333. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted

by the General Assembly during its fifteenth session, is applicable to all colonial countries and peoples. The right to self-determination of the peoples inhabiting several small colonial Territories in various parts of the world cannot suffer any diminution due to factors like the small size of their territory, geographical isolation or lack of resources. My delegation is pleased that Niue has exercised its rights of self-determination and that developments in that direction are taking place in the Comoro Archipelago, the Seychelles and Papua New Guinea. We hope that other smaller colonial Territories will get similar treatment at the hands of their respective administering Powers. Experience has shown that this process is greatly facilitated if the administering Power co-operates with the Special Committee on decolonization.

334. The peoples of the colonial Territories have made notable progress towards achieving freedom. The obvious ways by which at this hour the world community can contribute towards hastening the end of colonialism are: first, by providing assistance to the colonial peoples and their national liberation movements; and secondly, by bringing pressure to bear upon the colonial authorities. The United Nations having recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the colonial peoples to achieve freedom and independence, it is incumbent upon every Member State and every organization within the United Nations system to give meaning and content to this twofold course. They must pay full attention to the practical steps to this end recommended by the Special Committee on decolonization, the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Special Committee on *Apartheid*. Having ourselves been once under colonial rule, it is only natural that we, the people and the Government of Pakistan, should feel akin with the aspirations of other peoples struggling to realize their right to self-determination and independence. We have consistently lent our support, in words and deed, to all the international efforts aimed at expediting the process of decolonization. We did this out of conviction and we will continue to maintain our solidarity with the peoples waging a struggle for their liberation till they are free from the colonial yoke.

335. Mr. VARGAS CAMPOS (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are gathered here again to consider an item on the agenda of this session to which my delegation attaches the highest importance, the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Mexico considers that, now more than ever, the United Nations must carry right to the end the anti-colonialist struggle, because we consider the fact that there are still peoples which cannot exercise their legitimate right to self-determination as a negation of a principle of the Charter. We are convinced that, as resolution 1514 (XV) states,

“... all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory.”

That process of decolonization is, moreover, irreversible and of the highest importance because an obstruction of the process could have grave consequences for peace and international security. We shall therefore continue to give our resolute support to all

measures aimed at eliminating colonialism completely and definitively, which is the final aim of the Declaration.

336. The report of the Special Committee [A/9623/Rev.1] is very complete, and we thank the members of the Committee and congratulate them on the magnificent job they have done. 1974 will go down in the history of the United Nations as an outstanding year in the decolonization process. We have noted with great pleasure the development of the profound changes in southern Africa and we welcome the advent of the policy initiated by the new Portugal in this respect.

337. In this debate we listened with satisfaction a few days ago to the statement of the Portuguese Minister for Interterritorial Co-ordination. That statement confirmed our hope, which we had earlier expressed, that the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Sao Tome and Principe and the Cape Verde Islands will, after so many years of struggle, attain their independence. We hope very soon to welcome those countries into our Organization as sovereign States, as this year we welcomed Guinea-Bissau. This new attitude represents a firm step towards the elimination of colonialism, even though the critical part of the process is still in a latent stage in that particular region.

338. The political militancy of the inhabitants, who are trying to throw off the colonial yoke, has been strengthened by the existence of the liberation movements, to which the United Nations, recognizing the principle of the lawful nature of their struggle, has granted observer status, and whose co-operation in this process has been of great significance.

339. Speaking from this rostrum my delegation wishes to emphasize certain specific observations, which we have stated throughout this session in the Fourth Committee and which could complement the measures and recommendations in the relevant sections of the Special Committee's report.

340. First, we should like to mention the case of Zimbabwe, in which we have seen the symptoms of the beginning of the struggle between the illegal Smith régime and the liberation groups; the non-compliance by the administering Power with the provisions of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee and the continued growing co-operation which some States, in particular South Africa, have provided, in violation of Article 25 of the Charter, are impeding the effective implementation of the sanctions against the Salisbury régime. My delegation believes that the Security Council, acting in accordance with the Charter, should apply to South Africa the measures provided for in Chapter VII.

341. We believe also, as has been suggested by others, that the administering Power should convene, as soon as possible, a fully representative constitutional conference to prepare an agreement which would be submitted subsequently, on the basis of an individual vote, to the approval of the Zimbabwe people. However, if the administering Power should refuse to convene such a conference, or impede its convening, then the responsibility for doing so should devolve upon the Security Council.

342. A special mission from the United Nations Council for Namibia was in Mexico this year. The

visit, in the words of the chairman of my delegation in the General Assembly on 8 October, was regarded as

“... a token of appreciation for our active participation in the struggle against colonialism in general, and for our modest but determined contribution to the praiseworthy efforts of that Council, of which Mexico has been a member for two years. We hope that it will go from strength to strength and finally put an end to South Africa's intolerable occupation of Namibia, which is in violation of so many General Assembly and Security Council decisions and has been expressly declared illegal by the highest tribunal, the International Court of Justice.” [2261st meeting, para. 15.]

343. In the whole of this process of decolonization, the path of reason and justice has been clearly traced out by the resolutions that have been passed over the years by the principal organs of the United Nations. Nevertheless, with each passing year we must strengthen those measures, and for that purpose the Permanent Mission of Mexico addressed to the Secretariat a note verbale on Namibia [A/C.4/779] containing certain considerations and suggestions which we hope will help bring about a favourable solution of the problem. We reiterate that the primordial responsibility is borne by the Security Council, which should without delay set a deadline for the Pretoria régime to leave the Territory finally.

344. My delegation feels that one of the most important items on the agenda of the Fourth Committee and the Special Committee is that of the activities of foreign-economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). We are pleased to note that in the draft resolution on the subject recently adopted by the Fourth Committee, and subsequently adopted by the General Assembly [resolution 3299 (XXIX)], there is an operative paragraph inviting Governments and organizations within the United Nations system concerned with the relevant provisions of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, in resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI), to ensure, in particular, full respect and protection for the permanent sovereignty of the people of colonial Territories over their natural resources. World economic relations should be founded on basic principles, which should include among others—and this is not the least important—that of self-determination of peoples and respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms and mutual benefit. That benefit, however, should be equitable for all members of the international community. We agree, therefore, that those States which practice colonialism, neo-colonialism, racial discrimination, any form of aggression or occupation or foreign domination should be accountable to the countries, Territories and peoples that have been adversely affected by those policies.

345. We are prepared to contribute to the search for any measures that will take into account the economic and social benefit of the Territories so that they may consolidate authentic economic and political independence.

