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**President: Mr. Gaston THORN**  
(Luxembourg).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Fall (Senegal), 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. HRČKA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): For 15 years now the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has been playing an extremely important part in the just struggle of the peoples of colonial and dependent Territories for freedom. This historic document of the United Nations once again, in a comprehensive form, has confirmed that all peoples, without any distinction as to race, religion or colour, have an equal right to determine, on the basis of their freely expressed will and desire, their political status and to realize the social, economic and cultural development of their countries.

2. The Declaration has served as a moral incentive to the progress of national liberation struggles which, at the beginning of the 1960s, reached an unprecedented stage. The adoption of that document reflected a major change in the interrelation of forces on the international scene and has confirmed the political, material and moral force of the countries of the socialist commonwealth and all progressive forces throughout the world which have always consistently and effectively supported the liberation movements of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

3. The Soviet Union undoubtedly had very much to do with the adoption of the Declaration on decolonization. This step was a logical consequence of the anti-colonialist position of the Soviet State which in its first foreign policy acts enshrined the new principle of the right of peoples to self-determination and made decisive efforts to include it in the Charter of the

United Nations as one of the fundamental principles of this world Organization.

4. The question of the implementation of the Declaration has a very important place in the work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The principles contained in the Declaration have also been developed in dozens of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and other bodies of the United Nations, in conventions on the elimination of racial discrimination and the suppression of the crime of *apartheid* and so forth.

5. For 15 years the national liberation struggles against the colonial system of imperialism have yielded convincing results. During that time more than 50 one-time colonial, Trust and other Non-Self-Governing Territories have achieved freedom; many have become fully-fledged Members of our Organization. The results which have been achieved by peoples in their struggle against colonialism and imperialism cogently demonstrate that in those just efforts they have always been able to rely, and continue to do so, on the material assistance and comprehensive support offered by the States of the socialist commonwealth, on the assistance and support of non-aligned countries and on the united anti-colonial, anti-imperialist front which has been created by progressive and democratic forces throughout the world. Therefore, today as yesterday, it is absolutely essential to increase the unity and the capacity of the broad front of progressive forces so as to derive more effective support for national liberation struggles for the eradication of all vestiges of colonialism and racism throughout the world.

6. At the present time new, extremely favourable opportunities are offered to speed up the process of the complete liberation of the colonial peoples. The policy of détente, which is promoted by all peace-loving and democratic forces throughout the world, offers new prospects for the exercise of the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence. Events have shown that it was precisely in those years when the process of détente in international affairs started to acquire material content and to become an irreversible trend that the world national liberation movements gained new major successes.

7. A great victory was won by the people of Viet Nam. The struggle for the removal of the vestiges of colonialism and racism in southern Africa has reached a decisive stage. Thanks to the heroic efforts made by the patriots of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, and the unflinching will of the peoples of Cape Verde and the islands of Sao Tome and Principe in their united efforts, with the assistance of socialist and non-aligned countries, the 500-year-old colonial power of Portugal fell. This has been considerably helped by the decisive action of the Portuguese people in their revolutionary and democratic struggle against fascism and colonialism.

8. Young independent States which have been created in former Portuguese Territories have become Members of the United Nations and now, shoulder to shoulder in the broad front of progressive forces, are worthily participating in solving the various problems which are facing the international community, including the problem of the complete liquidation of colonialism and racism. Indeed, the day is not far off when all the peoples of Africa will be free.

9. We cannot be silent about the alarming news which is coming from the People's Republic of Angola. Many units of foreign interventionists have invaded this young African State and, in co-operation with internal reaction and tribalism, are trying to destroy this young Republic. Everybody who is aware of the history of the national liberation movements of the peoples of Africa understands full well what the intentions of the interventionists are and who have been striving to achieve the rights of the oppressed Angolan people for dozens of years now.

10. President Agostinho Neto condemned the intervention in Angola in an interview with the Stockholm paper *Svenska Dagbladet*. He said:

"The unity of Angola can be guaranteed by negotiations among all parties concerned. If foreign intervention against the People's Republic of Angola does not cease, then armed action will be the only way to ensure the unity of the State."

11. This statement shows the seriousness of the situation in Angola. But the Angolan people has won the sympathy of the progressive forces throughout the world. The President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Mr. Gustav Husak, in a congratulatory telegram to the President of Angola, Mr. Agostinho Neto, stated:

"The heroic struggle of the people of Angola, headed by MPLA, from the very outset has enjoyed our sympathy and our support. The proclamation of the independence of Angola, which put an end to the age-old colonial repression, is a major victory for the people of that country and also for all anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and progressive and peace-loving forces throughout the world. At the same time it is an incentive for those peoples who are still repressed in their struggle for the complete abolition of colonialist and racist repression."

