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President: Mr. Gaston THORN
(Luxembourg).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Ai-Saffar (Bahrain), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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*)

1. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The present debate on the item before us as well as the report of the Special Committee [A/10023] submitted this year to the General Assembly indicate the significant progress that has been made in the process of decolonization, thanks to the remarkable successes achieved by the colonial peoples in their struggle for liberation. I wish to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Romanian Government, to pay a tribute to the peoples of those countries and their liberation movements which after long struggles and enormous sacrifices have acceded to national independence.

2. Only this past year, as a result of the heroic struggle for liberation of the peoples of the colonies and their liberation movements, another five newly independent States—the Republic of Cape Verde, Comoros, the People's Republic of Mozambique, Papua New Guinea and the Republic of Sao Tome and Principe—have already taken their rightful place among the Members of the United Nations, while Angola a few days ago became an independent State.

3. We are convinced that the Angolan people will find the means to preserve its national unity during the period of reconstruction of an independent, free and prosperous Angola, to benefit fully from its natural resources and to build its future itself in accordance with its national aspirations.

4. These victories, together with developments in other parts of the world, provide additional proof that the policy of domination and oppression, of

denying the sacred right to self-determination and independence, is condemned to inevitable oblivion and that the peoples struggling for that right will at last free themselves from the onerous colonial yoke.

5. The historic successes won by the peoples and the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories are also a factor in mobilizing the efforts of the international community to eliminate the colonial phenomenon.

6. The active affirmation on the international scene of the existence of the newly independent States and their positive contribution to the solution of important international problems represent, in the opinion of the Romanian delegation, a decisive argument against the outdated theory which is still used to justify the maintenance of some Territories in a state of colonial dependence. As a result, the harmful nature of maintaining and spreading these concepts, according to which the peoples of these Territories have not yet reached a degree of development permitting them to govern themselves, as well as the need to combat them, have been clearly demonstrated. It is quite obvious that these concepts are contrary to the efforts being made at present by all States in order to establish a new economic and political order in the world which will permanently exclude the policy of force and *diktat* and interference in the internal affairs of other peoples.

7. As other delegations have stressed, the United Nations has also played an important role in accelerating the process of eliminating the last vestiges of colonialism and colonialist and neo-colonialist practices.

8. In response to the demands of Member States, the United Nations has each year expanded and further diversified its assistance to the colonial Territories in their struggle for their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. This state of affairs is welcomed by the Romanian delegation, which has constantly worked to strengthen the role of our Organization in the affirmation of the sacred right of all peoples to build a free and independent life for themselves.

9. However, in spite of the progress that has been achieved, the current debate shows that at the same time this elementary principle on which international relations are built continues to be brutally trampled under foot, particularly in Namibia and Zimbabwe, by the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury.

10. The forcible maintenance of some peoples under colonial domination 15 years after the adoption in resolution 1514 (XV) of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is an intolerable phenomenon which gives rise to legitimate concern on the part of all Member States and the international community as a whole. Such a

state of affairs also requires that the United Nations use all its authority and prestige in order once and for all to eliminate completely colonialism, neo-colonialism, the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid*, as well as all the practices generated by such phenomena on the international scene.

11. The reasons for the persistence of colonial domination are too well known to need further elaboration. The colonialist and racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury have very often been severely taken to task and condemned with great vehemence by the United Nations for their obstinate refusal to comply with United Nations resolutions, for their violation of international law, for their brutal repression of the national liberation struggle and for their total denial of the most elementary human rights. During the present debate on this item it has also been amply demonstrated that one of the main obstacles to the implementation of the principle of self-determination and national independence is the direct or indirect support enjoyed by the colonial régimes, as well as the activities of foreign companies and monopolies endeavouring to exploit and pillage the national wealth of the colonies.

12. Such practices are permanent sources of tension and threaten international peace and security. The debates of the Fourth Committee on colonial questions are revealing in this regard.

13. The resolutions on Namibia, for example, rightly draw the attention of the General Assembly to the critical, dangerous situation threatening international peace and security in that Territory. In pursuit of annexionist goals South Africa still refuses to withdraw its administration and armed forces from Namibia and is undertaking intensive manoeuvres aimed at undermining the unity and territorial integrity of the Namibian people.