346. It is now high time that, together with other well-justified preoccupations of the Organization for the Territories we have referred to, greater attention

was given to the Territories scattered throughout the Indian, Pacific and Atlantic Oceans and in the Caribbean region, which have a small geographical area, a numerically small population and limited natural resources and are geographically isolated.

347. All the elements involved must be considered carefully, so that steps can be taken by the peoples in the exercise of the right to self-determination. Some of these Territories provide enormous profits to foreign interests and corporations because they are tax havens. Others undergo a continuous process of fragmentation. Their best lands are given to individuals whose interests are at variance with those of the indigenous inhabitants. Activities are carried out, and others are planned, that could in some of the Territories advance their economic and social progress, but in many cases they slow down this progress because they are in the hands of individuals who are not indigenous inhabitants.

348. The exemplary experience of Niue in exercising the right of self-determination with such a success, under the constructive guidance of New Zealand, could be used by the Organization and the administering Powers of other Territories in order to guarantee the correct application of this inalienable right, ensuring for them a constitutional and political status that would respect their own identity. Nevertheless, in other cases, the same example might prove unsuitable for the objectives being sought, and consequently the administering Powers concerned should not disdain the constructive role which the United Nations has performed through the sending of visiting missions. We cannot fail to mention the praiseworthy administration by Australia of the Trust Territory of Papua New Guinea, a link that is to be dissolved soon because of the forthcoming independence of the Territory.

349. From an analysis of the situation in regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, my delegation believes that the recommendations of the Special Committee on its future work, contained in its report [A/9623/Rev.1, chap. I, sect. P], are of great importance, and we support them firmly.

350. The lack of freedom of a people is an affront, an aggressive act against those of us who enjoy such freedom. This is of great concern to us, since we are a peace-loving nation and maintain close solidarity with all peoples of the world acting to strengthen the ideals of this Organization.

351. Mr. TAKASUGI (Japan): The recognition by the new and democratic Government of Portugal of the right to self-determination and independence of the peoples of the Territories under its administration has marked a new and glorious chapter in the history of decolonization. The year 1974, therefore, will be remembered by all of us as the year of the great triumph of the heroic African people over colonial domination and subjugation. The historic decision of the Portuguese Government to recognize the right of the peoples of its colonial Territories to self-determination and independence and the faithfulness with which it is implementing this policy have inspired all of us immeasurably to see a new Africa, free from foreign domination and subjugation. The swift and satisfactory process of decolonization of the Portuguese Territories, achieved in such a short period of time, has



confirmed the irreversible determination of the Government and the people of Portugal to inaugurate a new era based on equal sovereignty and mutual respect.

352. Portugal's recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as an independent State and its successful negotiations with national liberation movements in Mozambique, Angola, Sao Tome and Principe and Cape Verde assure us that the enjoyment of freedom and accession to independence will be complete in all its former African Territories in 1975. As regards Timor, it is a matter of satisfaction to Japan, as an Asian nation, to note that the Portuguese Government intends to conduct a referendum on the island to determine its future political status in accordance with the freely expressed will of the population.

353. My delegation wholeheartedly welcomes the recognition by Portugal of the principle of self-determination enshrined in the Charter and the speedy and full implementation of decolonization in compliance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). This has removed a root cause of tragic conflicts that for years have inflicted bloodshed, suffering and hardship on the indigenous peoples of the former Portuguese Territories, where their fundamental rights had been denied. The restoration of the fundamental rights of the indigenous peoples in the Portuguese Territories, and the removal from the continent of a source of unending tension, will contribute to consolidating international peace and security in the region.

354. It goes without saying that these recent dramatic developments constitute a glorious triumph, accomplished jointly by the heroic African peoples, which fought valiantly against colonialism in the cause of freedom and independence, and by the revolutionary democratic forces in Portugal, which fought courageously against the colonialist policies of the dictatorship.

355. It is a source of relief to my delegation that the national liberation movements, which were compelled to embark on armed resistance against colonialism, have finally been able to lay down their arms and have played a most constructive role in the peaceful process of acceding to independence. My delegation has derived great satisfaction from this development in view of our Government's consistent position that all disputes must be settled by peaceful means, as provided in the Charter of the United Nations.

356. The speedy process of decolonization in the Portuguese Territories is giving enormous encouragement to the aspirations of the peoples of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories for self-determination and independence. We have observed the act of self-determination in Niue and the further constitutional and administrative steps towards the formal independence of Papua New Guinea in 1975.

357. The collective determination of the people of the Seychelles to achieve independence soon, a referendum by the people of the Comoro Archipelago on their future political status and other notable developments in the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories also must be recorded in this epoch-making year.

358. My delegation, in support of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries

and Peoples, recognizes the inalienable right of all the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories to self-determination and independence and accepts as a general principle that questions of territorial size, geographical isolation and limited resources should not delay implementation of the Declaration.

359. My delegation hopes that the administering Powers, mindful of their obligations to Non-Self-Governing Territories, will continue to fulfil their responsibilities for advancing the best interests and well-being of the peoples and will take all appropriate measures to enable them to exercise their right to self-determination at a time to be decided in full consultation with the representative bodies of the peoples in conformity with the Declaration.

360. The changes in the Portuguese Territories in southern Africa will have a great impact on the situation in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia. My delegation categorically rejects the unilateral declaration of independence by the illegal racist minority régime in Salisbury and South Africa's continued illegal administration of Namibia.

361. As regards Southern Rhodesia, my delegation is firmly convinced that full restoration of the legitimate rights of the people of Zimbabwe and the early establishment of a non-racist and democratic Government on the basis of majority rule will bring about a just and lasting solution.

362. My delegation is highly satisfied that the good offices of neighbouring African countries have helped bring about unity among the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe, thus creating more favourable conditions for an early and just settlement in accordance with the united will of the people of Zimbabwe. My delegation hopes that, along with this welcome development, the Smith régime is becoming aware that the voice of justice and reason is irresistible, and that it will continue in good faith its efforts to convene a national constitutional conference with the participation of genuine political representatives of the people of Zimbabwe in an attempt to establish a non-racist and democratic Government, with full recognition of the inalienable rights of all the people of Southern Rhodesia to self-determination and independence.

363. My delegation continues its firm support for the early convening of a national constitutional conference. It is our conviction that a satisfactory settlement relating to the future of the Territory will be worked out at the conference and that it will be endorsed by the whole population of Southern Rhodesia, through free and democratic processes, before it becomes effective.

364. It is most welcome that the Smith régime has reached an agreement very recently with the national liberation movement on an immediate cease-fire, on the prompt release of all political prisoners and on the holding of a constitutional conference. My delegation will continue to support economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia in the hope that the new initiatives towards a just solution will proceed simultaneously. No one can hold back the irreversible current of history.