12. A dramatic struggle is being waged in Angola by the forces of progress against the forces of reaction. This has a direct influence on the actual prospects for the liberation of the entire south of Africa, and on the culmination of the process of decolonization in Africa. Without a free and progressive Angola there can be no free Namibia.

13. The development of events in Angola proves, at the same time, that under present-day conditions of détente the eradication of the vestiges of colonialism and racism is an inseparable and integral part of the struggle for the strengthening of international peace and security, and for encouraging comprehensive political, economic, social and cultural progress for all peoples.

14. The liquidation of colonialism and racism is an irreversible process which derives from experience and from the deep convictions held by peace-loving peoples throughout the world that this unfortunate legacy of the

past is continuing to poison the international atmosphere, create hotbeds of tension and threaten peace. The main obstacles to the complete implementation of the Declaration are the forces of international imperialism and neo-colonialism. In pursuing their predatory interests the imperialist Powers and their monopolist groupings and multinational corporations are striving to make full use of sophisticated methods and to hold on to their possessions in colonial and dependent countries and continuing to give assistance to the colonialist and racist régimes in southern Africa. They are trying to destroy the unity of the national liberation forces and weaken the anti-colonial front of the socialist and non-aligned States.

15. Since there have been positive developments as a result of the downfall of Portuguese colonialism, new and objective conditions have been created for the further development of national liberation struggle in southern Africa. The military-industrial complexes of the imperialist Powers have placed great hopes in the "stability" and "strength" of the minority régime of Vorster in the Republic of South Africa. Those Powers are trying to weaken the international isolation of the Republic of South Africa and oppose effective steps to restrain further their activities.

16. The South African régime continues to resort to its inhuman policy of *apartheid* and, in flagrant violation of decisions of the United Nations and of world public opinion, illegally to occupy the international territory of Namibia and to protect the illegal racist Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia. Who can doubt that the racist régime which is today killing the Angolans is a threat to the rest of Africa?

17. These events prove at the same time that the forces of neo-colonialism are trying to adapt themselves to new strategic conditions in southern Africa and to take advantage of the smallest split in the unity of the patriotic liberation forces to maintain their control over that part of the world.

18. The experience of national liberation struggles shows quite clearly that colonialism has never willingly laid down arms. Therefore we welcomed the final part of the declaration adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] at its ninth extraordinary session held at Dar es Salaam, which emphasized that the chosen tactics of national liberation struggles must be based on one important condition, namely, the further strengthening of the unity and solidarity of all peoples concerned and their leaders.

19. The enemies of Africa are aware that unity is the most powerful weapon in the arsenal available to that continent. Vorster, his puppets and his allies are trying to undermine that unity. Therefore Africa now is faced with the urgent need to close its ranks in view of the new tactics being used by the South African régime.

20. It is now, in the final stage of the struggle for the complete liquidation of colonialism, that we consider it extremely important, essential, that all anti-colonialist forces should renew their efforts to put an end to support for the racist régimes in southern Africa, efforts which the United Nations should actively support. Those States which continue to support racist régimes will bear full responsibility for their acts before this Organization.

21. Mrs. JOKA-BANGURA (Sierra Leone): I should like to congratulate the Chairman and members of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples on the very comprehensive report [A/10023] so eloquently presented by the Rapporteur of the Committee, Mr. Vincent David Lasse of Trinidad and Tobago.

22. One cannot help recognizing from the Committee's report that the Special Committee, under the able leadership of its Chairman, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, has carried out the work entrusted to it by the General Assembly with an enthusiasm and a dedication that it would be hard to equal. During the year under review, the Special Committee dispatched no less than three Visiting Missions, each of which brought out important aspects of the decolonization process.

23. The Mission to Montserrat was able to highlight the fact that the need for economic development in the Territory was acute and that economic assistance should be further intensified by the administering Power, in close co-operation with the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system.

24. The visit to Cape Verde also highlighted the requirements of the post-independence situation, calling for the rendering of massive assistance, both on a bilateral basis and within the framework of organizations of the United Nations system.

25. Likewise, the Mission to Spanish Sahara clearly demonstrated that no satisfactory solution of the question at issue could be expected that did not take fully into account the wishes and aspirations of the Saharan people. In that regard, the Mission recommended that the Assembly should now reactivate its recommendations concerning the question of the referendum as called for in its resolution 3292 (XXIX). Judging from the discussion on the Spanish Sahara in the Fourth Committee, it appears likely that this course of action would be followed and, if I may say so, this Organization, which since its establishment has upheld the inalienable right of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence, cannot afford to accept any formula in direct contravention of the provisions of the Declaration on decolonization.

