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President: Mr. Gaston THORN
(Luxembourg).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Paguene (Mozambique), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Tribute to the memory of Generalissimo Francisco Franco Bahamonde, Head of the Spanish State

1. The PRESIDENT: We have learned of the death of the Head of the Spanish State, Generalissimo Francisco Franco Bahamonde. The President of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General have already sent messages of condolence. On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like now to extend our condolences to Generalissimo Franco's bereaved family and to the Spanish Government. I invite representatives to rise and observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of Generalissimo Francisco Franco Bahamonde.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.

2. Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of my delegation and my Government, I should like to express my profound gratitude for the messages of condolence which the President of the Assembly and the Secretary-General have sent

to the family of the Head of State of Spain and to the Government of my country.

AGENDA ITEM 97

Review of the intergovernmental and expert machinery dealing with the formulation, review and approval of programmes and budgets: report of the Working Group on United Nations Programme and Budget Machinery

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/10339)

AGENDA ITEM 99

Joint Inspection Unit: reports of the Joint Inspection Unit

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/10369)

AGENDA ITEM 103

Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary organs of the General Assembly (*continued*)*:

- (b) Committee on Contributions;
- (e) United Nations Administrative Tribunal

REPORTS OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/10312 AND ADD.1 AND A/10315)

3. Mr. ABOUL GHEIT (Egypt) Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour to introduce the reports of the Fifth Committee on items 97, 99 and 103 (b) and 103 (e) of the agenda.

4. As regards agenda item 97, the Fifth Committee decided unanimously to recommend to the General Assembly for adoption the draft resolution appearing in paragraph 29 of its report [A/10339].

5. In paragraph 8 of its report on agenda item 99 [A/10369], the Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption a draft decision which was adopted unanimously by the Committee.

6. In paragraph 5 of its report on agenda item 103 (b) [A/10312], the Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption a draft resolution concerning the appointment of five persons as members of the Committee on Contributions for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1976.

7. As regards agenda item 103 (e), in paragraph 5 of its report [A/10315] the Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption a draft resolution on the appointment of two persons as members of the United Nations Administrative Tribunal for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1976.

* Resumed from the 2389th meeting.

8. It is my hope that the decisions of the Fifth Committee on these items will meet with the approval of the General Assembly.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Fifth Committee.

9. The PRESIDENT: I invite Members to turn their attention first to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 97 [A/10339].

10. I understand that the procedure regarding the election of members of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination which is envisaged in the draft resolution of the Fifth Committee will be applied to fill the new vacancies as and when they arise: that is, as from next year. The Committee for Programme and Co-ordination is at present, with one exception, fully constituted. The seat which is now vacant will be filled by the Economic and Social Council at its organizational session as part of the normal process of election to that Committee.

11. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 29 of its report, which is entitled "Review of the intergovernmental and expert machinery dealing with the formulation, review and approval of programmes and budgets". Since the Committee adopted that draft resolution without objection, may I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3392 (XXX)).

12. We shall now consider the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 99 [A/10369].

13. There are no requests for explanations of vote before the vote. We shall now take a decision on the recommendation of the Committee contained in paragraph 8 of its report.

14. The Fifth Committee adopted that draft decision unanimously. May I consider that the General Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

The draft decision was adopted.

15. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now consider the reports of the Fifth Committee on subitems (b) [A/10312] and (e) [A/10315] of agenda item 103.

16. Since no one wishes to speak in explanation of vote, the Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee.

17. In paragraph 5 of its report, under agenda item 103 (b), the Fifth Committee recommends for adoption by the General Assembly a draft resolution entitled "Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of the Committee on Contributions". If I hear no objections, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee.

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3393 A (XXX)).

18. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the draft resolution entitled "Appointments to fill vacancies in the United Nations Administrative Tribunal", recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 5 of

its report, under agenda item 103 (e). May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3394 (XXX)).

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

19. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Assembly will recall that this item was allocated to the plenary Assembly so that it might examine the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in general. All the 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 have been referred to the Fourth Committee. Representatives who wish to make comments on specific Territories will have the opportunity to do so at a later date when the Assembly takes up the report of the Fourth Committee on those Territories [A/10427].

20. Mr. LASSE (Trinidad and Tobago), Rapporteur 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: As the Rapporteur of the Special Committee, I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the Special Committee covering its work during 1975 [A/10023/Rev.1]. The report, which relates, *inter alia*, to item 23 of the agenda, is submitted in accordance with paragraph 11 of resolution 3328 (XXIX) of 16 December 1974, by which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee:

"to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) in all Territories which have not yet attained independence and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism . . .".

21. An account of the Special Committee's examination of the situation in individual Territories is set out in chapters VIII to XXXI of the report [*ibid.*]. An account of its consideration of the other specific items referred to it in the relevant General Assembly resolutions is set out in the remaining chapters of its report.