14. The Romanian Government believes, as we have already stressed from this rostrum, that the final elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid* urgently requires the united efforts, national and international, of all progressive forces. At the same time, my country realizes that the most important role in the efforts and actions of all States to support the national liberation struggle must be played by the United Nations.

15. Romania's views on this question were recently submitted to the attention of the General Assembly in document A/C.6/437 concerning Romania's position on the improvement and democratization of United Nations activities and the strengthening of its role in achieving co-operation among all States, irrespective of the social system, for the achievement of a better, more just world and lasting peace.

16. That document stresses, *inter alia*, that by virtue of its objectives and principles the United Nations must undertake vigorous action for the total elimination within the shortest possible time of colonialism, that shameful anachronism which so flagrantly contradicts international morality and principles.

17. The adoption of strong measures by the Organization and its Member States is imperative in order to ensure the speedy and complete liberation of all peoples from all forms of foreign oppression, the total elimination of all forms and manifestations of exploitation and of discrimination based on racism and *apartheid*, and the resolute rejection of any action intended

to revive such manifestations. We believe that the Organization can no longer countenance the renewal, in any shape or form, of the domination of one State by another; we must act firmly in order to abolish neo-colonialism, which is only a disguised form of the colonialist spoliation of peoples.

18. Romania is in favour of new, practical actions being undertaken to support the liberation movements by their adequate representation at the United Nations, by the establishment of favourable conditions for the activities of the official observers of those movements, and by the establishment, under United Nations auspices, of specific programmes of multilateral assistance to the national liberation movements.

19. In view of the major responsibilities of the United Nations, the Romanian Government renews its proposal for the convening of a special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the discussion and adoption of effective measures for the granting of independence to Territories still under colonial domination, and to fixing early deadlines in this connexion. Romania is determined to continue to strive for the implementation of firm and effective measures for the final elimination of the colonial and neo-colonial phenomenon.

20. In a message addressed by President Nicolae Ceaușescu to the international Conference for the support of peoples of the former Portuguese colonies and of southern Africa, held on 28 September last at Lourenço Marques, it was stressed that:

“The Romanian people, which itself waged a difficult struggle against foreign domination, has constantly demonstrated its militant solidarity with the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle of peoples and has given its full support—political, diplomatic and material—to the national liberation movements. Similarly, it will continue, in the future as well, its resolute support for the peoples engaged in the struggle for independence and for the right freely to decide their own destinies.”

21. It is in that spirit that I should like to reaffirm our wish to co-operate closely with the delegations of all other Member States and with the representatives of national liberation movements and of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], so that those movements, those representatives of the peoples, may as soon as possible take their rightful place in this forum as representatives of free and independent nations. It is our most sincere belief that those peoples can and should make a great contribution to finding solutions to the important problems of the day and, at the same time, benefit from the fruits of international co-operation.

22. Mr. SOKALSKI (Poland): In mankind's efforts to rid the world of its greatest evils, the mid-twentieth century will go down in history as the time when concerted international action brought about the downfall of the unparalleled tyranny of nazism and the decline of the era of colonialism. Indeed, those two phenomena, products of degenerate human minds and conditions, were interrelated the one with the other. Their elimination was directly linked with the Charter of the United Nations, which crowned the great victory of the anti-Nazi coalition in the Second World War.

23. In 1939 the world was entering the dark night of war, haunted by the spectre of *Mein Kampf*. In parallel with that, manifestations of colonialism in its most cruel, classical forms raged throughout the so-called Western colonial empires. Only six years later the accession to independence of 70 countries began, which was accomplished during the historically brief span of 30 years. Before that could happen, however, mankind had to pay the heavy toll of almost 60 million victims of Nazi atrocities and of the Second World War. Therein lies one of the reasons why my country, having experienced the worst forms of genocide and mass violations of all human rights and fundamental freedoms, has always been so alert and sensitive to oppression and colonialism.

