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President: Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 22

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (continued)

1. Mr. HOLGER (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to begin by paying a tribute to the members 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 for the report submitted to the General Assembly on the work of that Committee during 1972 [A/8723/Rev.1]. The Special Committee, of which Chile was an active member for many years, has worked intensively, as is evidenced by the voluminous report that it has submitted. We believe that the devotion displayed by its members in the service of such a noble cause is reflected in the fact that some progress has been achieved this year in the long and difficult struggle against colonialism, racial discrimination, *apartheid*, the illegal occupation of territories, and neo-colonialism. Chile, faithful as it is to its anti-colonial, anti-racist and liberal traditions, supports the report and is solidly behind its recommendations.

2. As we had occasion to state during the general debate [2050th meeting], my Government decisively supports the peoples of Africa who are struggling for their independence and condemns the backward policies which, not heeding the voice of history, stubbornly pursue the course of the colonialist and racist countries, with the help—we are sorry to say—of certain Powers represented in this Assembly. All of this is in complete contempt of resolutions adopted by the principal organs of our Organization and, what is more, in flagrant violation of the fundamental human rights and other basic principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

3. To the foregoing we can also add that the activities of colonialist régimes have constituted and continue to constitute a permanent threat to many sovereign States of Africa. In recent days the Security Council has had to consider a fresh violation of the territorial integrity of Senegal—one item more in what has become a long chain of active provocation against free States of the African continent.

4. We should like to state firmly our conviction that the colonial and racist Powers in exploiting the peoples, particularly in southern Africa, are creating a continuing threat to international peace and security. For that reason the Security Council is fully justified in including in its agenda this problem so vital for mankind.

5. In southern Africa there has been established a bastion with a strong military basis which strives to set up a fence around Territories that are subjected to colonial exploitation and peoples that are suffering under the system of *apartheid*. However, we should not like to take a completely pessimistic view of the situation, although we recognize that 13 years after the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) there is still a long way to go in carrying out the programme of action to implement the aforementioned resolution.

6. Without going back to the past, however, I would mention certain events which have occurred in 1972 that bear out our evaluation of the facts. I should like to refer now to these developments. First of all, there were the meetings held by the Security Council in Addis Ababa, to which we attach special significance.

7. The United Nations is mobilizing more actively; world public opinion is better informed and more sensitive to the sufferings of the colonial peoples. The Organization of African Unity [OAU], the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Special Committee on *Apartheid* and the group of non-aligned countries are engaged in intensive work. The national liberation movements in various countries are also being strengthened.

8. We also regard as a positive factor the meetings held by the Special Committee in Conakry, Lusaka and Addis Ababa shortly after the Security Council meetings. These meetings provided a very valuable opportunity for an exceedingly useful exchange of views between the leaders of the national liberation movements and the Members of the United Nations. We should recall that these meetings of the Special Committee began immediately after the return of the Special Mission which visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau).

9. As members of the United Nations Council for Namibia, we cannot fail to refer to the negotiations that are

being carried out by the Secretary-General in pursuance of resolution 309 (1972) adopted in Addis Ababa by the Security Council concerning that Territory. We wish once again to express our support for Mr. Waldheim, in the certainty that the agreements that may be worked out with the parties concerned will conform to the terms of the decisions taken on Namibia by the principal bodies of the United Nations. The memorandum handed to the Secretary-General by the representatives of Argentina, Somalia and Yugoslavia¹ reaffirms the opinion of the overwhelming majority to the effect that independence for Namibia can be viable only if South Africa respects the territorial and ethnic integrity of the Namibian people. We express our confidence that the representative of the Secretary-General will actually complete his delicate mission in November.

10. However, we should like to express our surprise at the fact that, at the very moment when South Africa is being given an opportunity to facilitate the path towards independence for the people of Namibia, it insists on dictating its repressive measures and is strengthening its reprehensible policy of *apartheid*, consolidating the arbitrary division of the Territory and pursuing the leaders of the national liberation movement.

11. Although not directly linked to the United Nations, the decision taken by the World Council of Churches to recognize the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed peoples and to support the national liberation movements represents for us a step of great moral significance. We believe that support like this serves to refute once again the claims of those who would link up the legitimate struggle of the peoples subject to colonialism, so many times recognized by the United Nations, with the phenomenon of international terrorism. It is obvious that in formulating this approach a reality which many are reluctant to accept is being underestimated, that where there is repression there is resistance, a natural thing in every Territory administered from overseas capital cities or governed or occupied by racist minority Governments.