22. As in previous years, the programme of work of the Special Committee has been extremely heavy in 1975. The Committee was able, nevertheless, by meeting regularly between January and August and by holding unofficial consultations among members, as appropriate, to give adequate consideration to, and submit recommendations on, most of the items on its agenda. As regards the remaining items, the Committee decided to transmit to the General Assembly information which should facilitate consideration of them at the current session.

23. In the course of its work during the year, the Special Committee, bearing in mind in particular the specific requests addressed to it by the General Assembly in resolution 3328 (XXIX), reviewed the implementation of the Declaration and the programme of action, as well as of the various United Nations resolutions relating to the colonial Territories, and, in the light of developments, formulated recommendations for the application of further measures by States, by the competent United Nations organs and by the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in order to accelerate the pace of decolonization and the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples concerned.

24. As envisaged in its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session [A/9623/Rev.1] and within the context of General Assembly resolutions 1654 (XVI) and 2621 (XXV) which, *inter alia*, authorized the Special Committee to meet elsewhere than at United Nations Headquarters, the Special Committee held meetings at Lisbon this year, at the invitation of the Government of Portugal. During its session in the Portuguese capital, the Special Committee, in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly, gave further intensified consideration to the questions of Southern Rhodesia and of Namibia and held a review of developments in Territories under Portuguese administration. In connexion with its consideration of those questions, the Special Committee again had the benefit, both in New York and during its meetings away from Headquarters, of receiving valuable information on several Territories from representatives of the national liberation movements of those Territories who participated as observers in its work relating to their respective countries. As members are aware, the Fourth Committee has completed its consideration of two of the Territories concerned on the basis of the relevant recommendations submitted to it by the Special Committee.

25. In connexion with the Special Committee's consideration of the Territories under Portuguese administration, I might mention that the Committee was privileged to be represented at the ceremonies marking the independence of Cape Verde, Mozambique, and Sao Tome and Principe.

26. During the year, the Special Committee also continued, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3299 (XXIX), its study of the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination, and efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa. In the light of the related recommendations of the Special Committee, the Fourth Committee has already formulated its own recommendations on this question for the Assembly's consideration.

27. The Committee, in the light of the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 3328 (XXIX) and 3290 (XXIX), continued its consideration of the military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration

and are incompatible with the provisions of relevant General Assembly resolutions. Further, under the terms of the relevant provisions of resolution 3300 (XXIX), the Committee also continued its examination of the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations and, again this year, held consultations on the matter with officials of several agencies.

28. As members are aware, the Special Committee, at the invitation of the administering Powers concerned and in the context of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, dispatched visiting missions to Cape Verde, now the Republic of Cape Verde, as well as to Montserrat and to Spanish Sahara. As regards the United Nations Visiting Mission to Montserrat, the Committee, in approving the related report [A/10023/Rev.1, chap. XXVIII, annex], endorsed the view expressed by the Mission that measures to promote the economic development of Montserrat, within a framework of regional co-operation, are an important element in the process of self-determination, and expressed the hope that the administering Power will continue to intensify and expand its programme of budgetary and development aid.

29. As regards the United Nations Visiting Mission to Spanish Sahara, whose observations and conclusions the Special Committee also endorsed [*ibid.*, chap. XIII], it is the Committee's firm conviction that the decolonization of the Territory must take into account the wishes and aspirations of all the Saharan population of the Territory. The Committee is of the view that the General Assembly should take steps to enable the population groups concerned to decide their own future in complete freedom and in an atmosphere of peace and security, in accordance with the provisions of resolutions 1514 (XV) and the other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly concerning the question.

30. As members will have noted from the reports of the visiting missions and the relevant chapters of the Committee's report now before the Assembly, the Special Committee also devoted considerable attention during the year to the decolonization of the small Territories and, in that regard, approved a number of concrete recommendations and proposals concerning individual Territories, which are duly reflected in its report. The importance which the Special Committee attaches to this question was clearly echoed, I might add, in the debate which the Fourth Committee concluded recently on this aspect of the implementation of the Declaration, as a result of which it will be submitting over 15 draft resolutions for the attention of the General Assembly.

31. Finally, the Special Committee carried out a number of other responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly in various resolutions as well as other tasks arising from its own previous decisions, including specific activities relating to the question of the publicity to be given to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. In this regard, the Special Committee, on 19 August last, held a special meeting—its 1017th meeting—in observance of the fifteenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. During the year, the Special Committee also organized

a number of activities to mark the Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights. Among those activities was a public exhibition of photographs, organized in co-operation with the Office of Public Information, depicting the struggle of the colonial peoples of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia. In a related context, the Special Committee held consultations during the year with several non-governmental organizations and took part in a number of international conferences and meetings convened by these organizations.