24. The historic interdependence of the subject of our discussion and the events which took place three decades ago is of particular significance today as this Organization is marking the thirtieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter and the fifteenth anniversary of the proclamation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. As we commemorate those two outstanding international events and examine in retrospect the process of decolonization, it is only fitting to recall that progress in that field was possible thanks to a number of significant political factors, which today account for an entirely new world order. They include, *inter alia*, on the international scene, the victory over fascism in the Second World War; the emergence and existence of States of the socialist community and other sociopolitical changes in the world following that War; and, internally, the national liberation struggle of the colonial peoples, which has led to the emancipation of dozens of new nations.

25. Only a few days ago, on greeting in Poland's capital the Party and Government delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, referring to the new situation, said:

"In the world of today entirely new circumstances have arisen which permit nations to enjoy their right to freedom. They have been effected by the socialist community, by the expansion of the communist and workers' movement and by the common front of world anti-imperialist forces. Every nation fighting for its freedom enjoys their support and avails itself of their solidarity and assistance. This is the new, outstanding feature of our times."

26. We owe it to the epoch-making evolution of world affairs that, for the first time in the history of humanity, the world community recognized its direct responsibility towards those who were still deprived of the right to self-government, whose lives and destinies depended on the will, decisions or whims of others. Thanks to the wisdom and the continued validity of its Charter, the United Nations can be proud of its own achievements in this regard.

27. The most characteristic feature of our Organization's contribution to the complete emancipation of countries and peoples in colonial bondage is the acceleration of the political process which has been gaining ever greater momentum with each passing year, finally bringing the membership of this world body to what it is today. This session alone has witnessed the

admission to the United Nations of five newly independent States. Regardless of the ideological views we may preach, notwithstanding the political and social systems we may represent in this Hall, few would deny that the first, most consistent and most determined initiators and supporters of the decolonization efforts were the socialist countries. It was they who, prior to the adoption of the Declaration of 1960, carried the main burden of the struggle for freedom of all colonial peoples in the international forum. It was they who, 15 years ago, decided to accelerate the progress towards decolonization by submitting their timely proposal on the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which has become one of the milestones of the United Nations. It is, likewise, the countries of the socialist community which continue to lend their unreserved, active support to the just struggle for the eradication of all remnants of colonialism and of neo-colonialism. Indeed, thanks to all the anti-colonial forces, this Organization has succeeded very well in translating and expanding the language of Chapters XI to XIII of the Charter into the practice of international relations of our time.

28. First and foremost, the United Nations has implemented and expanded the concept of the inalienable rights of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence to include, for the first time ever, a recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples to achieve the effective exercise and enjoyment of those rights. It has allowed for official recognition of the role that the national liberation movements should and could play in their respective countries, once they are liberated from colonial domination.

29. Secondly, the United Nations has disclosed the role played by foreign economic and other interests in impeding the decolonization process. It has shown that those interests not only were giving active support to régimes in control of colonial Territories but also, by their ruthless exploitation of available human and material resources, were instrumental in denying colonial peoples the means of effective participation in the economic life and the enjoyment of the resources of their own countries.

30. Thirdly, the United Nations has made world public opinion aware of the consequences of the maintenance of military bases by administering Powers in Territories under their administration, seeing in their existence yet another instrument of interference with the liberation of colonial peoples.

31. Those three factors alone offer ample testimony to the complex and difficult nature of the process of decolonization. It is therefore rightly contended that we have come a long way in freeing the world of colonialism. Unprecedented and hope-inspiring evidence to that effect was given in the joint communiqué issued on the visit to Poland last month of the President of Portugal, Mr. da Costa Gomes. In their statement the leaders of the two countries said:

"The parties stressed the need for liquidation of the remnants of colonialism and neo-colonialism all over the world and voiced their support for the implementation of the right to self-determination of nations, in keeping with the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations. Completing the process of decolonization

is the indispensable condition of the strengthening of peace and co-operation among nations.”

32. While hailing, and rightly so, the over-all decolonization record, let us not forget that much is still to be done and that the forces which for the last 30 years have opposed the tide of change are still at work. Let us not forget the sacrifice and perseverance behind our accomplishments, especially since, as we look at the history of the United Nations and at the 15 years since the adoption of the Declaration on decolonization, there seems to be a tendency to attribute equal credit to all for the historic process of decolonization. Although we take pride in the adoption by the General Assembly of its Declaration of 1960 without a single dissenting vote, it gives rise to reflection that there were still 9 abstentions and that similar attitudes in support of the colonial legacy have not wholly ceased to reappear in this Hall.