12. We agree with the Special Committee that it is very necessary urgently to mobilize world opinion in support of the struggle for decolonization, and that is why we support the initiative for convening an international conference for the support of victims of colonialism and *apartheid* in southern Africa. Chile is a sponsor of the draft resolution [A/L.679 and Add.1] requesting the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the OAU, to organize in Oslo in 1973 the aforesaid conference, and we trust that the Special Committee will be represented there.

13. In the same fashion, we express our complete support for the initiative to celebrate annually, throughout the world, a week of solidarity with the colonial peoples of southern Africa, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde fighting for freedom, independence and equal rights. Chile is also a sponsor of the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly on that point [A/L.680 and Add.1].

14. In its report the Special Committee proposes the convening of an international seminar on decolonization

under the auspices of the United Nations and it recommends greater co-operation with non-governmental organizations concerned with the problem of decolonization [A/8723/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 193]. We consider that both initiatives should be taken into account by the Secretary-General within his programme of broad and systematic dissemination of information on the struggle for liberation being carried on by the colonial peoples.

15. We attach particular importance to the work carried out by the Committee in respect of the list of Territories to which the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be applied. We understand that this is a task which will have to be evaluated very carefully and which will often have to oppose the pressures of strong interests. With respect to Puerto Rico, our historic ties and ties of all kinds with its people have led us to express our interest in and agreement with the idea that this matter should come within the jurisdiction of the Special Committee on the application of resolution 1514 (XV). We trust that the working group entrusted with the application of the Declaration to Puerto Rico will compile the largest possible volume of background documentation and will act strictly with objectivity, taking into account the higher interests and the destiny of our brother people of Puerto Rico.

16. We consider of special relevance and timeliness the work of the Committee on activities of foreign economic interest in the colonial Territories. The presence of transnational corporations could not fail to be reflected in those Territories. As the report states:

“The monopolies and other foreign concerns operating in most of these Territories . . . are guided solely by their own interests . . . without regard to the legitimate rights of the inhabitants of the Territories . . . Their high profits are attributable to the special privileges granted them by the colonial administration. . . . The high profits . . . are not invested for the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the indigenous people but remain in the hands of the foreign interests concerned or are shared with the racist régimes.” [A/8723/Rev.1, chap. V, para. 6 (a) (2).]

17. In the face of these facts there is only one alternative, namely, that the United Nations should call upon all States whose citizens and companies have invested capital in the economies of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the Territories under Portuguese administration to take legislative and administrative measures to put an end to those activities which are an obstacle to the emancipation of the peoples subjugated in that fashion. In other words, our Organization should pay greater attention to the phenomenon of economic colonialism in those Territories, since heretofore it has tended to concentrate its focus on political colonialism.

18. We are pleased that, in the course of the general debate this year, the Foreign Minister of Mexico raised this aspect of the problem of colonialism in his statement [2050th meeting]. In dwelling on this point, we cannot fail to address the following question to ourselves. If peoples like that of Chile and many others of the third world are the subject of economic pressures and the victims of

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1972*, document S/10738, annex I.

imperialist interests, what remains for the peoples of those countries that still have not attained their political independence? How defenceless they must find themselves vis-à-vis the pitiless exploitation exerted directly by the administering Powers, and also by other Powers, which, without having any colonial interests of a visible kind, co-operate in despoiling those peoples and their Territories of their natural wealth and in subjecting to slavish treatment men, women and children, whose dignity as human beings we should defend and exalt!

19. The representatives of many peoples who yesterday were colonial peoples and who today represent Governments are listening to us now in this Assembly. If that has been made possible it is because of the moral force that legitimized their struggle, to which in part we should attribute the achievements of such a sacred aspiration, without failing to mention, at the same time, the contribution which very often was decisive, rendered by friendly organizations and countries to the liberation struggle. As in the past, those countries which today are fighting for their independence require the support of those of us who have made common cause with them.