32. Several chapters of the Special Committee's report concerning specific items have been placed before the Fourth Committee in connexion with its consideration of the items allocated to it by the General Assembly. The recommendations of that Committee covering these items will accordingly be submitted in due course.

33. Having regard to the matters relating to the general question of decolonization, I should like, on behalf of the Special Committee, to express the hope that the Assembly, in its consideration of the question, will give due consideration to the various recommendations which are reflected in the relevant sections of the Committee's report and, in particular, that the proposals which are outlined in section Q of chapter I, entitled "Future work", will meet its approval, so as to enable the Committee to carry out the tasks it proposes to undertake next year.

34. The Special Committee also recommends that the General Assembly should renew its appeal to the administering Powers concerned to take immediately all the necessary steps for the implementation of the Declaration and the relevant United Nations resolutions. In that connexion, the Special Committee, in the light of the useful results achieved as a consequence of the active participation in its work of all the administering Powers, with the exception of one, recommends that the General Assembly should again request the administering Powers concerned to participate actively in its work relating to the Territories under their respective administration. Further bearing in mind the affirmation by the General Assembly that direct association of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies is an effective means of promoting the progress of the peoples of those Territories towards a position of equality with Member States of the United Nations, the Special Committee also recommends that the Assembly should invite the administering Powers to allow representatives of the Territories concerned to participate in the discussion in the Fourth Committee and the Special Committee of the items relating to their respective countries.

35. The General Assembly might also wish to renew its appeal to all States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, to comply with the various requests addressed to them by the United Nations in all its resolutions on the question of decolonization.

36. Further, the Special Committee recommends that, in approving the programme of work outlined in that section, the Assembly should also make adequate financial provision to cover the activities envisaged by the Committee for 1976. Finally, the Com-

mittee expresses the hope that the Secretary-General will continue to provide it with all the facilities and personnel necessary for the discharge of its mandate.

37. On behalf of the Special Committee, I commend the report for the serious attention of the General Assembly.

38. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Chairman 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.

39. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania), Chairman 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: Speaking for the first time as Chairman of the Special Committee following the passing of the Spanish Head of State, I should like to express our condolences to the Spanish delegation and through it to the Government of Spain. I request the representative of Spain to be kind enough to transmit our condolences to the bereaved family.

40. Since a detailed and eloquent account of the work accomplished by the Special Committee during 1975 has just been presented to us by the Rapporteur of the Committee, the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, I should like, in my capacity as Chairman of the Committee, to touch upon some of the major developments that have taken place during the year and also some of the major problems that still confront us in the field of decolonization.

41. Speaking before the Assembly last year, I stated that 1974 would probably be remembered as one of the most important milestones in the history of decolonization. I think that members of this Assembly will agree with me that developments this year in the field of decolonization, as a sequel to a series of important events which took place in 1974, have borne out this statement, and that, at a time when the world community is about to observe the fifteenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it can take note with satisfaction of the remarkable successes that have recently been achieved in the struggle of the colonial peoples for liberation and acknowledge the visible progress in the process of decolonization.

42. Since last year, five new independent and sovereign States—the Republic of Cape Verde, the Comoros, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, the People's Republic of Mozambique and Papua New Guinea—have taken their rightful places in the community of nations and have become Members of the Organization. A sixth, Surinam, will attain statehood next week and Angola, the seventh, which celebrated its independence only a few days ago, will soon, I trust, be in a position to give us the benefit of its experience. It is quite clear that these developments are a direct consequence of the courageous efforts and the relentless struggle of the peoples of the Territories concerned, and I wish to pay a particular tribute to them for their achievements and to acknowledge the outstanding contribution made by the liberation movements. It is also quite clear that the emergence of these free and independent nations is a reflection of the role which we in the United Nations

system have played during the last decade in supporting the decolonization process and assisting the peoples of the colonial Territories throughout the world to achieve their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

43. During the year further political and constitutional advances took place with regard to the Seychelles. As a result of the Constitutional Conference held in London in March 1975, a coalition Government of the Territory has been established and a renewed constitutional conference is envisaged in early 1976 to work out the provisions of a constitution for independence. I am confident that the administering Power, the Government of the United Kingdom, will continue to take all the necessary measures to enable the people of the Seychelles to achieve independence, as agreed, not later than 30 June 1976.

44. Another important development during the year was the successful series of meetings which the Special Committee held for the first time in Europe. The session held by the Committee in Lisbon will, I trust, be remembered as one of the most remarkable sessions held away from Headquarters, not only in terms of what it accomplished but within the broader perspective of the efforts of the international community in furthering the process of decolonization and the progress towards independence of the peoples of the colonial Territories, particularly in southern Africa.