33. It is such attitudes and the lack of political good will which in the first place account for the existence of flagrant examples of colonialism.

34. The South African régime continues its illegal occupation of Namibia. It rejects the principles of independence, self-determination and territorial integrity for the Territory. It intensifies repressions, mass arrests and detentions against the indigenous population, particularly against members of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. To mislead world public opinion, it has organized the so-called constitutional conference, without the participation of the true representatives of the Namibian people, and continues its racist policy of “Bantustanization”, which constitutes a serious threat to the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia.

35. In Southern Rhodesia, a white minority continues to oppress the people of Zimbabwe. The denial of political rights and severe repression dominate the scene in the country. Its illegal régime rejects attempts at a settlement through negotiations. The good will of the national liberation forces of Zimbabwe has encountered no constructive response. In South Africa, “domestic colonialism” in the form of the shameful policies of *apartheid* rages against the overwhelming majority of its people. In other parts of the world—about 30 Territories await the day of their independence. The only just and correct solution for the future of these Territories must be based on the will of their own population.

36. In these circumstances, one cannot find any justification whatsoever for the economic and military collaboration of certain Western countries, members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], with the racist régimes which are totally condemned by the world community. Unless that exercise in hypocrisy is brought to a long overdue end, there can be little hope of progress in the right direction.

37. Solidarity with colonial peoples still fighting for their freedom and with the newly liberated nations has been the basis of my country's foreign policy. It stems both from the ideological and political foundations of socialism and from the tradition of struggle “for your freedom and ours”, very much a part of Polish history. We have always been active in all decolonization efforts pursued by the United Nations, including its Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which has indeed played a central role in accelerating the process of decolonization. We have given our support to all actions taken towards the same end by the OAU, the non-aligned States, the World Peace Council and other representative bodies of world public opinion. Poland's mass media devote much attention to the struggle for complete elimination of all forms of colonialism. Our public receives an objective and responsible picture of developments towards decolonization.

38. Only several days ago, in the spirit of our long-standing tradition, we welcomed the emergence of an independent People's Republic of Angola. I wish to seize this opportunity to extend to the youngest State in Africa and to its leaders our heartfelt felicitations and wish Angola complete success in its efforts to strengthen its young statehood, to the benefit and for the good of its brave people. At the same time, we join the voices of strongest condemnation of attempts at armed intervention from the outside in the internal affairs of Angola, inspired and led by imperialist and reactionary elements. To us their objective is clear: to prevent the creation of a progressive form of national development, as craved by the Angolan people and represented by the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [MPLA], a political force whose programme is based on truly national interests free of narrow tribal considerations. Those attempts show once again that the forces opposed to decolonization will not fail to utilize every opportunity to destroy the peace and stability of the newly liberated countries.

39. Progress and international détente open up new prospects for the United Nations to complete the implementation of its decisions on the elimination of the remnants of colonialism. Détente on a world scale helps national liberation movements to win their struggle, consolidate the national sovereignty of their young countries and exercise full control over their natural resources. This has been amply confirmed in the course of the last several years and the number of newly liberated States has grown along with the increasing relaxation of tensions and growing international co-operation.

40. Just as 30 years ago the world had to win its victory over nazism to start the process of decolonization, today it has to win global peace and détente in order to complete it. It is with this conviction that the Polish delegation will choose to vote on resolutions on decolonization.

41. Mr. ROSENZWEIG DÍAZ (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The consideration of agenda item 23 at this stage in the work of the Fourth Committee makes it possible to sketch a broad picture of the progress that has been achieved in the field of decolonization and to point out the obstacles with which the United Nations has had to deal in its struggle to eradicate colonialism.

42. In southern Africa, following the advent of an era of “socialism in a political democracy” in Portugal, and with the accession to independence of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and Angola, the colonial régime still clings on in the Territories of Namibia and Zimbabwe. The General Assembly and its subsidiary bodies will have to

continue to exert ever-increasing pressure in order to fight the staunch opposition of the permanent members of the Security Council to the adoption of a more constructive attitude in the face of the stagnation of the process of decolonization resulting from the absence of effective binding measures.