20. Although the process of decolonization started by the United Nations encounters stubborn resistance from the racist and colonialist régimes, we are heartened by the conviction that this contribution which the Organization is making to the struggling peoples, no matter how modest, will make it possible to hasten a process which Chile considers irreversible and inevitable. This is the understanding of all those who signed the Georgetown Declaration, which was drawn up by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries in August. This is also the understanding of the African peoples themselves who attended the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, which was held at Rabat in June. Lastly, we have good reason to think that the Secretary-General is following the same course of action, when he reaffirms, in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization that: "The full and complete implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on decolonization remains a major goal of the United Nations."
[A/8701/Add.1, p. 4.]

21. Mr. SOFFER (Israel) (*interpretation from French*): More than 12 years have passed since the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We cannot but note with regret the slow progress achieved in the granting of independence to the still subject Territories. There are still more than 40 Non-Self-Governing Territories. This means that over 30 million human beings are still suffering under the yoke of colonialism, despite the efforts of the international community, despite all the debates and deliberations held to that end by our Assembly and its organs and, above all, despite the fierce struggle and the many sacrifices of the peoples concerned.

22. Israel, which is engaged in the struggle to ensure its rights as a nation, has never ceased to concern itself with and to ponder the problems of dependent peoples, and more particularly those of the peoples of Africa. Long and bitter experience has taught the Jewish people what tribulations flow from the denial of human rights and of national liberty.

23. We are particularly sympathetic to the situation of the African people because of the bonds of common experience shared by Africans and the Jews, both victims of persecution and discrimination over the ages. Our affinities are always present in the minds of Jews and Africans.

24. We have always thought that individual freedom, like that of nations, was a recognized right and that there was no longer any need for futile bloodshed or tears.

25. The painful sacrifice of many human lives that our own struggle has cost us lives in our hearts and our memories, and unfortunately it is a price that we have continued to pay to this very day to defend our independence; it is, alas, part of our everyday life.

26. We had hoped that other peoples might be spared this constant struggle, and all the sacrifices it entails. We are sorry to see that the harsh reality has thus far disappointed our hopes.

27. Having arisen at the same time as several other nations which today are sovereign but which once were subject peoples, Israel cannot but take a keen interest in the struggle of other peoples that aspire to their rightful place in the international community.

28. If it is sincerely desired that Africa should pursue its objectives peacefully, everything must be done to spare Africa the torments caused solely by the persistence of colonialism, the manifestations of which are a gross anachronism and an affront to Africa and to the spirit of our times.

29. In our statements before this Assembly we have repeatedly expressed our faith in the integrity of peoples. The great chain of the community of nations can make no tangible progress, despite all modern technology, so long as certain of its links are still under the implacable yoke of colonialism. How can any people contribute to the progress of our community when it is not even master of its own destiny? We are deeply convinced that colonialism is a thing of the past. It is time for the colonial Powers to look facts in the face and accept them as they are.

30. It is its dedication to the principle of equality, not only between men but also between nations, which has given Judaism its force and also its desire to see finally established an international order founded on justice and love for one's neighbour. The Jews have been scattered throughout the whole world, and have everywhere been victims of discrimination. Who better than the Jew knows the sorrowful destiny of those who lose their independence? In fact, our struggle for independence began 2,000 years ago and has never ceased since. It began when, refusing to assimilate during the Diaspora and the exile of our people in distant and alien lands after the conquest of our own country, we retained our national identity and an inalienable devotion to the land of our fathers, remaining true to our heritage.

31. The continuity of the Jewish presence in Israel, uninterrupted over the centuries, breathed life and strength into the Zionist movement, whose struggle for self-determination won us our independence.

32. We have never forgotten that other countries and other peoples are still struggling against oppression in many parts of the world. Theodore Herzl, the founder of the Zionist movement, wrote at the end of the last century that once the Jewish State had been created its first task would be to come to the aid of the movements for the liberation of Africa. He expressed himself with exemplary clarity on that point in his work entitled *Altneuland* when he wrote :

“There remains the unhappy racial problem to be solved. Only a Jew can feel the full depth of its horror. I refer now to the problem of Africa. Having lived to see the restoration of the Jewish people, I should like to clear the way for the restoration of the black peoples.”

33. Herzl's words proved to be prophetic, both for the Africans and for the Jews. His appeal was heeded, and the State of Israel has since its creation come out clearly in favour of self-determination and decolonization.

34. The majority of the young States of Africa and Asia have established fraternal relations of friendship and mutual co-operation with Israel. The resurrection of the Jewish people as a nation has inspired the other national liberation movements—

35. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call upon the representative of Democratic Yemen on a point of order.