365. The recent signs of change in South Africa's policy towards both Namibia and Southern Rhodesia are worthy of note. My delegation sincerely hopes

that a settlement of the long-standing questions requiring speedy solutions will be expedited through negotiations and dialogue, based on the right of the peoples of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia to self-determination and independence.

366. As a demonstration of our support for the struggle of African peoples against colonialism and racism, the Government of Japan has provided material assistance to three United Nations funds. We are already one of the major contributors and have provided \$100,000 during the 1974 fiscal year to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, and the United Nations Fund for Namibia.

367. Despite the great strides during the latter half of the year, which all of us have witnessed, the exercise of self-determination in the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories, in compliance with the Declaration, still remains one of the principal tasks entrusted by freedom-loving peoples to the United Nations. The role of the Special Committee and its visiting missions to Non-Self-Governing Territories are of great significance for the completion of this task. It is the hope of my delegation that the Special Committee, with the full co-operation of the administering Powers, will accomplish the whole of its noble task by bringing about the implementation of the Declaration in the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories.

368. To this end, my delegation considers it appropriate that the mandate of the Special Committee should be extended. The free exercise by the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories of their fundamental right to self-determination and independence and the assurance of their rightful place among the international community on the basis of equal sovereignty, non-interference and respect for the sovereign rights and territorial integrity of all peoples will serve the supreme purposes of the Charter.

369. It is the firm conviction of my delegation that this Organization must renew its determination to explore every suitable means, having due regard for the special circumstances of small Territories, for the full implementation of the Declaration in the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories.

370. Mr. MODIBBO (Nigeria): In the opinion of my delegation, by far the most important development during this session with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has been the categorical renunciation by the Government of the new Portugal of the colonialist policies of its fascist predecessors. Leaders of the Government of the new Portugal have made known, on several occasions in this Assembly, their policies and have reaffirmed their unequivocal acceptance of their obligations under the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of December 1960.

371. Apart from the pronouncements and communications within the short period of the coming into being of the Government of the new Portugal, the new Portuguese leaders' visits and addresses to this Assembly are very significant. The addresses by the Portuguese President, General da Costa Gomes

[2269th meeting], the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mario Soares [2239th meeting], and last week by the Minister for Interterritorial Co-ordination, Mr. de Almeida Santos [2305th meeting], are significant enough to deserve the sympathy, understanding and co-operation of all Member States of this august body.

372. We have already seen within this short period evidence of the sincerity of the Government of the new Portugal in the recognition by that Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the setting-up of a transitional Government in Mozambique in preparation for that country's becoming fully independent on 25 June 1975. A definite time-table has been drawn up for full independence for the people of Sao Tome and Principe, Angola and Cape Verde. It is the considered opinion of my delegation that a stage has now been reached when we should do everything possible to assist, encourage and co-operate with the leaders of the new Portugal in order to enhance the fulfilment of their obligations.

373. Allow me to quote a portion of our statement in the Fourth Committee during its consideration of the question of Territories under Portuguese domination. On 9 October 1974 we said:

"We note with pleasure that a transitional Government has already been appointed for the total independence of Mozambique but this, Mr. Chairman, leaves Angola, the islands of Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe still uncertain on how long the struggle and negotiations will continue before their own independence. The statement of intentions to give the people of these remaining Territories the right to determine their own future has already been made by the new Portuguese authorities. The Portuguese authorities should now demonstrate their sincerity by moving a step further. My delegation would like to see the Portuguese authorities draw up a definite time-table for the independence of these other Territories".<sup>16</sup>

374. The Portuguese authorities have now responded to this clarion call and have either drawn up a definite time-table or are in the process of doing so with the assurance that those countries would also be fully independent in 1975. In this regard, my delegation wishes to sound a word of warning to the antagonists of Africa. They should bear in mind that the smooth transfer of power in any of these remaining Territories would usher in yet another step towards peace and prosperity, which we are all striving to achieve for the whole world community. For this reason it is in their interest to refrain from attempting any manoeuvre or action that would be tantamount to subverting the declared efforts and determination of the leaders of the new Portugal.

375. Let me now turn to the other Territories and matters under the item now being considered by the Assembly, as contained in the report of the Special Committee [A/9623/Rev.1]. My delegation has taken note of the report in regard to the Comoro Archipelago, Spanish Sahara, Gibraltar and French Somaliland, covered by chapters XI to XIV of the report. We are grateful to the Special Committee, under the able leadership of its Chairman, the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Salim, for providing us with satisfactory information about the political,

cc institutional, economic and social developments in these Territories.

376. My delegation welcomes the acceptance by Spain of its obligations under the relevant provisions of resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and 3162 (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973. In the light of this, it is the view of my delegation that all those parties interested in the fate of the peoples of Spanish Sahara should now show their sincerity to the world by accepting the fact that these people are entitled to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Now is the time for these interested parties to show their magnanimity and their belief in the principles of the United Nations Charter.

377. In our considered opinion, since Spain has now consented to allow a United Nations visiting mission to be sent to the Territory and has also agreed to conduct a referendum under United Nations auspices, this is the right time for moderation. What is important is self-determination and full independence of this Territory. We refuse to associate ourselves with the views of some delegations that there exists a political vacuum in this Saharan Territory.

378. We welcome the march towards independence by the peoples of the Territories of Papua New Guinea and Niue. We congratulate the administering Powers concerned for their magnanimity, and we look forward to representatives of these Territories participating in this Assembly at the thirtieth session. We are also pleased to note the progress towards the achievement of full independence being made by the Comoro Archipelago and the Seychelles. While we call on France to accept a United Nations visiting mission and to ensure a fair referendum in the Comoro Archipelago, we equally urge the United Kingdom to ensure fair constitutional talks with the leaders of the Seychelles.

379. In regard to the other Non-Self-Governing Territories which I have not mentioned by name, it is the considered view of my delegation that these Territories should also be allowed the same right to self-determination. No matter how small these Territories may be and no matter how limited their resources, they also have the inalienable right to decide their future. In this regard, we urge the administering Powers to take every possible step to facilitate the process of decolonization in the Territories still under their jurisdiction. They should also co-operate and participate fully in the work of the Special Committee on decolonization.