26. A historic event in the life of the Special Committee was the holding this year of meetings of the Special Committee at Lisbon. The holding of such meetings not only was symbolic of the dramatic changes that had taken place in Portugal but also represented the first meeting ever of the Special Committee held in Europe, the birthplace of colonialism. It is the hope of my delegation that other European countries will open their doors to the Special Committee as a sign of the new spirit of co-operation which has clearly emerged in the field of decolonization, thus enabling the Committee to continue effectively to enlist public support for the cause of decolonization.

27. This year alone has seen five new countries admitted to membership in the United Nations: Cape Verde, Comoros, Mozambique, Papua New Guinea and Sao Tome and Principe. We hope before the session is over to be able to welcome the delegation of Surinam, a country which has today attained indepen-

dence. In this connexion, I should like to congratulate the Government and people of Surinam on the attainment of their independence. My delegation looks forward to welcoming its delegation to the United Nations and we should like to extend our congratulations to the Government of the Netherlands for having carefully led the people of Surinam to the doorstep of independence.

28. We had hoped that members of the Angolan delegation would be in our midst. It is a sad commentary on the international community that some of its members are now deeply involved in the present confusion and chaos reigning in Angola. I should like to recall the related recommendations of the Defence Commission of the OAU, which met at Kampala on 5 and 6 November to consider a report of the OAU Conciliation Commission established in this connexion, which read in part:

“Recommends to the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity to launch a pressing appeal to all States of the Organization of African Unity to cease immediately:

“(a) All interference in the internal affairs of the State of Angola,

“(b) All supplies of arms to parties involved in the conflict in order to prevent all foreign intervention, both African and non-African;

“Condemns the use of mercenaries and all arms supplies aimed at division, invasion and occupation of the Territory;

“Strongly condemns the racists of South Africa and Rhodesia for their continued aggression against the people of Angola and further condemns all forms of invasion of Angola by forces of any country.”

29. My delegation would like to reiterate this appeal and to say that, without exception, those who love Africa must work to see peace there, not to sow seeds of discord. Angola must not become the ground of big-Power rivalry and we cannot accept or condone any situation where one Power decides to intervene in Angola with a view to intensifying hostilities because of the presence of another Power. One would have thought that any intervention would be aimed at peace, not the present chaos. My delegation strongly condemns all those countries through whose intervention Angola has been prevented from taking its rightful place in this Assembly.

30. It is gratifying to note that a great deal of attention is now being focused on small Territories, a trend which has long been advocated by many of the delegations present. Only recently a full debate was held on Belize and there was a substantial debate also on French Somaliland, and even now the debate on Spanish Sahara promises to be full and useful in many respects.

31. In contrast to former years when its work on the small Territories produced only one omnibus resolution or at best two—one dealing with the Pacific and the other with the Caribbean—the Fourth Committee adopted during this session a number of individual resolutions and consensuses dealing with specific small Territories. As the Assembly will have the opportunity to examine the recommendations of the Fourth Com-

mittee when it takes up the relevant report of the Committee shortly, I shall not dwell on the details of the conditions prevailing in those Territories. Suffice it to say that it is essential for the Special Committee to receive the full co-operation of the administering Powers in its consideration of the Territories concerned. The positive results achieved during the past two years as a consequence of the active participation in the related work of the Special Committee by the United Kingdom Government—the administering Power responsible for the majority of the remaining small Territories—amply demonstrate this fact.

32. I wish to urge the only remaining administering Power which continues to boycott the Special Committee, namely, France, to follow the good examples set by all other administering Powers in this regard.

33. I should also like to suggest to the Governments of France and the United States that they reconsider their position with regard to the reception of visiting missions to the Territories concerned. Surely, those two administering Powers should be able to understand the importance of such visiting missions both to the peoples of the Territories concerned and to the States responsible for their administration as well in the achievement of the goals set forth in the Charter and the Declaration on decolonization.

34. Turning now to the process of decolonization in southern Africa, we should be fully aware of the fact that the triumph of the peoples of the countries formerly under Portuguese rule has created a golden opportunity for further strengthening the forces of liberation in Zimbabwe and Namibia. All possible avenues should be explored for the extension of positive and concrete assistance to the struggling peoples of those Territories in their endeavour to achieve freedom and independence.