36. Mr. ISMAIL (Democratic Yemen): The representative of Israel is supposed to speak on this item on behalf of Israel as a Member State of the United Nations. I wonder on what basis the representative of Israel is talking on behalf of the Jewish people? If he is speaking on behalf of the Jews, and if we agree about his principles, I wonder to what extent we can go. Will everyone talk on behalf of his religion; Moslem, Christian, Buddhist, Jewish? As far as I know, the present speaker represents Israel. I wonder if he can say that he represents all the Jewish people.

37. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call upon the representative of Israel to continue his statement.

38. Mr. SOFFER (Israel) (*interpretation from French*): William du Bois, the most important architect of the pan-African movement before the Second World War wrote:

“The African movement has for us the same meaning that the Zionist movement has for the Jews.”

Similarly—

39. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call upon the representative of Democratic Yemen on a point of order.

40. Mr. ISMAIL (Democratic Yemen): I asked a question; Is the speaker representing Israel or is he representing the Jewish people?

41. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Israel is speaking as the representative of the State of Israel. I call upon him to continue his statement.

42. Mr. SOFFER (Israel) (*interpretation from French*): Similarly, George Padmore, one of the most remarkable theoreticians of pan-Africanism, devoted a chapter of his work, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?*, to black zionism.

43. There is an obvious parallel between zionism and the pan-African movement. Both sought, in their beginnings, to restore the dignity and individual freedom of Jews and blacks, before their goals converged politically towards independence and sovereignty.

44. Obtaining independence is only the first stage in the process of national liberation and the struggle against colonialism. The road to the affirmation of that freedom is filled with trials and even dangers. No matter how tortuous our way to national liberation may have been, that did not prevent us from identifying ourselves with the just cause of peoples seeking independence and offering our support, modest though it might be, to the young nations all over the world that have acceded to independence or still aspire to it. We have always proclaimed our faith in the doctrine of universal brotherhood.

45. The countries liberated from colonialism and in the process of development can overcome their difficulties only by sharing their experience. We welcome the fact that our co-operation with those countries, which dates from the first day of our independence, is growing stronger every day, with three continents, and particularly with Africa. Israel is thus fulfilling its share of that universal duty by granting 30 study fellowships a year to students from Territories that are still not self-governing. Progress knows no frontiers, and it is in the interests of us all in the developing countries to ignore geographic distances and focus our common efforts on bringing about an improvement in the conditions of our peoples.

46. It is with deep conviction that I express here, on behalf of my delegation, the view that our common future depends on the radical extirpation of all the roots of this hateful colonialism.

47. The principles of justice and equality are deep-rooted in the heritage of our people. As long ago as in Biblical times one could find expression of this in the Books of the Prophets, and it was Amos, one of the best known of our prophets, who said, in chapter 9, verse 7: “Are ye not as children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? saith the Lord.”

48. I wish to reaffirm here, on behalf of the delegation of Israel, our deep desire to see the process of decolonization accelerated. The United Nations owes it to itself and to all peoples to continue the work it has been carrying on for over a decade on behalf of national liberation.

49. Israel, true to its national and spiritual heritage, will continue, as in the past, in the United Nations and outside it, to give its full support to the legitimate aspirations of the people of Africa in the hope of bringing closer the day when the brilliant and radiant dawn of political freedom and human dignity will at last rise on all continents without exception.

50. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): For a number of days now we have been engaged in a

lengthy debate on decolonization and, more precisely, on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by our General Assembly in 1960—that is to say, 12 years ago. This debate also deals with the activities of the Special Committee, which was set up to give effect to this historic Declaration.

51. Tunisia, which has enthusiastically supported the Declaration and which has participated in the work of the Special Committee since its foundation, will continue to work with all the other member States to accelerate the process of decolonization. Thus, together with Ecuador and Sweden we undertook an important mission to Guinea (Bissau), whence we brought back evidence concerning the struggle and activity of the PAIGC,² headed by Mr. Cabral, to whom I take particular pleasure in paying tribute to his patriotism, his self-sacrifice and his sense of realism. The PAIGC is engaged in remarkable work in the liberated Territories and is carrying on a heroic struggle in the portions of the Territory of Guinea (Bissau) that are still occupied. There is no doubt about this. Only Portugal denies it. On behalf of the Tunisian delegation, we proposed in a meeting of the Special Committee, following upon the denials of Portugal, that a United Nations mission should be sent to Guinea which would go into that country with the agreement of Portugal. The idea was not considered by the Committee. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal, in his statement in the general debate, said:

“As the Portuguese Government knows that . . . there is no part of any of these territories where its authority is not . . . exercised, or where its representatives are prevented from going wherever they want, it has addressed a formal invitation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to send a mission to verify, on the spot and whenever it wishes, the effective exercise of Portuguese sovereignty.” [2048th meeting, para. 35.]