45. The Committee once again has benefited during the year from the active and full participation in its meetings, in Lisbon and at Headquarters, of the representatives of the liberation movements of all the Territories in southern Africa. The knowledge and understanding which the Committee obtained through the active participation of their representatives have been duly reflected in a number of decisions taken by the Committee. I need hardly add that, in keeping with the related decisions of the Assembly and its own, the Special Committee will continue to support and assist the liberation movements in their legitimate struggle against colonialism.

46. I would be remiss in my duties and responsibilities as Chairman of the Special Committee, however, if all I were to do here today was to narrate the achievements of the past year in the field of decolonization. Indeed, these very achievements cannot but be contrasted with the situation still prevailing in those lingering pockets of colonialism throughout the world, in particular in the southern part of Africa, where millions of Africans continue to languish under repressive colonial rule and to be denied their fundamental rights.

47. In Zimbabwe, despite repeated condemnations by the General Assembly and the Security Council, despite world-wide denunciation, the rebel minority régime continues year after year to implement the same repressive and racist policies it has pursued unashamedly since it usurped power 10 years ago. As reported to the Special Committee during the year by the leaders of the African National Council of Zimbabwe, intimidation, imprisonment, banishment, collective punishment and murder are more than ever the likely outcome of any attempt by the people of Zimbabwe to oppose the fascist and racist rule imposed upon them. That we in the United Nations must do more than condemn these inhuman practices and manifest our

support for the oppressed people of Zimbabwe in a tangible manner is, I think, quite obvious. In this regard, bearing in mind the equally patent and repeatedly stated fact that any solution not based on the principle of majority rule will be rejected by the people of Zimbabwe, it is imperative that we intensify further our support for and solidarity with them in their efforts to achieve that goal without further delay.

48. In this respect, the Assembly is aware that since December last year the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe, under the umbrella of the African National Council, have arduously and patiently endeavoured to explore the possibilities of a negotiated settlement in Rhodesia. These efforts have been fully encouraged and supported in the Dar es Salaam Declaration on Southern Africa, adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at its ninth extraordinary session, held from 7-10 April 1975.

49. They were also applauded by the Meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government held at Kingston from 29 April to 6 May this year, as well as by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lima from 25 to 30 August. But these efforts have been frustrated, solely owing to the deliberate tactics of sabotage of the Smith régime, thereby demonstrating its continued intransigence and recalcitrance. In the light of this, it is absolutely imperative that maximum pressure be intensified against the minority régime. Above all, since the road to peaceful changes has now been blocked by the racists of Rhodesia, the international community must support the inevitable resumption and intensification of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe. For the alternative to peaceful change is not the maintenance of the *status quo*, but rather the intensification of other methods in the struggle to achieve the desired change.

50. Equally important for the success of their struggle is the fulfilment of the duty of every Member of the Organization to refrain from any action which might confer a semblance of legitimacy on the illegal régime. In this regard, it is a source of deep regret that during the past year we have continued to witness the wholesale violation of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council by a number of States, including a permanent member of the Security Council. As has been repeatedly stated, the violation of sanctions by States or their nationals can only serve to strengthen the illegal régime and to undermine severely the authority of the United Nations, particularly that of the Security Council. As a direct corollary of the recognition by the international community of the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, we in the Special Committee are determined to extend our fullest possible support to the Zimbabweans and consider that all necessary steps should be taken forthwith to do this. In the Committee's view, the only logical step in this regard would be the widening of sanctions to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations.

51. The situation in Namibia is no less serious. There, South Africa, instead of withdrawing its illegal administration, stubbornly continues to occupy the Territory, to intensify its reign of terror over the Namibians, including in particular the members of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], and to take

systematic steps to strengthen its illegal hold by killings, mass arrests, detentions, floggings and other inhuman acts of repression. It is self-evident that South Africa's continued extension of its policies of *apartheid* in the Territory and its persistent attempts at holding so-called multiracial talks with puppet chiefs constitute an open violation of its obligations under the Charter and of the decisions and resolutions of this body and of the Security Council. It is equally self-evident that, having regard to the direct responsibility of the United Nations towards the people of Namibia, an end must be put to this intolerable situation and that, to that effect, the Organization must press its demand for South Africa's immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal from the international Territory. To that end, urgent action on the part of the Security Council is needed, to be worked out on a priority basis.

52. In this respect, it is important to underscore the fact that the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa constitutes a threat to international peace and security. Current events in that part of Africa fully reinforce this. The South African régime has used the international Territory of Namibia as a springboard for mounting naked aggression against the sovereign, independent State of Angola; with the characteristic arrogance symbolic of that régime's known defiance of the Organization and its contempt for international law, South African official spokesmen publicly and unashamedly admit their aggression against Angola.