35. In the case of Zimbabwe we are sure beyond doubt that the minority racist régime of Ian Smith continues to defy world opinion because it has the backing of some Members of this Assembly which continue to trade with that régime in violation of United Nations sanctions. It is my delegation's considered view that only the implementation of comprehensive mandatory sanctions can bring the Smith régime to its knees and that as long as there is no co-operation or political will in that direction the situation in the Territory will not change.

36. In Namibia the situation is the same. In contemptuous disregard of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, some Member States have continued to collaborate with South Africa—the illegal occupier of Namibia—and have continued their economic and other activities in the Territory to the detriment of the indigenous inhabitants. Furthermore, some of those trading partners of South Africa continue to supply it with arms and military equipment which enable the régime to perpetuate its illegal occupation of the international Territory. It is a well-known fact that those arms continue to find their way into the murderous hands of the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, which uses them to dominate the African majority.

37. It is against this background that my delegation wishes to express its sincere and most earnest hope that those permanent members of the Security Council

whose negative attitude has in the past prevented the Council from formulating effective measures to put an end to the *status quo* in Namibia and Zimbabwe will take positive initiatives with a view to ending the untold sufferings of the indigenous population of those Territories as soon as possible.

38. I would like to conclude this statement by acknowledging the marked improvement in attitudes towards decolonization. There has emerged a trend towards co-operation, as is evidenced by the absence of negative votes on draft resolutions on colonial issues. There is evidence that, although there are still areas of disagreement, a large area of agreement exists in the march towards the total elimination of colonialism. It is the hope of my delegation that we will continue to narrow the gap at a faster rate so that soon this world Organization will devote its time, efforts and energies to the improvement of conditions of life everywhere so that mankind as a whole can live in peace and harmony.

39. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): This year, as we mark the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on decolonization, the members of the international community have cause for considerable satisfaction with the progress that has been made towards extending the guarantees of the Declaration to all dependent peoples. Perhaps the most dramatic advances in the past year have been those made by the peoples of the former Portuguese Territories of Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Mozambique, whose representatives today sit among us in the delegations of independent States. The valiant struggle of the independence movements in those countries and the newly enlightened policy on the part of the Government of Portugal have ended decades of bloodshed and suffering and have permitted millions to exercise their sacred right to self-determination. My delegation whole-heartedly welcomes the accession to independence of Angola. We hope that the people of Angola soon will be able to overcome the difficulties they are now facing so that the representatives of independent Angola can join us in our work here at the United Nations.

40. While less dramatic, no less significant advances have been accomplished in other Territories during the past year, including the Comoro Islands. Indonesia takes particular pride in the attainment of independence by our close neighbour, Papua New Guinea. My delegation would also like to congratulate the people of Surinam, who today attain their independence. The common historical experiences of our two countries have created close cultural ties between Indonesia and Surinam, where there are tens of thousands of people of Indonesian origin. My delegation looks forward to welcoming the representatives of Surinam to the United Nations.

41. We also hail the progress toward self-determination which has been made in a number of other Territories, such as in Seychelles, which will become independent next year. In this connexion my delegation would like to express its appreciation to the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, of his unceasing efforts and the dynamic role which he has played as Chairman of the Special Committee in advancing the cause of decolonization throughout the world.



42. The contribution of the United Nations to decolonization in general and to the progress made in the colonial Territories has been most significant. In the first place, the United Nations, through resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) and other decisions, established the framework of principles within which the process of decolonization is to take place around the globe. The historic 12 principles which are contained in the annex to resolution 1541 (XV) have served not only as guidelines to the administering Powers in discharging their duties, but also as gauges by which the progress towards self-determination of the Territories under their administration could be measured both by their indigenous inhabitants and by the international community.

43. The General Assembly, particularly through the work of the Special Committee and that of the Fourth Committee, has kept careful watch on the progress of the various Territories towards the exercise of their inalienable right, and has frequently been able to contribute to their struggle and their well-being through its decisions.

44. In addition to performing this function of giving guidance and exercising pressure, the United Nations has also been able to assist the dependent peoples by disseminating information throughout the world concerning their progress or lack of it towards full membership in the international community. This policy of dissemination of information concerning the Territories has contributed to the success of the struggle of their inhabitants for self-determination, first by arousing the interest of the peoples of the world in their plight, and later by encouraging the support of other nations in their efforts to exercise the rights guaranteed to them in the Charter.

45. The success of the United Nations in disseminating such information has been greatly enhanced by the co-operation which it has received from the specialized agencies and other institutions within the United Nations system, and from other international governmental and non-governmental agencies which also seek to eradicate colonialism and racialism.