43. The system of sanctions in certain countries depends, in practice, upon the good will of private initiative which, at times, only obeys motivations essentially based on profit, although the responsibility of its application is up to Governments.

44. The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], in its article 16, condemns the exploitation of the natural resources of colonial Territories. The economic factor is of the utmost importance in this complex process of decolonization, since the basis of colonialism has always been the exploitation of human and natural resources in the colonial Territories for the benefit of the metropolitan country. Thus, a reluctance exists to lead its inhabitants towards independence as that implies loss of economic profit.

45. With regard to Angola, the Mexican delegation views with serious concern the accession to independence of that country in a situation of fratricidal struggle, in the face of a lack of unity among the liberation movements and on account of the interference of foreign elements which endanger the freedom and well-being of its people and the consolidation of its new status as a sovereign entity. So long as none of these problems affects the interests or policy of any of the permanent members of the Security Council, the action of the United Nations will have to be reduced to exerting utmost pressure on world public opinion.

46. An examination of the process of decolonization in other Territories shows the richness and diversity of this phenomenon and questions arise with regard to which we must act with great caution in order not to widen the gap they create between various Members of the Organization, belonging to one and the same region, which makes it difficult to observe guiding principles such as those of self-determination and territorial integrity. For our delegation it is of the utmost importance not to lose sight of the final goal, the liberation from the colonial yoke of all those Territories which, for one reason or another, have not yet been able to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, which is basically the right of the individual to decide his own destiny.

47. With regard to the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), the representative of Mexico in the Fourth Committee stated that the spirit of the Charter dictates the total elimination of colonialism, and we pointed out that Mexico had always co-operated in the efforts of Members of the United Nations to keep alive the anti-colonial ideal.¹ Our delegation has always felt that the continued existence of large sectors of humanity deprived of the fundamental right to political self-determination cannot fail to have a disturbingly serious effect on the destinies of all States and, more especially, on the moral responsibility of the United Nations.

48. In the 30 years of its existence the United Nations has created a new process of decolonization. On the basis of the tenets of the Charter of San Francisco, the Assembly, in its desire to speed up the accession

to independence of a large number of communities, by its adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) gave political content to the anti-colonial movement and laid down the principle of self-determination and independence. To this must be added the fact that the Assembly has endorsed the legitimacy of the struggle of the liberation movements as well as their participation in the work of the Organization.

49. Nevertheless, outdated resistance and lingering colonial ideas, such as that of not accepting the commitment to convey information with regard to certain Territories, still persist. Some of the administering Powers feel that they can carry out their own process of decolonization by holding plebiscites and appearing to allow the exercise of the principle of self-determination without the supervision of the United Nations. Such unconstructive actions can only delay the process of decolonization and produce greater conflicts seriously affecting the metropolitan country as well as the population of the Territory in question. Perhaps now more than ever it is necessary for all anti-colonial countries to engage in co-ordinated action in order to prevent discord among them due to reasons of short-term domestic or regional policy, which will only serve to delay the process of decolonization.

50. Although the process of decolonization is irreversible, the time element and the conditions in which that decolonization is carried out are important for the consolidation of the independence of the Territory. We must strive to achieve better understanding among our countries, the countries of the third world, aware as we are of our own problems and of our varying backgrounds that have produced different ways of thinking and different interests, so that we may overcome our divergences and achieve a more just appreciation of those elements which shape our action in the international arena. Although our interests may seem irreconcilable, they should not lead to a weakening of the anti-colonial majority in the Organization which should help to maintain international peace and security.

51. Fifteen years after its adoption, resolution 1514 (XV), in itself a revolutionary amendment to the Charter as it refers to rights and is not limited to the more restricted concept of interests, has not yet achieved the hoped-for goal of a world without dependent peoples. In its implementation we also have to tackle the problems of survival in some communities whose human and natural resources are so meagre that they preclude independence for those communities.