53. In connexion with the efforts of the international community to assist in the eradication of colonialism throughout the world and particularly in the southern part of Africa, it is regrettable that, because of selfish economic and other considerations, some States Members of the Organization still continue to disregard United Nations resolutions and take part actively in the exploitation of the colonial Territories in the region. Such support as is given to the racist minority régimes not only hampers the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia for their liberation but also encourages the racist minority régimes to perpetuate their illegal and inhuman policies. I should like, therefore, to stress once again the pressing need for the immediate cessation of all such foreign economic activities, and at the same time to call for increased international support and concrete assistance to the peoples of the colonial Territories in southern Africa, at governmental and intergovernmental levels.

54. During the year, the Special Committee devoted much attention to the question of extension of assistance to the colonial peoples in an ardent search for practical ways and means of increasing such support. This, I am convinced, is the course of action which we must continue to follow if we are to contribute effectively to hastening the day of freedom and independence for the oppressed peoples of southern Africa.

55. While the Committee has necessarily devoted much of its time to the urgent and complex questions relating to the colonial Territories in southern Africa, it has also given considerable time to the other colonial problems, particularly to the Territories in the Caribbean and in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Because of their small size and population, geographical isolation

and frequently limited natural resources, each of those Territories has different and at times complex problems; but it is obvious that such problems should in no way delay attainment of or affect the inalienable right of their inhabitants to self-determination, freedom and independence, in the light of the relevant provisions of the Charter and the Declaration. It is with much satisfaction that I am able to state that the Special Committee, in its consideration and examination of the conditions in those small Territories, has received the co-operation of all but one of the administering Powers concerned.

56. As has already been reported by our Rapporteur, the Special Committee was able this year to dispatch a number of visiting missions to colonial Territories—in particular, to Montserrat, under the administration of the United Kingdom, and to Spanish Sahara, under the administration of Spain. While I do not at this stage wish to go into the substance of the relevant reports, I should like to reiterate that those missions demonstrated once again what the Special Committee has so often asserted: namely, that the dispatch of visiting missions to colonial Territories constitutes the most essential and indispensable means for the United Nations to secure first-hand information regarding the conditions in those Territories and the views and aspirations of their inhabitants. In this respect, I feel that I should mention in particular the extremely positive results of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Spanish Sahara, whose careful and exhaustive study of all the factors involved clearly demonstrated that no satisfactory solution of the question at issue can in reason be expected without taking fully into account the wishes and aspirations of the Saharan population.

57. Bearing in mind the constructive results achieved as a consequence of these and previous visiting missions dispatched by the Special Committee, it is all the more regrettable that the fine example set by the administering Powers concerned has so far had no effect on the negative attitude of certain other countries with respect to receiving United Nations visiting missions in the Territories under their administration. It is my confident hope that those countries will soon reconsider their attitude and join in the Committee's efforts to seek the best ways and means of fulfilling the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of the colonial Territories for which they are responsible.

58. As I remarked at the beginning of my statement, this year has indeed seen visible progress in the process of decolonization, and after years of what appeared to be a total impasse in this field, the objective realities of our time have at long last begun to be reflected in international life. Though progress has been visible, however, it would be wrong for us to overstress it and harmful for the future to be in any way complacent. To say that is not to underestimate the very real achievements I have referred to, but Members will agree with me that only when the last vestiges of colonialism have been totally eliminated from the world can we in the Organization consider that our work has finally been accomplished.

59. As the Rapporteur of the Special Committee has already pointed out, the relevant chapters of the Committee's report now before the Assembly contain a number of concrete recommendations concerning

the various problems existing in the remaining colonial Territories. It is my firm belief and hope that the General Assembly, while discussing this item, will give its most serious attention to the recommendations made by the Special Committee. I am confident that the approval by the General Assembly of those and other important recommendations will enhance the capacity of the Organization to deal more effectively with the remaining colonial issues.

60. I should like at this stage to acknowledge with deepest appreciation the important contribution made by my friends and colleagues, the other officers of the Special Committee: Mr. Anwar Sani of Indonesia, Mr. Duncan Campbell of Australia and Mr. Ivan Garvalov of Bulgaria, our three Vice-Chairmen; and Mr. Vincent Lasse, our Rapporteur. As Chairman of the Committee, I have felt it an honour and a privilege to work with such learned and dedicated colleagues.

61. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization, Mr. Tang Ming-chao, for his assistance and continued collaboration and, through him, my gratitude goes to all the members of his Department, amongst whom I should like to single out the Committee's Secretary, Mr. Tanaka, for the sterling contribution he has made.