46. Although we have reason to be pleased with the progress which has been made to date under the aegis of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, it must be recognized that, as the Chairman of the Special Committee noted [2412th meeting] in his perceptive statement, there are still areas of the world in which the principles of peace and justice for which the Organization stands have not been implemented. In South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, for example, the failure of the white minority régimes to act in accordance with the principles enunciated in the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations constitutes a great danger to international peace and security and will eventually threaten to engulf the continent in war.

47. The refusal of South Africa to surrender control of Namibia to the United Nations in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice is, as we all know, but one of many refusals to comply with the will of the international community. The continuing imposition of the odious practice of *apartheid* upon the black majorities in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa has

inevitably resulted in serious repression of the indigenous inhabitants. Recent developments in other parts of southern Africa, however, especially the emergence of independent Mozambique and Angola, will certainly encourage the liberation movements in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa to increase their efforts in order to be able to exercise their right of self-determination.

48. While my delegation fervently hopes that a peaceful settlement of these questions may be reached, we nevertheless wish to state once again that Indonesia will continue to support the struggle of the liberation movements by all means necessary to ensure that the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) are implemented in the racist-dominated Territories in southern Africa. In those cases where intractable opposition by minority régimes leaves the people no other choice, it will unfortunately be necessary for them to pursue the bloody and costly road of armed struggle to secure their inalienable right.

49. The United Nations has a most significant role to play in contributing to the resolution of these and similar problems. The extension of assistance by the United Nations to the people of dependent Territories has been instrumental in preparing them to exercise their right of self-determination in many cases. This is particularly true of the aid offered by the specialized agencies, which has done much to develop and strengthen the political, economic and social institutions of peoples in numerous Territories. The Institute for Namibia is an excellent example of the form such assistance can take and of the benefits which it can confer upon the indigenous peoples. In the view of my delegation, it is most important that these efforts be continued and enhanced where possible.

50. We must also consider the needs of the Territories after they have achieved independence. The task of constructing new societies is indeed a complex one, requiring sustained national efforts over decades. It is incumbent upon the international community to lend whatever support lies within its power in order to assist the new nations in these efforts.

51. We must also consider the special problems which face many of the remaining dependent small Territories. In these cases such characteristics as limited geographical areas, small population, and remote locations contribute greatly to the difficulties attendant upon the exercise of the right to self-determination. Such limitations cannot be used as pretexts to deny the inhabitants their fundamental right, as the United Nations has repeatedly pointed out. Nevertheless the special problems which confront many of these Territories call for careful planning and development in order that they may exercise that right in a truly free and independent manner.

52. My delegation hopes that the concrete recommendations approved by the Special Committee at its 1975 session and described by the Rapporteur of the Special Committee, Mr. Lasse of Trinidad and Tobago [*ibid.*], will assist the people of the dependent Territories in attaining that goal.

53. In carrying out the process of decolonization, the co-operation of the administering Powers of the Territories concerned is an important element in ensuring that the well-being of the inhabitants is safe-

guarded and that the process itself is conducted in a smooth manner. The readiness of New Zealand and Australia to co-operate with the United Nations has, for example, proved to be of great benefit to the inhabitants of the Tokelau Islands and the Cooks or Keeling Islands in promoting self-determination in those Territories. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to express its appreciation of the co-operation which those two Governments have extended to the United Nations, thus substantially promoting the process of decolonization in the Territories still under their administration. We also wish to welcome the United Kingdom's policy of co-operation with the Special Committee. As the Chairman noted, it is to be hoped that other administering Powers will soon emulate these examples.

54. In summary, it would appear that we are justified in concluding that the past year has seen substantial achievements in the field of decolonization. However, this should serve not as a reason for self-satisfaction but rather as an incentive to redouble our efforts in order to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism from the face of the globe.

55. As far as Indonesia is concerned, I think it is unnecessary for me to elaborate on our total commitment to the eradication of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. Indonesia's record speaks for itself. Indonesia was born of a bloody anti-colonialist revolution, and the Indonesian people are pre-conditioned to support the anti-colonial struggle of peoples everywhere in the world. We will continue to co-operate with all anti-colonialist forces within and outside the United Nations in the common effort to eliminate the remaining vestiges of colonialism.

56. Mr. ALARCÓN (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In a few days we shall be celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV). In that historic document the General Assembly defined the anti-colonialist will of the immense majority of States and decided to launch an action on the part of the international community to bring about the emancipation of all nations still under the foreign yoke. Its adoption constituted a solemn promise which the United Nations made to the struggling peoples to support them in their just fight to achieve independence and freedom.