52. The time has come for the United Nations to make special efforts in order to give a new and decisive impetus to the process of decolonization which will at least reduce to the minimum the last vestiges of colonialism in the world and, just as in the past slavery was abolished and man regained his dignity in the restoration of his freedom, now it is essential to abolish the dependence of one community on another and to give it the opportunity to take its rightful place in the family of nations.

53. Mr. HOLLAI (Hungary): Fifteen years ago, on 23 September 1960, in the general debate during the fifteenth session of the General Assembly [*869th meeting*], the Soviet Union presented a draft declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples,² calling upon all Member States

to adopt a draft resolution on the complete elimination of all forms and manifestations of colonialism. In the voting that took place on 14 December 1960, the overwhelming majority of Member States supported the basic principles and provisions, proposed by the Soviet Union and embodied in the Declaration, aiming at the liquidation of the colonial system. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) has since become a fundamental instrument in the process of the liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

54. During the period between 1960 and 1974, 54 colonial Territories acceded to independence and became free and independent States on their own. The entry into the United Nations of those newly emerged independent States has, at the same time, served to make this world Organization more universal in character.

55. During the present session, an additional number of newly independent States have been rightfully admitted to membership in our world Organization so that we have, in the recent past, been able to welcome to our ranks the representatives of Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, Papua New Guinea, and the Comoro Islands.

56. In appreciating the results achieved in the process of the complete liquidation of the colonial system, may I, on behalf of the people and Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, express our sincere pleasure and convey our best wishes to the people and Government of Angola on the occasion of their accession to independence. We sincerely hope that the people of Angola, led by their Government and supported by all progressive forces of the world, will be able to exercise the right to independence and self-determination, won in a long and stubborn struggle, and to embark upon the road of peaceful construction leading to economic and social progress. We wish them every success in their endeavour.

57. Angola is the youngest State among the countries that have newly attained independence from colonial bondage. The Hungarian People's Republic has already greeted officially the establishment of the People's Republic of Angola and has expressed its readiness to establish diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level. From the forum of the General Assembly also we take this opportunity to welcome Angola among the independent countries.

58. We are convinced that the People's Republic of Angola, just like the other newly independent States, will achieve great successes on the path of social and economic development. The leaders of that country will be working for their nation's prosperity in keeping with the interests of the Angolan people. We trust that this young People's Republic will, by its foreign policy, contribute to the strengthening of African unity, to the consolidation of peace and to the liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism.

59. Angola's attainment of independence has also been accompanied by deplorable events which bring hardships to the young State in these first days of its existence. The territory of Angola is rich in natural resources. In order to increase the exploitation of the territory the colonial Powers also involved in Angola the operations of multinational capital and other interests, just as they had done in other Territories. It stands to reason that, because of the natural resources

of the country, its achievement of independence and its economic development on its own do not accord with the interests of all. The said interests are contrary to those of the Angolan people and, for this very reason, their roots should be sought not in Angola but abroad. It is not the Angolan people but certain foreign circles that are interested in placing obstacles to the country's independent development and in trying by all means, including armed intervention, to provoke a civil war in Angola. May I, on this score, recall a statement by Mr. Agostinho Neto, Head of State of the People's Republic of Angola, who has said that civil war can be provoked only from abroad, and that if it comes to an armed conflict within the national territory it should be regarded not as civil war but as foreign aggression. And this is what is happening in Angola.

60. I should like to express our hope that, in conformity with the Declaration on decolonization, Angola will enjoy support from all progressive forces of the world, especially from the countries which have themselves lived under colonial or semi-colonial domination during the course of their histories, and that they will not allow the People's Republic of Angola to be hindered in its development by certain circles that are grabbing the country's wealth or opposing international détente.

61. It is indeed regrettable that even here we have heard accusations which help the racist régime of South Africa and other reactionary forces whose goal is to create difficulties for the leaders and people of Angola. These forces represent a direct danger to the integrity of this newly independent country. Any danger threatening the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola must be averted.