380. Mr. BOATEN (Ghana): Fourteen years ago this Organization adopted resolution 1514 (XV) embodying the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We have reason to congratulate ourselves on our achievements within that period. Since we adopted that resolution, 37 countries have joined our Organization, the majority of them immediately after gaining their independence from alien and colonial rule. This is a tribute to the perseverance of the United Nations in pursuing the objectives of that Declaration, which recognized and established firmly the right of all peoples freely to choose the systems under which they wished to live. In this very year we have witnessed the remarkable, although unexpected, surrender of one of the

most intransigent colonial Powers to the will of the majority of our membership. We have seen Portugal, the most die-hard of all colonial Powers, succumb to the force of international opinion and the demand of its colonies for freedom and independence. Portugal, which holds the record as the oldest colonial Power, and which for years adamantly rejected the judgement of international public opinion that its colonies could not possibly be part of its metropolitan Territory, has created another record—that of becoming the only colonial Power to have taken the shortest time ever known to introduce measures to decolonize its vast colonial empire. In a matter of only some seven months, all its colonies have had their future independent status clearly mapped out. Even the Territory of Angola, which threatened to be the only exception, no longer has any serious doubts of achieving its independence within the next year.

381. For these historical events our congratulations must first go to the liberation movements of the Territories. Without their own determination to rid themselves of alien rule, without their perseverance in prosecuting wars of liberation against tremendous odds, without their readiness to make incredible sacrifices both in lives and property, and without their dedication to the cause of freedom and justice for all mankind, our repeated calls on Portugal to grant the right of self-determination and independence to its colonial peoples would have gone unheeded. We congratulate them most heartily and ask them to join us in paying tribute on this occasion to the memory of their gallant and heroic dead. The memory of Amílcar Cabral and those like him, although unsung, will forever remain with us. Of them it shall be written, "They died that we here might live a fuller life".

382. In paying tribute to those illustrious dead, we do not wish to be understood to be belittling the contribution of the people of Portugal to this happy event. For long periods they appeared to us to be hand in glove with the fascist, reactionary and retrogressive régimes of Salazar and Caetano; they sometimes appeared to us to be willing to acquiesce in dictatorship as a price for ensuring the permanency of Portuguese colonialism. It is gratifying to know now that during that period progressive forces were working to effect a change in the situation in Portugal. That change arrived with the overthrow of the Caetano régime on 25 April this year. From that event has flowed the new air of freedom now blowing over the Portuguese themselves and, with it, the recognition that that freedom cannot long be enjoyed while withholding from their colonies their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

383. Since then the Foreign Minister of Portugal, Mr. Soares, on 23 September 1974 [2239th meeting], the President of Portugal, General da Costa Gomes, on 17 October 1974 [2269th meeting] and only recently the Portuguese Minister for Interterritorial Co-ordination [2305th meeting] have all addressed this General Assembly almost in the same terms. Their accounts of their efforts and the evidence available to us from other sources all point to one conclusion: that the new Portugal is in earnest in its determination that nothing of its own making shall be permitted to obstruct the process of decolonizing its vast colonial empire.

It is this assessment which persuades my delegation to accept Mr. Soares' declaration that here is:

"... a new Portugal which has nothing to do with the one which was so repeatedly condemned in this Organization . . ." [2239th meeting, para. 95.]

The President of Portugal later stated:

"We shall not consent any longer to bartering the freedom of our collective conscience for grandiose dreams of sterile imperialism." [2269th meeting, para. 12.]

Those are noble words, pointing to a new future for mankind as a whole.

384. When the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs of Ghana addressed the Assembly on 7 October this year, he stated:

"It is our belief that, if the Government of Portugal keeps its pledge to the world and shoulders full responsibility for the complete transfer of power to the accredited and proven leaders of the people in these Territories, Portugal can look forward to a new era of friendly relations and co-operation with independent Africa." [2258th meeting, para. 100.]

385. Ghana stands by this commitment. Portugal has chosen a path of peace and we in our turn offer to its Government and people our friendship and co-operation in the years to come, both within and outside this Organization. We believe that we shall not be alone in this, as long as Portugal continues to pursue the course it has charted for itself in regard to its colonial policy.

386. If I appear to have devoted much time to the decolonization process at present going on in the Portuguese colonies, it is because of the importance my delegation attaches to freedom and independence for all peoples. It is also because of the very important implications which the imminent demise of Portuguese colonialism holds for the remaining colonial Territories in southern Africa. I refer to Zimbabwe and Namibia. In both Territories we find installed minority régimes dedicated to racism and racial suppression and determined to withhold indefinitely enjoyment by the majority of their population of equal opportunities and a decent livelihood. Those régimes have a choice: they have a choice between peace and security and continuing conflict and bloodshed. That choice is theirs to make. The demand being made by the black majority in those Territories is both simple and reasonable: they demand to be recognized as human beings; they demand the right to live under democratic government in which the will of the majority prevails and the reasonable interests of the minority are protected; they demand equal opportunities to live a fuller life in the land of their birth; above all, they demand a future for themselves and their posterity.

387. Within the last year we have seen both the racist minority régimes of South Africa and Zimbabwe increase their repressive measures against the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe. In the latter Territory, the régime was forced to make the largest increase in its military expenditure for any single year. The report of the Special Committee on decolonization also states:

"At the end of 1973, the illegal régime announced a 100 per cent increase in the number of persons

called up by the army, the mobilization of all the graduates of secondary schools and the call-up of all reservists. Recruitment for the regular army was intensified for both troops and officers, and salaries were increased." [A/9623/Rev.1, chap. V, annex, appendix II, para. 9.]

388. The effect of this mobilization policy has been the almost total involvement of the entire European population of Zimbabwe in the war effort. Graduates of secondary schools, who in any civilized society would be considered mere children, have been forced to die in defence of the régime's obscurantist policies. Instead of a desire for peace and harmony, these youths are being taught a philosophy of racial bitterness and hatred.

389. Part of what my delegation sees as the South African racist régime's preparations for an even greater oppression of the black majority is the decision to recruit black South Africans into the South African army. I refer to the announcement alleged to have been made by Major-General Dutton on 9 December and reported in *The New York Times* of 10 December. According to the report, under the scheme the highest rank any black South African is expected to attain in the South African Army is that of sergeant-major.

390. There are some who may welcome this as one of the measures which the racist régime has promised to take as part of a relaxation of its *apartheid* policies. My delegation cannot be deceived regarding the true intention of the scheme. As pointed out by the report in *The New York Times*:

"Two practical developments appear to have prompted an easing of racial policy more than world-wide criticism. One is the phasing-out of the white supremacy Portuguese territorial régimes in Africa which used to shield South Africa from black Africa. The other is the growing shortage of skilled white labour in the country."

391. While the first reason explains the tremendous increase in South Africa's military expenditure, the second underlies the decision of the racist régime to recruit black South Africans into its army. We urge our South African brothers and sisters to take heed, because the scheme is fraught with incalculable danger for their future circumstances. As far as my delegation sees it, South Africa is now embarking upon a scheme to make black South Africans accomplices in the murder of their brothers and sisters.