52. The idea in itself would not be rejected *a priori*, although the remaining portion of his statement confirms, unfortunately, the designs of the Portuguese Government. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal stated:

“... contrary to what has been widely said, Portugal does not reject the principle of self-determination . . .

“... ”

“[That right] . . . must be exercised without any outside interference—even of the United Nations—through the means best suited to each case”. [Ibid., paras. 42 and 44.]

53. What a flagrant contradiction! When it is a matter of showing that Portugal has the situation in hand in its colonies, a United Nations mission is welcome. The Portuguese would lead it around bayonets at the ready and drums beating. But when it is a question of a mission whose purpose is to help a dominated people to exercise a right which all peoples are recognized to have—the right to self-determination, a right recognized by the Charter to which Portugal subscribed as long ago as 1955—then this is

foreign intervention because, according to Portugal, Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Angola are Portugal.

54. It is both regrettable and surprising that such statements should be made to us in the hope of convincing us that, after the disappearance of the great colonial empires, only Portugal has succeeded perfectly in its work of colonization and that equality, freedom and justice reign throughout the Portuguese empire. No, these statements have no meaning. At the most, they could reveal the existence of friction within Portuguese public opinion under the effect of the struggle and of discreet or public interventions of certain friends of Portugal and of certain countries which ardently desire to see Portugal change its policy and to commit itself resolutely to the process of decolonization.

55. A United Nations mission to visit countries under Portuguese domination, with the consent of Portugal, is not an idea to be rejected out of hand—subject to the reservation that the terms of reference and the composition of such a mission should be clearly defined by the General Assembly or the Security Council. It could and should be given the task of aiding the liberation movements and Portugal to engage in negotiations. Such a mission would prove to be pointless for that matter if Portugal were to subscribe to the objectives of the Declaration and to engage in negotiations with the leaders of the liberation movements.

56. Mr. Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC, as well as Mr. Dos Santos, Vice-President of FRELIMO,³ in their statements to the Fourth Committee⁴ and in their press conferences, have stated that they are in favour of negotiations with Portugal. Such negotiations are likely to put an end to the sufferings of all parties, to put an end to violence, and to usher in an era of co-operation between Portugal and the African countries that are today dominated by Portugal and, to begin with, between Portugal and its allies, in particular its European allies and, finally, between Portugal and Africa.

57. This is the course of moderation, an appeal to good sense, a stake for the future. To maintain the *status quo* is, of course, a natural principle, recognized both in the physical and the social sciences, which applies to policy and to relations between peoples and States. Those who find their interests here will defend them in the name of acquired rights, ideals of peace, humanity, civilization or other symbols of the mind. Portugal will thus defend its colonial domination in the name of self-determination, and even of its national independence. Proper insight is to understand that when the *status quo* becomes intolerable those who suffer from it finally come to the point where they say “No”, regardless of the sacrifices they are called upon to make. Proper insight is to understand that by rejecting the appeals of the moderates, by refusing any honourable solutions, by rejecting the counsel of reason one always ends up by regretting such lost opportunities.

58. Alas, we must point out that history is composed of lost opportunities and that perhaps that is the secret of its

³ Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Fourth Committee, 1986th and 1987th meetings, respectively.*

change. Alas, we must recognize that major changes have always taken place amid suffering and tears. But because Tunisia is a country that believes in reason we should like to hope against all hope that the course of history is not always thus—that it will not be thus this time, that history is hesitant to take the turning-point.

59. What a lesson of wisdom and moderation has just been given us by the leader of the PAIGC, Mr. Cabral, in the letter of 19 October 1972 [A/8853] he has addressed to you, Mr. President, in which he waived his right to address the General Assembly even though the Assembly, probably by a substantial majority, would have voted in favour of hearing him. He has avoided what possibly could become a regrettable confrontation between the various groups comprising this Assembly. He is a responsible leader and a revolutionary already acting as a statesman in conformity with the spirit of the Charter. Does his country not deserve to be liberated from domination so that it can play the effective role for which certain small countries have shown such genius? To negotiate with such a man is to make progress; to ignore his goodwill is to impose on him as well as on his comrades the law of honour—that is, the law of struggle, with all its suffering and sacrifice.