62. Before concluding, I should like to pay a particular tribute to the co-operation rendered and the invaluable contribution made by Denmark to the work of the Special Committee in the past two years. The delegation of Denmark is retiring from the Committee at the end of this year, and I remain confident that its successor—which, I am sure, the President will nominate in due course during this session of the Assembly—will continue, in the great tradition of the Scandinavian countries, to play an important role in the cause of decolonization.

63. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): It is indeed a source of great encouragement and inspiration to my delegation that, as we begin our annual debate today on one of the most important items on our agenda, the total elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism, we are joined here by the newly admitted Member States which together represent over 11 million people formerly under alien and colonial rule.

64. In expressing our heartfelt satisfaction at this positive development, I cannot fail to pay a particular tribute to our brave brothers and selfless sisters of FRELIMO,¹ PAIGC,² MLSTP³ and MOLINACO,⁴ without whose untiring efforts and untold sacrifices the achievement of their goals would not have been possible. Thanks to them, the prospects for further progress towards finding a solution to the situation in Namibia and Zimbabwe have been considerably enhanced. We express our most ardent and sincere hope that the people of Angola, united as a whole, will be joining us here at the United Nations in the very near future.

65. It is also a source of immense satisfaction to my delegation to note the positive and constructive steps taken with respect to the accession to independence of the Territory of Seychelles, scheduled for mid-1976. In that connexion, it would be in order for me to pay a warm tribute to the leadership of both the Seychelles

Democratic Party and the Seychelles People's United Party for the exemplary manner in which the coalition Government has been functioning during the past several months. We should be looking forward to welcoming a newly independent Seychelles to membership of the Organization at the next session of the Assembly.

66. Likewise, recent political and constitutional advances in a number of smaller Territories—some 30 or so island Territories, scattered over a wide span of oceans, with a total population of about 2 million people—are to be noted with satisfaction and encouragement, as many have already achieved, or are about to achieve, internal self-government and are, in most cases, governed by freely elected representatives of the peoples of the Territories themselves.

67. With respect to those Territories, let us hope that the transfer of all powers to the local authorities will take place as soon as possible, in accordance with the express wishes and genuine desires of the people and in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

68. The close and continued attention being paid to the affairs of those smaller Territories by the Special Committee on decolonization has been duly noted with appreciation. I need not add that a detailed series of conclusions and recommendations concerning those Territories which the Assembly received from the Committee have continued to serve as indispensable guidelines for the Assembly and for the Fourth Committee, and many of them will no doubt be incorporated in the relevant decisions which the Assembly will take within the context of its consideration of specific Territories.

69. It is my delegation's considered view that the close co-operation and collaboration which the Special Committee receives from the administering Powers concerned in the examination of the majority of these Territories and in the dispatch of visiting missions thereto have clearly facilitated the related work of the Committee in effectively assisting the peoples concerned in their movement towards the realization of their inalienable rights. It is indeed a cause for concern that one of the administering Powers appears determined to continue its refusal to participate in the Special Committee's work. I wish to express the hope that the administering Power concerned will reconsider its negative attitude, taking into account the outstanding results achieved as a consequence of the active and continued participation in the related work by the other administering Powers.

70. Speaking of the dispatch of United Nations visiting missions to the colonial Territories, my delegation is particularly gratified at the outstanding accomplishments of the missions sent by the Special Committee to Montserrat and to Spanish Sahara. As the reports of those missions [*A/10023/Rev.1, chap. XXVIII, annex; and ibid., chap. XIII, annex*], both of which have categorically upheld the principle of self-determination for the peoples concerned, have been the subject of extensive consideration in recent meetings of the Fourth Committee, I shall merely place on record my delegation's complete satisfaction and appreciation of the work accomplished by the two missions under the able and competent

leadership of my colleagues and beloved brothers, Mr. Aké of the Ivory Coast and Mr. Jaipal of India, respectively. I should like also to congratulate the other members of the two missions for the active role they have played in the formulation of the most constructive and valuable conclusions and recommendations.

71. As I have stated on numerous occasions in the past in connexion with the Assembly's consideration of the question of decolonization, the case for decolonization of Namibia and Zimbabwe, within the framework of the Organization, will need to be considered in the context of Chapter VII of the Charter.

72. Thus the Assembly has repeatedly recommended to the Security Council specific measures to be adopted to put an end to the anomaly existing in those Territories. My delegation fully supports the calls made by the United Nations Council for Namibia and the national liberation movement of the Territory, SWAPO, for the Security Council's consideration of the question of Namibia as a matter of priority. In that regard, I wish to express the earnest hope that those permanent members of the Council whose negative votes prevented the passage of a well set-out proposal put forward by several members of the Council will reconsider their attitude and extend their whole-hearted co-operation in the search for a viable solution to the situation acceptable to all concerned.