392. Furthermore, in February 1974, additional powers were given to senior police officers and district commissioners to enable them to compel Africans to work on roads, bridges and dams without remuneration. Those powers also gave them unlimited control over food supplies and the movement of the population in the African areas. As the report already mentioned puts it.

"... the purpose of these powers is to intimidate the African population so that it does not support the guerrilla efforts. These powers were implemented in February 1974 when the security forces destroyed the village of Musirva mar Bindura, including the crops, and sold the village cattle."

393. The story in Zimbabwe is not much different. The only difference is that Namibians have had a



longer experience of such repressive practices under the South African régime than the people of Zimbabwe. In fact, the situation in Zimbabwe owes its origins to the South African racist régime's examples in Namibia. The Namibian situation is even more complicated by the fact that there is clear collaboration between that régime and some Western European Powers.

394. The racist régime receives considerable quantities of arms of all types and other military equipment from those Powers, which it does not hesitate to use in Namibia, a Territory which is legally the responsibility of the United Nations. It is known that as a counter-measure against the activities of the liberation movements of Namibia, South African forces have bombarded villages, poisoned water supplies and set fire to forests and farms—thus forcing countless numbers of Namibians to flee their own country to seek refuge in such neighbouring countries as Zambia and Botswana.

395. *The New York Times* of yesterday, 12 December, reported that an agreement had been reached in Lusaka between Ian Smith's illegal Government and the representatives of Zimbabwe liberation organizations on a cease-fire. It was also reported that Ian Smith had agreed to release all the African leaders, including Joshua Nkomo and the Reverend Sithole, whom he had illegally detained. The article also reported an agreement to hold a constitutional conference to determine the future of Zimbabwe.

396. My delegation welcomes those developments and would like to take this opportunity to express its appreciation to the Presidents of Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania and Botswana, whose untiring efforts have produced a ray of hope for peace in Zimbabwe. It is our hope that the proposed constitutional conference will produce a constitution based on democratic principles and acceptable to the people of Zimbabwe as a whole.

397. From the depressing circumstances of colonial Territories in southern Africa, I turn my attention to the pleasant story of the Territories of Papua New Guinea and Niue under the administration of Australia and New Zealand, respectively.

398. By its resolution 3109 (XXVIII), the General Assembly welcomed the attainment of self-government on 1 December 1973 by the former Territory of Papua New Guinea. In the Territory of Papua New Guinea we note with satisfaction that the local Government of that Territory is now responsible for most of its departments of State and will soon decide to assume full responsibility for all its operations when it accedes to independence in 1975.

399. It is also with great satisfaction that we have learnt of the exercise by the people of Niue of their right to self-determination. We readily accept their decision, taken on 19 October 1974, to seek their future in free association with the people of New Zealand and wish them well.

400. My delegation would, at this point, like to convey to the Governments and peoples of Australia and New Zealand its sincere appreciation for the co-operation and sincerity which they have demonstrated in guiding the peoples of Papua New Guinea and Niue, respectively, towards self-determination. It is

our hope that their exemplary action will be emulated by other colonial Powers.

401. With regard to the remaining Territories, my delegation appreciates the difficulties they face as a result of their smallness or the lack of natural resources. Their right to self-determination and independence is, however, non-negotiable under the provisions of the Charter and the numerous relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. My delegation maintains that, whatever their circumstances might be, the application of the principle of self-determination should not be denied them. They should be free to choose their own institutions. It is for this reason that we call on the administering Powers in those Territories to ensure that their activities, both economic and military, do not result in a permanent colonial circumstance. The lack of abundance of natural resources has not prevented countries like Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany and Denmark from becoming developed and must therefore not be used as an excuse for withholding the right to self-determination from the peoples of those remaining colonial Territories. No system of colonial rule has been wholly altruistic in its objectives.

402. In conclusion, we urge all Members of this Organization to pool their resources to assist those Territories. Our hope remains that in the not-too-distant future all the peoples of the world will have exercised their right to self-determination, and colonialism will belong to history. It is from then on that we can seriously pursue our efforts towards creating a better world for humanity as a whole. This should be our ultimate goal, and we have the capacity to achieve it.

403. Mr. MUKHTAR (Sudan): The year 1974 has witnessed a great leap forward towards the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the right of colonial countries and peoples to self-determination and independence. A year ago few of us here could have imagined that much would be accomplished in the direction of the eradication of colonialism, especially in the big areas occupied by Portugal, in such a short lapse of time. This breakthrough in the process of decolonization was made possible mainly because of the persistent and untiring struggle and the great human and material sacrifices of the liberation movements and their respective peoples which support them. The toppling of the fascist Caetano régime in Lisbon could not have been possible without that struggle, which brought home to the Portuguese people and to its army the realities of the situation inside Portugal as well as in the African Territories.

404. That does not mean that we deny the decisive role played by the Portuguese people, the army and the democratic forces in bringing to an end a brutal and hateful dictatorship, which had persisted obstinately in Portugal for almost half a century. We have had occasion before to state that the African peoples and their liberation movements have never confused or identified the Portuguese with the ancient régime. We knew that some day Portuguese and Africans would work hand in hand to get rid of their common oppressor. We are therefore enormously gratified to see that that is what is actually happening now.

405. We have welcomed the statements of the President of Portugal, the Foreign Minister and the Min-

ister for Interterritorial Co-ordination in this august Assembly. There was not only a discernible tone of co-operation and understanding in those statements but also deep conviction and a commitment to the cause of liberation. In view of what has been accomplished so far by the new leaders of Portugal in this short span of time, we have no reason to doubt their sincerity. Agreements have already been reached between the Government of Portugal and the liberation movements in Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe by which transitional Governments have been established and time-tables have been set for complete independence in the middle of next year. A commitment has also been made by the Portuguese Minister for Interterritorial Co-ordination to the effect that Angola and the Cape Verde Islands will accede to independence within the year 1975. Guinea-Bissau is already an independent, sovereign State. Those are all positive actions undertaken by the new authorities in Portugal. As was ably stated by the Canadian representative, much of the credit should go to the liberation movements and the Portuguese leaders who, after so many years of suffering and distrust, were able to reach agreement on the difficult issues confronting them.