60. Listen to the voice of another African, that of Bishop Muzorewa of Zimbabwe:

“If we had not been there, many other, much more serious things would have happened when the British Commission came to Rhodesia. We played a moderating role in the incidents of January fomented by the police. We brought about the rejection of the Anglo-Rhodesian agreement by peaceful means. But that ‘No’ was not an end in itself. It should be a first step towards a constructive solution, the convening of a constitutional conference where whites and blacks will meet.”

If such a conference has not been convened, if the problem of Rhodesia does not find a peaceful and equitable solution, what is there to expect other than struggle, other than violence, which engenders violence? And, powerless, the United Nations will continue to hear blasphemy against its Charter and against its very existence.

61. Did Mr. Muller, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa, come to bring us a message of hope when he stated in the course of the general debate that

“... so far as South West Africa is concerned, the South African Government is firmly committed to the principle of self-determination and independence with all that this implies, and we shall continue to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in the search for a solution” [2046th meeting, para. 19].

We hope that those words have the same meaning for the South African Minister as they do for the whole of the international community.

62. Subsequent to the meetings of the Security Council in Addis Ababa, held on the initiative of the OAU, a slight prospect opened up for the solution of the problem of Namibia. The efforts of Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our Secretary-General, are praiseworthy. Events will show how seriously

the Government of South Africa envisages the application of the principles of self-determination and independence which that Government itself has solemnly recognized. The representative of the Secretary-General is on the job, and the time-limit of 15 November is very close. Together with Mr. Schumann, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, we would say: “May this symbolic opportunity be seized. The stakes are far greater than the question of Namibia alone.” [2041st meeting, para. 81.] The problem of apartheid will be affected and South Africa, freed of its complexes, the most serious of which is apartheid, will be able to participate effectively—and why not?—in the work of development and progress for the countries of the third world and, in particular, of Africa.

63. It is certainly not goodwill that is lacking on the part of the peoples and Governments of Africa. But once again the Governments of Portugal, South Africa and the United Kingdom—the latter still being responsible for Rhodesia—must be able to take the necessary historic decisions so that a dialogue can be initiated on the basis of the principles of the Charter and resolution 1514 (XV) in order to promote such desirable co-operation as will enable Africa to work and its partners in Europe and elsewhere to develop ties based on mutual respect with the countries of the young continent of Africa.

64. Things being what they are, and despite the goodwill of the Africans, it is to be feared that a long and painful struggle may be necessary. To achieve the goal with a minimum of violence and suffering every possible effort must be made to lead those adhering to the *status quo* to modify their position and to commit themselves to the new cause of reconciliation and co-operation.

65. With respect to the struggle of the dominated peoples, it will follow an irreversible course for, as the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of China said in the general debate,

“... Their struggles are just and so long as they carry on perseveringly, fear neither hardship nor sacrifice and advance wave upon wave, they will surely, with the sympathy and support of the peoples of Africa and the whole world, win final victory.” [2051st meeting, para. 156.]

I would take “wave upon wave” to mean “by successive stages”, the inevitable one being negotiation. In the area of negotiation, the process that has been started with respect to the problem of Namibia should be pursued on the basis of the independence of peoples and the territorial integrity of their countries and should be extended—why not?—to all the problems of colonial Africa, of the Portuguese colonies and of Rhodesia, not to speak of the questions of Spanish Sahara, Djibouti and the Comoro Islands, which will certainly be solved satisfactorily thanks to the goodwill of the Governments of France and Spain. For that matter, on this occasion we should like to appeal to France and Spain to contribute to convincing Portugal of the importance of negotiating with the African liberation movements, and on this point I should like to quote part of the statement recently made by the President of the Security Council, Mr. de Guiringaud, Ambassador of France:

“Is it the intention of Lisbon, as my delegation has recommended more than once in this Council, to follow

the example set by certain Powers which formerly exercised overseas responsibilities, Powers which were able to prevent rash and hasty actions on the part of their troops by eliminating the very cause of their presence? Is it the intention of Lisbon to recognize the right of the people of Guinea to self-determination and, by that gesture, to substitute lasting ties of friendship for the more precarious ties of constraint?"⁵

That is an encouraging quotation. I therefore appeal to France and to Spain. Their possible participation in the Special Committee, or at least their collaboration with it, could perhaps strengthen its action and set its feet on the path of dialogue. Abandoned by the United States and the United Kingdom and deprived of the contribution of Italy and without the active participation of the countries of Western Europe, the Committee is really set back in its efforts to pursue the work of decolonization entrusted to it. The absence of certain of the parties concerned can only delay the process of decolonization and further remove it from the initial spirit in which the Committee was created—to accelerate the process of decolonization in a spirit of international co-operation.