62. The results achieved in the liquidation of the colonial system during the 15 years that have passed since the adoption of the Declaration are of historic significance. Nevertheless, we must also state that the process of the complete liquidation of colonialism has not yet come to its close, for millions of people continue to live under colonial subjugation in several parts of the world. We have now arrived at the last phase of this process in which efforts are being made to eliminate the remaining manifestations of colonialism. The common tasks which are incumbent upon Member States in this last phase are not easy. Our struggle for the liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism should be coupled with a struggle against imperialist economic exploitation. These imperialist circles, in an effort to safeguard their profit interests, give support to the colonial and racist régimes to continue their illegal activities and acts of terrorism. Some of the Western Powers have for years failed to take effective measures for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on the elimination of colonial systems.

63. The historic examples of the last 15 years testify to the fact that the attainment of independence by the colonial Territories is the result of long battles, which at times may be fought by peaceful means and at times take the form of armed struggle waged by the national liberation movements. By extending and intensifying their struggle for independence and self-determination as well as their fight against imperialism, the national liberation movements have given a new impulse to the complete liquidation of the colonial

system, for which, at the same time, more favourable conditions are created by the general improvement of the international political situation.

64. It is incumbent upon the United Nations to use all possible means to support this struggle so that this last phase of the process of decolonization may be concluded in a short span of time and mankind may be delivered from the vestiges and the disgrace of colonialism.

65. It is a highly important principle of the foreign-policy endeavours of the Hungarian People's Republic to give many-sided support to the national liberation movements and to ensure the peoples' attainment of independence and self-determination and the complete liquidation of the colonial system. The people and Government of the Hungarian People's Republic express their solidarity with the peoples struggling for independence and assure them of our full support in the future as well. We are ready to work for the adoption of resolutions aimed at the achievement of the noble goal of eliminating the last vestiges of colonialism.

66. Mr. ARAIM (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): A review of the achievements of the United Nations during the past 30 years would clearly show that recognition of the rights of peoples to self-determination and independence is one of the most important victories achieved by the United Nations.

67. Today, after the passage of 15 years since the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted by the General Assembly in its historic resolution 1514 (XV), and after the attainment by a large number of countries of their independence, the United Nations is called upon to increase its support to national liberation movements so as to terminate imperialism in all its forms and manifestations.

68. The United Nations, while announcing its pleasure at the victories achieved since the adoption of the Declaration, has the task of developing those achievements and attainments as further positive elements in the liquidation of imperialism throughout the world. Our delegation has expressed its gratification with regard to the admission to membership in the United Nations of Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, Papua New Guinea and the Comoros, and we hope that Angola will soon be able to overcome the obstacles and difficulties which it faces today and join the United Nations.

69. My delegation strongly condemns the plots of the Government of South Africa against the peoples of Angola. The flagrant aggression carried out by the Government of South Africa against the territorial security and integrity of Angola makes it necessary for the United Nations to adopt strict measures against that racist Government.

70. The delegation of Iraq has indicated on more than one occasion that the policies of the Government of South Africa constitute a threat to peace and security in Africa and throughout the world. We have asked for the expulsion of that racist régime from the United Nations because of its continued occupation of Namibia in violation of the will of the United Nations and of the world as a whole. The Government of South Africa has worked for a long time for the

entrenchment of the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia, at the same time continuing its practice of the hateful policy of *apartheid*. Now we find in its aggression against Angola further confirmation of the imperialist and aggressive character of that racist régime.

71. We in the Arab world know all about the areas of co-operation and co-ordination between the Government of South Africa and the racist Zionist system in Palestine. United Nations documents, particularly the documents of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, have uncovered the unholy alliance between Israel and South Africa. Both those régimes have the same basis, namely, the practice of a policy of racial discrimination against the indigenous peoples and the denial of even their most elementary rights as nationals. Both those régimes receive the support of the imperialist and colonialist régimes throughout the world and both use aggression against the countries in the area.

72. In spite of the imperialist support given to the racist régimes in South Africa and occupied Palestine and in spite of their repeated aggression and the brutality and cruelty of their treatment of the peoples of Azania and Palestine, the will of the peoples will inevitably triumph and aggression will decline. The international community will eventually reject every system and régime based on imperialist colonialist expansion which, by its very nature, is founded on racism, which is condemned by mankind as a whole.