57. Fifteen years have elapsed since that time, and it is now possible to draw up a balance sheet of the progress achieved in this area and of the obstacles and difficulties still in the way of the process of decolonization. The positive aspects of such an evaluation can be seen clearly. Dozens of new States have achieved independence since that time and they are today participating in the activities of our Organization, to which they are contributing a new and creative impetus. The big empires of the past have successively collapsed. The ending of Portuguese colonialism and the accession to independence of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe constitute the clearest evidence of the impossibility of maintaining oppressed peoples that are determined to fight for their legitimate rights, and prove the justness of the line maintained in this Assembly by the progressive States which have never ceased to affirm the inalienable rights of the peoples of the former Portuguese colonies and which gave them the

necessary support to help them crown with success their long and difficult struggle.

58. The positive expressions of this process appear clearly and constantly. A few days ago we were very happy to receive in our midst the newest Member of the Organization, the Comoro Islands. Very soon we shall welcome an independent Surinam. However, the favourable signs should not conceal from us the obvious fact that colonialism as a system of oppression of other peoples, as an agonising reality of the daily lives of millions of men and women in many parts of the world, has by no means been totally eradicated from the face of our planet. The backward, predatory forces which support it, on the contrary, attempt to revive it and preserve it.

59. The racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury do not show the slightest sign of changing their policies of exploitation. They continue to constitute a constant threat to the peace and security of the African continent and at this very moment they are carrying out the most shameless and criminal activities against independent Angola.

60. From the Pacific to the Caribbean, from southern Africa to the Middle East, the imperialists and colonialists strive to maintain their oppressive systems and deny to the peoples their sacred right to be the sole masters of their destiny. Everywhere attempts are made to disregard or distort the very existence of the principle of self-determination. Sometimes there is open recourse to force and at other times other manoeuvres are used which are designed always to maintain colonialism, although attempts may be made to conceal this. The great imperialist monopolies which support the colonial régime attempt to launch a counter-offensive which will preserve the system of domination and exploitation under which the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean had to live for centuries.

61. We are today experiencing a crucial period in the process of decolonization. Fifteen years after resolution 1514 (XV) was adopted, its principles and objectives are being discussed in an acute confrontation between the struggling peoples, supported by all the progressive forces of the world, and those who refuse to accept the verdict of history, which has proclaimed the end of colonialism.

62. This struggle will be decisive for the subsequent course of decolonization, as well as for the evolution of international relations. The key to that struggle can be found today in Angola. The decision is now being made there as to whether the decolonization process will continue to advance or will begin to fall back. What is being decided there is whether the African continent is to be totally free of colonialist and racist exploitation or if the age-old enemies of those peoples are to perpetuate their infamous system of slavery. What will be determined in Angola is whether the peoples of the third world will be able to achieve their full emancipation or if the imperialist monopolies will still be able to impose their will with impunity.

63. After protracted and heroic fighting against Portuguese colonialism, the people of Angola, led by the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [MPLA], proclaimed its independence and became a sovereign State on 11 November. The People's Repub-

lic of Angola, which has already been recognized by many States in all parts of the world, is nevertheless still faced with grave dangers. Its territory has been invaded by racist mercenaries from South Africa and fascist elements equipped and armed by imperialism. The authorities in Pretoria do not conceal this fact. Fifteen years later the world is witnessing a dramatic repetition of events which, in 1960, led to bloodshed in the Congo and to the death of the greatest son of that part of the world, Patrice Lumumba.

64. The monopolies want to ensure for themselves control of the immense wealth contained in the soil of Angola. In former times they were the ones which laid claim to that wealth and benefited from the sacrifices and the toil of African workers. Now, faced with the fact that Angola is governed by genuine representatives of its workers, the imperialist monopolies are resorting to the most shameless form of aggression in trying to prevent the masses which were subjugated for five centuries from embarking on a new life, free from foreign exploitation.

65. Recent statements made by some representatives of imperialism, and the unceasing campaign waged by the North American press, seem to suggest that there is an imperialist attempt to bring about large-scale open intervention in the People's Republic of Angola. Unable to learn from lessons that are as obvious as they are recent, some are trying to repeat in Angola the experience of Viet Nam. If this is the case, there is no doubt that in Angola, as in Viet Nam, they will experience at the end of the road certain and total defeat. Anti-colonialist forces have before them a challenge that cannot be avoided. Those who remain with their arms crossed in silence in the face of this criminal aggression on the part of the racists and imperialists against the people of Angola will not be able later to proclaim themselves champions of anti-colonialism which they could not uphold at a moment of truth.

66. In the face of such imperialist aggression, we must unhesitatingly defend the people of Angola. Solidarity with the People's Republic of Angola is the chief and most urgent duty of all enemies of colonialism. Those who fail in their duty today will always fail in it. Those who hesitate in this decisive and final hour will bear the burden of a responsibility that will be indelibly recorded in the memory of the peoples. Those who co-operate in attempts against the revolution in Angola will in the future be remembered as the servants of colonialism and racism and the instruments of its foreign policy.