66. I should like here to pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Special Committee, Ambassador Salim, and the other officers. Despite tremendous difficulties, they were able to inject a spirit of positive action into the Committee's work—above all, by deciding to dispatch a tripartite mission to the liberated territories of Guinea (Bissau) and by having endorsed a programme of action for 1973. If strengthened, the Committee can and should render great services to the struggle for liberation now under way, particularly in Africa. But it is our opinion that it will one day become a thing of the past.

67. The Secretary-General, and also our Governments, should consider world-wide action to solve the problems of decolonization, which handicap the efforts of African countries and even of all the countries of the third world in the area of development and drive us to periodic confrontations that are so useless.

68. If we could reach agreement on pending problems, would not an international conference on decolonization be desirable? Here I take up an idea put forward several years ago, in 1959 to be precise, by Mr. Bourguiba, President of Tunisia, who recommended a serious study of the chances for success of such an undertaking. We are all tired of resolutions that remain a dead-letter. We are tired of condemning one country or another as being a culprit or an accomplice. All peoples want peace to work in building a better world. Great undertakings await us in the economic, social and scientific fields. The United Nations has begun major work in those fields. It should be carried on and completed. Because we live under a burden of political confrontations, all of this work is ignored and the United Nations is held in low esteem, even though it represents the only possibility for international co-operation.

69. With Mr. Gromyko, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, we believe that "today, when almost all

[countries] . . . have freed themselves, the slightest opportunity is used to restore direct or indirect colonial domination over them" [2040th meeting, para. 71], in addition to maintaining the *status quo* in certain countries still under domination. We are convinced that certain foreign financial and other interests are a factor hindering the application of resolution 1514 (XV). This is indicated in the report of the Special Committee. But we recognize that certain foreign activities are beneficial to the economy of our countries in that in the occupied Territories they sometimes encourage economic development and promote the awakening and flourishing of political awareness. We also consider that in certain countries, particularly the countries under the colonial yoke, the monopolies constitute an obstacle blocking off realization of the legitimate aspirations of the peoples concerned; nor do we forget the activities of international enterprises which create numerous problems for any international co-operation free of all restraint.

70. With Mr. Rogers, the Secretary of State of the United States, we wonder what are the practical efforts in which the United States can participate to assist in the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). Mr. Rogers said:

"In Africa, this Assembly must continue to champion the efforts of all peoples of all races to secure human dignity, self-determination and social justice. The United States will continue to lend its full support to all practical efforts to those ends." [2038th meeting, para. 53.]

71. To be sure, technical assistance, scholarships and assistance in nutrition and public health are practical efforts. But for the survival and the dignity and future of a people, the most practical effort is the continued struggle which ends at the appropriate time with sincere negotiation. And to that end the United States can make a practical effort that would be highly appreciated.

72. Statements that we hear in the General Assembly can create an atmosphere. However, they are but empty words if they are not followed by action—deliberate and effective action. The Secretary-General has our full confidence in seeking ways and means that will enable us to accelerate the process of applying the Declaration. We shall spare no effort to help him in his task.

73. Meanwhile, peoples are suffering and struggling. We refuse to believe that their struggle is in vain. It is our duty to assist them by all possible means. The specialized agencies that have begun an effort along these lines should continue that effort.

74. It is important that the Secretary-General, with the assistance of the information services and the countries of goodwill, and aided by the non-governmental organizations participating in the work of the United Nations, should make known the cause of the peoples struggling for their freedom and the efforts exerted by the United Nations to help them in their struggle to be free. Meanwhile, until the desired negotiations are begun, this campaign should of necessity be launched through the great information media so as to create a climate favourable to the liberation movements of the peoples and guide public opinion toward a reaction in favour of those peoples. Thus history will not

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, 1669th meeting.*

just stand marking time. For, Mr. President, as you so well put it in your inaugural statement,

“Healthy world development requires that the effects of the historical injustices of the age-old domination of colonialism should be speedily and effectively wiped out.” [2032nd meeting, para. 45.]