406. If we have reason to rejoice over the positive developments that are taking place in the Portuguese Territories in Africa, we should not overlook the fact that colonialism and racial discrimination and oppression are still rampant in the southern part of our continent. The Republic of South Africa is still illegally occupying Namibia despite the United Nations resolutions and appeals to that country. South Africa's refusal to implement these resolutions and to abide by the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice<sup>a</sup> constitutes a blatant violation of the principles of the Charter of this Organization. No other Member State has ever shown greater disdain for the United Nations than South Africa, and yet some of the Western countries continue to defend that country and support it morally and materially, in spite of their allegations to the contrary.

407. No amount of rhetoric can possibly conceal the collusion of certain Western Powers with the abhorrent *apartheid* régime in Pretoria. Only recently three of those Powers, by an unprecedented tripartite veto, stopped the Security Council from taking action against South Africa. They are also adamantly opposed to any action by the Security Council with respect to threats to the peace and acts of aggression by South Africa against the people of Namibia, through its illegal occupation of their country; and against the people of Zimbabwe and the neighbouring African countries, through its sending troops to help maintain the Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia. In the face of the arrogance of South Africa and the obstructionist policies of the Western Powers, the Namibians are left with no option but to resort to armed struggle.

408. In spite of recent reports that the white minority régime in Southern Rhodesia is offering to negotiate with the Zimbabwe representatives, it is obvious that Ian Smith and his white supporters are determined to fight against any notion of majority rule in the foreseeable future. It is therefore incumbent upon the United Kingdom, in its capacity as the administering Power, to take positive steps to put an end to the

anomaly existing in Southern Rhodesia. We sincerely hope that the United Kingdom will not abdicate its responsibility towards the people of Zimbabwe.

409. As for the smaller Territories still under foreign domination, my delegation believes that every one of them has its particularities, and for that reason it is difficult to apply the same solution in every one of them. Still, smallness of size, remoteness, sparsity of population or scarcity of resources should not and would not constitute a hindrance to those Territories in exercising their right to self-determination.

410. In that respect, it is our duty and privilege to commend the untiring efforts of the Special Committee and its Chairman, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, to find acceptable solutions to the colonial problems in the small Territories in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, as well as in the Caribbean. The practice of dispatching special missions to obtain first-hand information on the conditions prevailing in those Territories should continue. We are highly appreciative of the co-operation of the Governments of Australia and New Zealand with the Special Committee. Those two countries are worthy of our respect and admiration for their excellent and exemplary action in Papua New Guinea and Niue. They have set an example to the other administering Powers of how to decolonize their Territories in a spirit of friendship and co-operation. We also salute their commitment to aid these Territories in every possible way to promote their economic advancement and welfare. We welcome with satisfaction also the decision of the United Kingdom to co-operate with the Special Committee and to allow visiting missions of the United Nations to come to the Territories still under its domination and inquire about the conditions of the inhabitants of those Territories.

411. Mrs. MOLLAEVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet Union, faithful to the Leninist principles of international solidarity, has at all stages of its more than 50 years of existence constantly championed the cause of the defence of the peoples of the colonies. From the very first days of its birth it has actively and unswervingly fought against all forms and manifestations of national and racial oppression and inequality and for the recognition of the right of the oppressed and dependent peoples fully to decide their own fate. It has fought for the recognition of the legitimacy of their struggle to liberate themselves from the fetters of colonial slavery. That struggle was greatly assisted by such historically significant events as the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, which liberated and emancipated the peoples of Czarist Russia; the victory of the Soviet Union in the great war of the Fatherland against Fascism; and the emergence of the Socialist community, which accelerated the collapse of the colonialist system of imperialism and opened up the path to freedom and independence for the oppressed peoples.

412. The major contribution to the cause of the liberation of the colonial peoples has been the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted in December 1960 by the General Assembly on the initiative of the Soviet Union. That Declaration created the basis in international law for the national liberation movement of the oppressed

peoples, a movement that has now spread throughout the planet, far and wide.

413. This session of the General Assembly is considering the question of the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization in favourable circumstances, at a time of *détente* on the international scene, when there is a distinct trend towards the relaxation of tension in international relations as a whole. That is the main feature of the development of today's world. That has become possible, thanks to the single-minded and consistent policy of the Soviet Union, which it has pursued together with all the socialist countries and which has had a considerable effect on all facets of international life, creating favourable conditions for the solution of numerous international problems that lie along the path to the establishment of lasting peace in the world, including the prompt elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism and racism and the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

414. At this session, an overwhelming majority of representatives have noted that international *détente* in the world today is in accord with the basic interests of all mankind, including the peoples of the colonial countries and dependent territories, because it opens up for the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples new favourable prospects and opportunities for the prompt attainment of their lawful rights and aspirations.

415. The establishment of normal relations and mutually beneficial co-operation with all countries regardless of their social systems is one of the most important principles of Soviet foreign policy, and has been ever since the foundation of the Soviet State. In the first decrees passed by the Soviet Government, drafted by V. I. Lenin, particularly the decree on peace, it was proclaimed that the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence between States with different social and economic systems was a most important principle of the foreign policy of the new Soviet State.

416. More than half a century has passed since then, but the fight for peace and co-operation with other countries has constituted and continues to constitute the general course of Soviet foreign policy. The Government of the Soviet Union, guided by the programme of peace drafted at the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, believes that the struggle for the strengthening of peace, the further development of *détente* and the relaxation of international tension generally is a matter of the highest importance.

417. The Soviet delegation wishes to note that not all difficulties have been removed on the path to a durable and lasting peace, but promising prospects are now emerging. In order that these prospects may be realized, many complicated problems still have to be handled. In this respect the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev, has emphasized that:

“We consider it our sacred duty to continue in the future to make maximum efforts to ensure that not just you and I, but also our children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren should not have to know what war is and that all peoples in the world

should be able to live in peace and in good neighbourliness. We are convinced that in the struggle for a durable peace and the security of peoples, peaceful coexistence and sound and mutually advantageous co-operation between States with different social systems, we meet with the full support of brother countries and parties, all peace-loving forces of the world and all those who cherish peace and the progress of mankind.”

418. A new important step ahead in the implementation of the peace programme outlined at the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was the recent meeting in Vladivostok between Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Ford, the President of the United States. At that meeting, important political results were attained which are of great significance for the future development of Soviet-American relations on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence and give new impetus to the development of *détente*, to the expansion of mutually advantageous co-operation between States with different social systems and make a constructive contribution to the strengthening of world peace.

419. As has already been noted, since the October Revolution, the fifty-seventh anniversary of which was recently observed by the Soviet people and all progressive mankind, the Soviet policy of support for peoples struggling for their national liberation and political and economic independence has been developed.