73. The African continent has suffered and continues to suffer a great deal from imperialism. The liberation of any country of that continent gives added strength to the national liberation movements in Africa and throughout the world. We have watched with great interest the developments that have taken place in Zimbabwe and we fully support the spirit of national unity which was crowned by the emergence of the African National Congress [ANC]. We consider that the unity of the national groupings engaged in the struggle in Zimbabwe will inevitably intensify the blows against the illegal régime of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia. We support the steps taken by ANC and ask the world community to continue to support that struggle.

74. It has been proved that that struggle is the only sure means of countering the manoeuvres of the racist Ian Smith régime. That régime will exploit every opportunity of stabbing the national movements of the people of Zimbabwe in the back. Therefore I should like to affirm from this rostrum our support for the people of Zimbabwe in the armed struggle waged for the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence.

75. Iraq, on more than one occasion, has asked for the application of the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter against the racist Government of South Africa. We had hoped that the Western Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council would comply with their historical responsibilities and respond to the calls of the international community to put an end to this violation of and challenge to the conscience of mankind and the United Nations and, by imposing on the Government of South Africa the sanctions laid down in Chapter VII of the Charter, would force it to withdraw from Namibia. However, those countries indulged their self-interest

and forgot their responsibilities under the Charter, thus impeding the efforts of the Security Council to put an end to this violation of United Nations resolutions, and frustrating the desire of the people of Namibia to enjoy their right to self-determination and independence.

76. The problems of small Territories under imperialist domination are no less important than those of other occupied and colonized regions. The peoples of those regions look to the United Nations in the hope that the Organization will persistently defend their rights to self-determination and independence and will also enable them to express freely their will with regard to their future.

77. The Special Committee has taken various steps to carry out studies and research concerning those Territories. It has also sent fact-finding missions to a number of Territories still under colonial domination. It has been proved beyond any shadow of doubt that the Special Committee can play a positive role, in co-operation with the world community, in the administration of those colonial Territories. Thus, our delegation has supported, on more than one occasion, the sending of fact-finding missions to the colonized regions and we have indicated that the role of the Special Committee and the United Nations will, in the first instance, be that of giving assistance to the peoples of the Territories and the countries responsible for them in finding the best ways and means of ensuring the exercise of their rights by those peoples. That role cannot in any way be interpreted as an imposition of such solutions. It is simply an affirmation of the facts and the ascertainment of the opinions of the peoples with regard to their future.

78. The Special Committee has taken up many other topics, the most important among them being the studies concerning the economic interests which try to impede the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization. The studies carried out by the Committee have assisted the General Assembly in its discussion and consideration of the topics before it concerning the Territories still under imperialist and colonialist domination.

79. The activities of the Special Committee are not restricted to any specific field. In fact, it has done everything in its power in order to consolidate further the national liberation movements throughout the world and their contacts with international organizations, intergovernmental and non-governmental organ-

izations and the different mass media, in order to entrench and strengthen support for national liberation movements throughout the world.

80. My delegation would like to express its pleasure and pride in the fact that it has participated seriously in the work of the Special Committee since its first years. We have had the honour of representing the Committee at various international conferences and we have also worked in its various suborgans.

81. I would like to call upon the General Assembly once again to announce its full support of and solidarity with the activities of the Committee, because they truly represent the greatest achievements of the United Nations and of which this Organization is proud.

82. The United Nations has increased international recognition of the rights of peoples to use all means available to them to win acknowledgement of their rights. The armed struggle waged by the peoples under colonialist domination has been supported by the international community. We feel that the oppressive means employed by the forces of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism against the aspirations of peoples and their rights to self-determination and independence constitute an aggression against those colonized peoples and, therefore, our Organization is called upon to condemn the terrorist and oppressive measures carried out by racist imperialist régimes against peoples.

83. In conclusion, Iraq, its Government and its people, led by the Arab Socialist Baath Party, will continue to help consolidate national liberation movements in the world until imperialism and racism and foreign domination are completely wiped out from every part of the world and until every people can practise its full rights over its territory. This policy of Iraq emanates from its deep and firm faith in the final victory of the peoples.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Fourth Committee*, 1007th meeting, para. 1.

² *Ibid.*, *Fifteenth Session, Annexes*, vol. II, agenda item 87, document A/4502.