67. Cuba makes an appeal to all progressive States, to all freedom-loving forces, to all honest men and women to express their strongest and most complete solidarity with the People's Republic of Angola. To save Angola, to defeat the imperialist aggression launched against its people, to help Angola in the consolidation of its national independence and its full territorial integrity is a duty that cannot be postponed, because what is at stake in Angola is the destiny of Africa itself and the fate of the liberation movement which has shaken three continents to their foundations over the last few decades.

68. The best manner of celebrating the anniversary of resolution 1514 (XV) is by striving to ensure that it is truly implemented everywhere. It is most urgent to

give the decolonization activities of the United Nations a fresh impetus that will guarantee their effectiveness and ensure that they meet the needs of the people still suffering from colonialism.

69. It is necessary to take effective measures to support the peoples of Namibia and Rhodesia. The manoeuvres engaged in by their oppressors will be confronted by ever-increasing resistance on the part of those peoples, which require a more unified and constant form of international solidarity.

70. In order that it may be effective, the struggle against colonialism must therefore be universal. The problems of colonialism in the area of the Caribbean deserve closer attention from our Organization. A special reference must be made to Puerto Rico, a Latin American territory at the very centre of the Caribbean oppressed by colonialism for several centuries. In the last few years, the Special Committee . . .

71. Ms. BAILEY (United States of America) (from the floor): Point of order.

72. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall call on the representative of the United States on a point of order following the statement of the present speaker. I ask the representative of Cuba to continue.

73. Mr. ALARCÓN (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Special Committee has on several occasions in the last few years stated its views on the case of Puerto Rico. It has affirmed the inalienable right of its people to self-determination and independence and has demanded that the United States, the administering Power, respect that right.

74. The General Assembly has endorsed the decisions of the Special Committee in connexion with Puerto Rico. This year the Committee was unable to conclude its consideration of the question of Puerto Rico. The use of incorrect procedures made it possible for the United States to bring about postponement of the consideration of this question until next year. It would seem that the purpose of the United States was to gain time while it tries to carry out a manoeuvre designed, once again and in vain, to conceal the colonial nature of its domination over that territory. But this effort, like the preceding ones, will be equally futile.

75. We are no longer living in the era of the consolidation of colonial empires, but rather in the period of their bankruptcy. We are therefore convinced that the Special Committee and the General Assembly will continue to do their duty with respect to Puerto Rico. As far as Cuba is concerned, it will go on doing its duty unswervingly, as it has consistently done up to now.

76. In discussing the report of the Special Committee this year, the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), we must examine the possibility of strengthening and consolidating United Nations activities in the eradication of colonialism. We believe that only thus shall we duly commemorate this event.

77. My delegation had the opportunity to submit certain concrete ideas in this connexion in its capacity as a member of the Special Committee at the meeting of the Committee held last summer at Lisbon. We should like to emphasize in particular at this time a number of questions. First of all, it seems to us that the annual consideration of this item, the periodic review

of the Special Committee's work, should be given greater importance in the agenda of the General Assembly. The discussion of the report should be accorded a higher priority in the annual work of the Assembly; it should be discussed in conditions that would make it possible for all delegations to devote the greatest possible study and consideration to the question, and at an earlier stage in the deliberations of the General Assembly. The General Assembly and the members of the Special Committee should also consider concrete measures to strengthen the work of that body with a view to converting it into a vital instrument, in constant communication with the national liberation movements, so that it may function as a permanent means for denouncing colonialism and for the uninterrupted mobilization of international solidarity so as to put an end to that evil.

78. We do not believe that the Special Committee's work can be limited to a periodic consideration of the situation prevailing in specific Territories; rather, its task should consist of constant, permanent and continuing activity to assist peoples struggling against colonialism, those who are exerting the greatest efforts, the decisive, fundamental efforts, to implement resolution 1514 (XV).

79. Furthermore, in commemorating the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of the resolution under consideration, we must renew our confidence and our conviction that the General Assembly will continue in its efforts to achieve full and total implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) throughout the world and to guarantee to all peoples the sacred right to decide their own destinies, while ensuring that all men and women victimized by colonialism and foreign oppression, whether in the Pacific, the Caribbean, southern Africa or any other part of the world, can enjoy the exercise of the most sacred and inalienable of all rights, the right to be the sole master of their own destinies.

80. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): A moment ago I took upon myself the responsibility of refusing to interrupt the speaker on a point of order. You know why. Those of you who were at the recent meeting that took place here during the discussion of the problem of Cyprus know very well why I took this decision, which is perhaps not in accord with the traditions of our Assembly. It was not my wish to have a repetition under my presidency of the circus that went on here a few days ago. That is why I took this decision, in the hope that the representative of the United States, if she really wanted to exercise her right to speak on a point of order, would contest my ruling and let the Assembly then decide. I would have gone along with the Assembly's decision and, had the Assembly ruled against me, would have relinquished the Chair to another Vice-President.

81. Now, having made this point clear, I wish to inform the delegation of the United States that it has the right to address the Assembly in two ways; first, to speak on a point of order, as the representative requested, and then to exercise its right of reply. It is up to the delegation of the United States to decide between the two. I call on the representative of the United States.

82. Ms. BAILEY (United States of America): It is incomprehensible to my delegation that the representa-

tive of Cuba should have tried to divert this meeting from its business by discussing something that is so far afield from its agenda. Puerto Rico is not on our agenda. Nevertheless, the unfortunate remarks by the representative of Cuba on a matter of great importance to my Government make it necessary for me to reiterate the well-known views of the United States concerning Puerto Rico.

83. The General Assembly at its eighth session in 1953 acknowledged Puerto Rico's self-governing status [*resolution 748 (VIII)*]. This was reaffirmed in 1971 at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, which rejected an attempt to include in its agenda an item on Puerto Rico.<sup>1</sup>

84. United States policy with regard to Puerto Rico is based on our complete acceptance of Puerto Rico's right to self-determination. The people of Puerto Rico exercised that right in approving commonwealth status under their own Constitution in 1952. They reaffirmed that choice in a status referendum in 1967, participated in by 59 per cent of the electorate, in which 60 per cent voted for commonwealth status, 39 per cent for statehood and less than 1 per cent for independence. In a series of periodic general and free elections, I think that they have made their will known.

85. No misrepresentation to the contrary can disguise the approval of the people of Puerto Rico of their self-governing status. The United States Government regards any international review of Puerto Rico as a flagrant interference in Puerto Rican and United States domestic affairs.

86. My delegation respectfully requests that the representative of Cuba definitely be ruled out of order.

87. Mr. ALARCÓN (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As representatives will very soon be able to read the record, they will be able to see quite clearly that if we were to accept the arguments of the delegation of the United States it would mean that the United States has just proposed that its statement be declared out of order, since my delegation, as will be seen from the record, referred strictly to matters which are contained in the report of the Special Committee which is before the General Assembly. It is not our fault if some representatives, perhaps from lack of experience or because of lack of sufficient time to prepare their material, have not even been able to examine its contents.

88. It was the United States delegation which just referred to a series of details with regard to Puerto Rico and, more specifically, to the unending and oft-repeated references to alleged elections, and it did so to say that this Assembly should not discuss such matters.

89. I shall not prolong this debate by trying to refute arguments of the United States that have had but one merit: that of being repeated year after year and not conforming in the least to the views expressed by the international community in the matter of Puerto Rico. If this year, instead of a repetition of words, we had had it sung before the General Assembly, it would perhaps at least have carried more conviction than the statement unfortunately made by the representative of the United States.



90. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of the United States of America.

91. Ms. BAILEY (United States of America): That was my first statement and it was written. It was meant and it was honest. Now I shall make my second statement—with no paper, with nothing, from the heart and from the head. I do not know if members have been addressed this way before, but I have waited long to stand here and I stand here under God's truth, in all honesty seeking nothing but truth, brotherhood and the will of God that everybody here should get together and get these bricks together.

92. I tremble not from fear of standing before men, but I tremble at the very thought that men and women who sit and dare to breathe the God-given air say: "We shall be together" and still fight.

93. No, there is no written speech. No representative sent me up here to say this, because no man knows my heart. There is no paper. I reply to the representative of Cuba not from lack of experience. I am 57 years old; I do not look it and I do not intend to

look it. This is the first time I have heard you laugh. Thank God. I am 57 years old; I have lived and I have experience; I come from the world of the theatre, which keeps its hand on the pulse and the heart of men and all humanity. I believe in humanism; I believe in more than brotherhood. I believe in humanism, and that does not take so much experience. Yes, I have lived in America and I still do. I have gone to many of your countries; I have seen the rights and I have seen the wrongs. I have been righted and I have been wronged. But I assure you of one thing: I have never been any place where I probably would not have stayed and I have never been any place from which I would not have come back to my country.

*The meeting rose at 4.50 p.m.*

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NOTE

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1938th meeting, para. 110.*