420. The foundations of Soviet policy on national and colonial questions were laid by V. I. Lenin, the founder of the Soviet State. On his initiative the Soviet Government proclaimed among its very first acts of foreign policy a new principle, namely, the right of peoples to self-determination. Since then the Soviet Union has struggled unswervingly to ensure the application of this principle to all countries and peoples, large and small.

421. In connexion with the discussion of the question of the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization, it is appropriate to note that it was precisely V. I. Lenin who first reached the conclusion that ensuring peace does not impede but rather promotes the development of the world-wide liberation movement and the successful solution of democratic national liberation and social tasks. Soviet foreign policy, which is imbued with the spirit of international solidarity and concern for the interests of workers and all oppressed peoples, is firmly based on Lenin's indications and unswervingly pursues the struggle for peace, combined with a policy of support for peoples struggling for their national liberation and for the strengthening of their independence and social progress. As in the past, the Soviet Union today is firmly on the side of those who are fighting for their freedom and national liberation, including armed struggle.

422. We are deeply grateful to the leaders of the national liberation movements for the words of high praise which they have had for the assistance and co-operation which the Soviet Union has been giving them in their noble struggle for freedom and national independence. Allow me, in this respect, to quote an excerpt from the message from the Secretary-General of PAIGC, Mr. Aristidis Pereira, addressed to Mr. Brezhnev, on the occasion of the fifty-seventh

anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. He said:

“Our people, which throughout the whole long history of its struggle for national liberation from Portuguese colonial rule has enjoyed vitally necessary and unselfish aid from the heroic Soviet people, on this memorable day pays a just tribute and respect to the valiant Soviet people and its great Party and Government.”

423. The improvement of the international atmosphere is of great benefit to all these positive processes occurring in the African continent, where the struggle of the oppressed peoples for the final elimination of colonial régimes is entering a decisive phase. The great changes occurring in Africa are, above all, the result of the active anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the whole of the continent. But, we are convinced, they have become possible also thanks to the general change in the balance of forces in the world between socialism and imperialism and thanks to the active and constant support given to the national liberation movements by the socialist countries. The unity of the independent African countries and peoples and their co-operation with the countries of the Socialist community will therefore continue to be one of the soundest guarantees in the struggle for the complete elimination of colonialism and racism.

424. As a result of the long heroic struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, who relied on the brotherly support and assistance of the socialist countries and other progressive forces, and under the impact of blows from the movement of democratic forces in Portugal, the hated fascist régime has collapsed. As Mr. Brezhnev said at a solemn meeting in Berlin, in the German Democratic Republic, earlier this year:

“The collapse of Portuguese fascism has simultaneously become the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and its bankruptcy. The fall of Portuguese colonialism is a major landmark in the struggle for the total elimination of colonial slavery on the African continent.”

425. The process of decolonization of the Portuguese colonies in Africa being conducted by the Government of Portugal is reaching its concluding stages. The recognition by Portugal of the independence of Guinea-Bissau; the signing of the agreement on 7 September 1974 between FRELIMO and Portugal on the granting of full independence to Mozambique on 25 June 1975 [A/9769, annex I]; the recent agreement between the National Liberation Movement of Sao Tome and Principe [MLSTP] and the Portuguese Government concerning the granting of independence to that territory on 12 July 1975 [see A/9953]; the discussions in Lisbon with the representatives of PAIGC on the future of the Cape Verde Islands; the discussions between Portugal and the national liberation movements of Angola—all those are clear confirmation of the process of decolonization now developing in the African continent in fulfilment of the principles and terms of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

426. This process is clear confirmation of the erroneous nature of the views of sceptics and doubters who argued that the process of international *détente*

would not help the process of decolonization and the struggle of the colonial peoples for their freedom and national independence.

427. Distinct progress has occurred in the decolonization process in other parts of the world too. The heightened international pressure on the colonial Powers after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the successes of the liberation movements of the local peoples have compelled the administering Powers to depart from the well-known colonialist thesis of the infeasibility of self-determination for various peoples and their argument that their independent development was impossible because their populations or territory were too small. Grenada attained independence this year and Papua New Guinea is well on the way to doing so. The populations of various islands in the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans, however, still remain under colonial rule. That is true also of a number of Territories in other parts of the world.

428. The role played by the United Nations in this whole process must not be undervalued. The Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko, in his message to the President of the eighth extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of OAU at the beginning of this year pointed out that:

“The United Nations, in the years of its existence, has done a great deal which has been very useful in order to support international peace and security and to provide assistance to the national liberation movements of peoples. The United Nations has demonstrated its strength in those cases when all its Members have strictly complied with all the aims and principles of the Charter, and its weakness when those principles have been violated. At a time of *détente* the opportunity of the United Nations to take a more effective part in the solution of pressing international problems is greatly enhanced.”

429. Of particular significance in this respect is the further strengthening, in the United Nations, of the co-operation between the socialist States and the countries of the third world, which has made it possible for the United Nations to achieve such successes in the cause of the liberation of peoples from colonialism. On the basis of the common interest of those States in the earliest possible elimination of colonialism, there has been formed in the United Nations a powerful alliance of States pursuing anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist policies. Through the joint efforts of those countries, all the basic anti-colonialist decisions have been adopted, among them primarily such major resolutions as the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration [resolution 2621 (XXV)], the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX)], the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid [resolution 3068 (XXVIII)] and so on.

430. As is well known, all those major anti-colonialist decisions were prepared and adopted by the General Assembly on the initiative and with the active participation of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.



The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples ranks very high among the anti-colonialist resolutions of the United Nations. It is hard to exaggerate the significance of that historic document for the fate of colonial and dependent peoples and the elimination of colonialism throughout the world. The adoption of that document by the Assembly in 1960 marked a turning-point in the activities of the United Nations in the colonialist sphere and also the beginning of a new stage in the development of the world-wide struggle of peoples for freedom and national independence. Since then almost all the organs of the United Nations, including the Security Council which, under the Charter, bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, have been drawn into this anti-colonialist struggle.

431. A valuable and important role in United Nations anti-colonialist efforts belongs to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It has become the main centre for the preparation of measures and recommendations for dealing with the struggle against colonialism and the monitoring of the implementation of United Nations decisions to accelerate the process of decolonization, as well as for unmasking the policy of the supporters of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. An example of the enhanced authority of the Special Committee was the change which was forced in the positions of a number of colonial Powers in respect of co-operation with the Committee. In the report of the Special Committee [A/9623/Rev.1], much light is shed on the reasons and the motive forces which have been impeding and acting to thwart the acceleration of the decolonization process. In the report, specific measures and facts are adduced to show that it is precisely the help and support given by certain NATO countries to colonialist and racist régimes which is the main reason for the slowing down of the process of decolonization and the implementation of United Nations decisions.