73. As for Zimbabwe, my delegation likewise calls for urgent action by the Security Council in widening the scope of the present sanctions. The argument advanced by some of its members to the effect that what is needed is more strict enforcement of the present sanctions rather than the widening of their scope is of course valid, particularly when considered in terms of the blatant breach of the sanctions by the Government of the United States of America, a permanent member of the Security Council. None the less, my delegation attaches a great deal of importance to a clear and categorical demonstration by the international community of its unyielding stand and solidarity in support of the people of Zimbabwe, by explicitly availing itself of all the measures envisaged under the provisions of the Charter dealing with a threat to international peace and security, the existence of which, in the case of Zimbabwe, the Security Council determined on 20 November 1965, exactly 10 years ago today. I wish to express my confident hope that the Sanctions Committee⁵ of the Security Council will shortly come forward with concrete and unanimous recommendations in this respect.

74. As a closing remark, I should like to reiterate once again the uncompromising stand of my Government and the people of Mauritius in support of all the peoples still under colonial rule in their determined efforts to free themselves from subjugation. We shall continue to uphold the inalienable right of those people to self-determination and independence, irrespective of whatever claims or counter-claims there may be over the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of those Territories.

75. Finally, I should like to pay a very special and well deserved tribute to my colleague and beloved brother Mr. Salim, of the United Republic of Tanzania in his capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee. Ever since he assumed his post, Mr. Salim, in spite of

his many activities, has spared no effort to further the process of decolonization. His endeavours and inspiring leadership have borne fruit, and he has earned our respect. We congratulate him most warmly, and wish him even more success.

76. We congratulate also all the members of the Special Committee, as well as the members of the Secretariat. The professionals of the United Nations have not only been efficient but also effective; they have been active without being activist. They deserve our praise and admiration.

77. The process of decolonization has been one not of aggression but rather of self-defence and self-preservation. We are therefore happy to note that the Special Committee is blessed with its own expert in judo and karate, a young and extremely intelligent small Japanese who is as mentally sound and alert as he is physically tough. I am, however, satisfied that he is not responsible for the training of liberation fighters. Africa has many other ways and means for that purpose.

78. Without irony, I feel that the words of a famous British imperialist are appropriate on this occasion in regard to the Special Committee as aided and abetted by the Secretariat, and bearing in mind the glorious and valiant freedom fighters: "Never, in the long struggle of Mankind, was so much owed by so many to so few."

79. Mr. KOLOS (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The task of the final liquidation of the last hotbeds of colonialism and racism in the world is one of the major problems of modern times requiring an immediate solution. Only the complete eradication of the remnants of colonialism and naked racism will put an end to the sufferings of tens of millions of people and create the necessary conditions for the successful social, economic and cultural development of the colonial peoples, for improvement in their well-being. The complete culmination of the process of decolonization at the same time would respond to the interests of humanity as a whole, since with the disappearance of what may be considered a malignant colonial and racist tumour from our planet there would be a reduction in the number of potential sources of tension in the world which may any day erupt, and represent a threat to peace and international security.

80. The victory of the Soviet Union and allied States in the Second World War created new historical circumstances extremely favourable for the national and social liberation of peoples. Under the powerful thrust of the national liberation movements, and with the active assistance and support of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and all progressive forces, the shameful colonial system of imperialism has collapsed and dozens of new independent national States have appeared, fighting against imperialism and defending peace and social progress.

81. The collapse of the colonial system has substantially changed the political map of the earth. As was said in the declaration of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government, addressed to peoples, parliaments and Governments on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of victory in the Second World War,

“Basically, direct colonial rule, a permanent source of acute tension and a legitimate reason for the armed national liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples, has been brought to an end in this universe. The last colonial empire, that of Portugal, has now finally fallen apart.”

82. A substantial contribution to decolonization has been made by the United Nations, whose Charter, in accordance with a proposal of the Soviet Union, included the principle of equality and the self-determination of peoples, and which, at the initiative of the Soviet Union, adopted the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which has become the banner of the struggle of the oppressed peoples for their independence and freedom.

83. The Secretary-General, speaking at the special meeting of the Special Committee devoted to the 15th anniversary of the Declaration, stated:

“The adoption of the Declaration will be remembered as one of the great moments in the annals of the United Nations. . . . it is an historic document which has had a decisive impact on international life.”⁶

84. The years which have elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration have been marked by substantial successes in the struggle against colonialism in all its aspects. During this time, more than 60 States have broken the hateful chains of slavery and have chosen liberty, and many of them have already become members of the international community of nations. In the United Nations there has been formed a broad front of States which adhere to the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist position. These are the States of the socialist community and many States of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Thanks to their efforts, the United Nations has been able to adopt a number of constructive measures directed at granting support and assistance to the peoples of the colonies in their liberation struggle.