432. In the report of the Special Committee, the attention of the United Nations and its various organs is very correctly drawn to the need for further intensification of efforts to implement the Declaration and to implement promptly the decisions already adopted by the United Nations on colonial issues.

433. The Soviet delegation supports the recommendations proposed by the Special Committee to the Assembly and the Security Council calling for the adoption of new effective measures in the political, economic and, if necessary, military fields in respect of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and calling for increased assistance to the national liberation movements from all States, specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations, as well as for greater pressure on those countries which continue to co-operate with and assist the colonialist and racist régimes.

434. The efforts of the progressive and anti-colonialist forces in the United Nations and outside it have led to an active international struggle against colonialism and racism. The Soviet Union, with the other socialist countries, has been taking a most active and direct part in this struggle.

435. The Soviet Union gives considerable assistance to the developing countries in the training of highly qualified personnel on a non-reimbursable basis. In the last 15 years, for example, from the citizens of Asia and Latin America about 18,000 engineers, doctors, agronomists, economists, physicists, mathematicians, and other experts have been trained in Soviet institutes of higher education, and 90 per cent of them have degrees in science as a result. In Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and other higher scientific institutes of education such training proceeds. The most modern equipment is made available to these students and the most highly qualified teachers. In 10 years the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University has trained more than 4,250 specialists from more than 89 developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. For 35 countries in Africa 1,100 highly qualified young specialists have been trained, and in the same period 912 were trained for a number of countries for the Middle East. 1,279 experts were trained for 23 countries in Latin America, and 967 for South-East Asia. Faithful to its international duty and friendship to other peoples, the Soviet Union will continue to give assistance in the training of qualified personnel in all areas and in all departments to citizens from the developing countries.

436. The decisive voice of the international community in support of United Nations decisions for the prompt elimination of the vestiges of colonialism was heard at the Congress of Peace in Moscow in October last year and also at the Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations at Geneva this summer.

437. OAU is making a major contribution to the elimination of colonialism. For that organization the elimination of colonialism and the racist régimes in Africa is one of its prime tasks. The eleventh ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, held at Mogadiscio in June this year, adopted a number of important decisions to bring about a further isolation of the colonialist and racist régimes and revealed further criminal activities of the supporters of these régimes, in particular, the international monopolies that have been co-operating with the colonialist and racist régimes and thereby slowing down the process of decolonization.

438. The Soviet Union bases its position in regard to colonialist matters on these decisions of OAU and has resolutely supported the proposal of the African States for the expulsion of the racist régime of South Africa from the United Nations and the proposal for denying to the South African delegation the right to participate in the twenty-ninth session. The decision adopted by an overwhelming majority to deny the right of the delegation of the South African régime to participate in the work of the General Assembly was new and persuasive evidence of the struggle against colonialism and racism.

439. The consistent anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist policy of the Soviet Union, which has won great respect and gratitude from all oppressed peoples, emanates from the very nature of our socialist State and structure. In autumn this year, the Central Asian republics also celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of their formation. The peoples of the former colonial areas of Czarist Russia, under the beneficial influence of the October Revolution and drawing on the unself-

ish support of all peoples of the Soviet Union, in a very short historic period of time, bypassing capitalist notions, have proceeded from the feudal era to socialism, having achieved unheard-of historic changes in a short time. Fifty years ago my Republic of Turkmenia was in the stage of medieval development. Now Soviet Turkmenistan is a highly developed industrial and agrarian republic which combines a comprehensive industry with the agricultural output of major mechanized state and collective farms. Three billion kilowatt-hours of electricity were produced this year, which is 150 per cent more than what was produced in the whole of Russia before the Revolution. There is also complete literacy and a high standard of culture. Every second person in Turkmenistan has a higher or secondary education. In the republic, with a population of two and a half million, there are 40 higher and secondary specialized agencies of learning. The great attainments of the peoples of the Soviet Republics are clear evidence of the creative transforming power of Marxist-Leninist teaching, the triumph of the Soviet social and state structure and Leninist national policy for brotherly union and mutual assistance of the peoples of our countries. As was said by Mr. Gromyko at this session:

“The struggle for national independence and economic liberation and for the elimination of the vestiges of the colonial system has been scoring impressive victories in recent years. But that struggle is by no means ended. The manifestations of economic oppression and inequality and the fact that there are still dark blemishes of colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination on earth cannot be tolerated. Until they disappear, the peace-loving States and the United Nations as a whole cannot slacken their efforts to eradicate them.” [2240th meeting, para. 199.]

440. In conclusion, I wish to state that the Soviet Union will, as in the past, continue to give full support to the just struggle of the oppressed peoples for the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence.

441. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the United Kingdom has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

442. Mr. MORETON (United Kingdom): In exercising the right of reply, my delegation wishes to comment very briefly on the statement we heard this morning from the representative of Argentina concerning the Falkland Islands. I have already spoken in the Fourth Committee of my Government's position on the question of the Falkland Islands, and this

position is well known. My Government has no doubts as to its sovereignty over the Falkland Islands. But at the same time, my delegation welcomes the Government of Argentina's concern to seek a peaceful outcome to this question. My Government has held talks with the Government of Argentina during the last year and we shall continue these contacts.

443. My Government reiterates its genuine desire to arrive at a just and peaceful solution to this problem. But any such solution must be consonant with the freely expressed wishes of the Falkland Islanders themselves, in accordance with the principle of self-determination to which my delegation and, I believe, the overwhelming majority of the Members of this Organization attach the greatest importance.

*The meeting rose at 10.10 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Fourth Committee*, 2126th meeting, paras. 5-18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 2131st meeting, para. 25.

<sup>3</sup> The delegation of the Upper Volta subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

<sup>4</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Fourth Committee*, 2131st meeting, paras. 16-18.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 2128th meeting, paras. 30-32.

<sup>6</sup> The delegation of India subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

<sup>7</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Special Session, Annexes*, agenda item 7, document A/L.517.

<sup>8</sup> *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970)*, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.

<sup>9</sup> The delegation of Pakistan subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

<sup>10</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Fourth Committee*, 2121st meeting, para. 74.

<sup>11</sup> Manifesto on Southern Africa (see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754).

<sup>12</sup> Adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State and Government of East and Central African States, held at Mogadiscio from 18 to 20 October 1971.

<sup>13</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Fourth Committee*, 2080th meeting, para. 44.

<sup>14</sup> Subsequently circulated in document A/10044.

<sup>15</sup> E/CN.4/1111.

<sup>16</sup> For a summary of the statement, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Fourth Committee*, 2086th meeting, para. 22.