85. Among the major decisions of the United Nations directed at eradicating the remnants of colonialism and racism should be mentioned the Programme of Action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*], the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX), annex*] and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [*resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex*], as well as certain others. In the Programme Action, the United Nations has declared the continued existence of colonialism to be a crime which is a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the principles of international law. The United Nations has confirmed the inalienable right of the colonial peoples to fight with all means against the colonial States which are crushing their aspirations to achieve freedom and independence.

86. Détente has given a powerful impulse to the new wave of the struggle for true peace and for the full and final liberation of peoples and, thanks to the per-

sistent efforts of the countries of the socialist community and other peace-loving countries, has taken on an irreversible character. Convincing evidence of this can be seen in the results of the truly historic Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which opened up new possibilities of attaining the central goal of our time, that is, the consolidation of peace and the security of peoples. The results of that Conference were significant, not only for Europe but for the peoples of other continents, because the consolidation of peace on earth creates favourable prospects of ensuring the economic and social progress of all countries without exception.

87. Events in the world show that détente has opened up new and favourable prospects for the national liberation movements as well, making possible the rapid attainment of their legitimate rights and the implementation of their eternal hopes and aspirations. It was precisely in years during which the tendencies towards détente were becoming stronger that new and great successes were achieved in the liberation of peoples and the attainment of the goals set out in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

88. The struggle for the final liquidation of the colonial racist régimes on the African continent and in other parts of the world has entered a decisive phase. Recently substantial successes in this respect have been achieved. Just this year, such countries as Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, Papua New Guinea and the Comoros have attained independence. On 11 November, Angola, which has suffered so much, finally achieved its long-awaited independence, but the reactionary forces of the country, supported by the racists and also by their allies, are hindering the process of stabilization and the national regeneration of the Angolan people. Encountering a new distribution of forces in the southern part of Africa, the racist régimes in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa are trying to impede the process of decolonization by sending weapons and hirelings to struggle against the Angolan people. But it is already evident that the peoples of Africa understand more and more clearly that racists are racists and that you cannot expect anything good from them. The racists of South Africa unmasked themselves when they refused to implement resolution 366 (1974), in which the Security Council demands that South Africa declare before 30 May this year its recognition of the United Nations decisions relating to Namibia. That is why today we can only talk about how most rapidly to liberate once and for all the whole African continent from the vestiges of the inhuman rule of the colonialists.

89. The remnants of those shameful practices must be eliminated in other parts of the world as well. The problem of the liquidation of the colonial régimes in the so-called small territories in the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean which are used for military bases has also now become acute. The United Nations has frequently condemned the policies of the colonialists with respect to these small territories. The colonialists are advancing every possible argument against decolonization of these territories, referring in particular to their very small dimensions, small populations and so on. However, whatever problems

the peoples of those colonies may face, nothing should prevent them from exercising their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

90. In the Programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the United Nations on 12 October 1970, it is emphasized that: "The question of territorial size, geographical isolation and limited resources should in no way delay the implementation of the Declaration." [See resolution 2621 (XXV).] One of the major obstacles in the path of the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization is the activities of foreign monopolies in those colonies. In order to secure excessive profits, the imperialist monopolies are giving all possible assistance to the colonial racist régimes. Foreign companies, as can be seen from the report of the Special Committee, in flagrant violation of the decisions of the United Nations on the problems of decolonization, are expanding their operations in the colonies.

91. During the course of the current session, the essentially reactionary nature of the activities of such foreign monopolies in the colonies has been revealed, as has the fact that they are based on plunder. As is well known, the United Nations has frequently demanded that the colonial Powers and others adopt legislative, administrative and other measures with respect to their nationals working for or running such companies in colonial territories, in order to put an end to such types of activities and prevent any new investments which would conflict with the interests of the peoples of those colonies. However, as can

be seen from the report of the Special Committee, these decisions are being ignored by the colonialists. We feel that the United Nations should act more positively against monopoly capital, which is striving to delay the full and final liquidation of the remnants of the shameful colonial system.

92. The foreign policy of the countries of the socialist community devotes the greatest attention to the decisive struggle for the liquidation of colonialism and the ending of colonial rule, and the granting of comprehensive assistance and support to the peoples fighting for their national liberation and political and economic independence.

93. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic has firmly and consistently favoured the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and is ready to support the most decisive and effective measures directed at the immediate liquidation of the remnants of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.

NOTES

¹ Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

² Partido Africano da Independência de Guiné e Cabo Verde.

³ Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe.

⁴ Movement for the National Liberation of Comoros.

⁵ Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968).

⁶ See A/AC.109/PV.1017.