May all people of goodwill work toward that noble goal!

75. Mr. ALHADAD (Yemen): Since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, the United Nations has unswervingly reaffirmed its commitment to the principle of self-determination enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

76. During the twenty-fifth session, the commemorative session, of the General Assembly, the United Nations celebrated the tenth anniversary of that historic Declaration. Furthermore, the third world and the movement of non-alignment, to which my country belongs, enthusiastically acclaimed that Declaration and have since given it their unconditional support.

77. My delegation notes with gratification the decision of the Fourth Committee to grant observer status to the liberation movements,⁶ a decision which corresponds to a similar decision taken by the OAU and the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Georgetown, Guyana, in August 1972.

78. However, according to a United Nations document, there are still over 28 million people who continue to be denied their basic right to self-determination and freedom,⁷ and in many instances the peoples of those Territories are being subjected to the most inhuman practices, comparable only to the methods and practices of the Zionist authorities against the people of Palestine.

79. The United Nations has adopted several resolutions calling on the colonial Powers to end their colonial rule and to recognize the legitimate right to self-determination of the peoples under their domination. But the colonial Powers continue to defy the authority of the United Nations. Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), geographically located on the African continent and separated from Portugal by thousands of miles, are called “overseas provinces”, according to Lisbon. Certainly, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) are African Territories and will remain so, and the Portuguese should understand this. We suggest that the military allies of Portugal should also be made to understand this fact. The peoples of those Territories will surely defeat the Fascist oppressors and the myth of their military might. The revolutionary forces which oppose subjugation and human indignity are determined to wreck the colonial empire once and for all. The Portuguese colonialists should comprehend that they are only digging their own graves in Africa. Neither the Portuguese nor their military allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] can change this determina-

tion. Unless the Portuguese colonialists stop their military operations against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), violence and bloodshed will continue to be the main features in those areas. If the Western Powers are so concerned about violence, they should themselves terminate their crimes and acts of violence against the Africans and the Viet-Nameese peoples. As long as the peoples in Africa and Indo-China continue to be the targets of military operations and bombardments, violence will continue to be escalated on an immeasurable scale. The colonial Powers have demonstrated their unwillingness to listen to reason. The only course of action left for the people of the occupied Territories is armed struggle in order to end their sufferings. We, in this connexion, salute their determination and their sacrifices.

80. In Namibia, violence and crimes are daily being perpetrated against the indigenous population, despite repeated appeals by our Organization. The Government of South Africa has persistently disregarded the authority of the United Nations and, subsequently, the wishes of the Namibians.

81. My delegation has given its unconditional support to the United Nations resolutions in this respect. It is, however, regrettable to note that the United Nations has been hampered by the behaviour of certain Western Powers which have not hesitated to abuse their membership in the United Nations, and particularly in the Security Council, in order to prevent any positive step by the Organization in the direction of justice and humanity. The entire United Nations and the world at large remember well the United Kingdom veto of a draft resolution at the 1666th meeting of the Security Council and also remember well the United States veto at the Council's 1662nd meeting which prevented the Council from adopting a resolution that called for a cessation of all military operations in the Middle East.

82. The Government of Pretoria finds it convenient to defy the authority of the United Nations since it enjoys the collaboration of other racial régimes, in Tel Aviv and Salisbury. The report of the United Nations Special Committee on *Apartheid* [A/8722] has revealed the extent of this collaboration. The Zionist authority in occupied Palestine has granted South Africa the right to manufacture under license Uzi sub-machine-guns to be used against the freedom-loving Namibians. The United Nations is duty-bound to pursue this flagrant violation of the Charter and should act decisively and with responsibility.

83. My delegation expresses its full solidarity with the people of Namibia in their legitimate struggle for freedom and emphatically condemns the creation of the Bantustans, aimed at destroying the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia.

84. Southern Rhodesia is another area of human suffering and misery. The Security Council has in its resolution 277 (1970) described the situation as grave and “constitutes a threat to international peace and security”. The United Kingdom is, in our view, responsible for the tragic events which are now taking place in Rhodesia. The United Nations documents stand as evidence of this fact. As early as 1946, when the General Assembly of the United Nations approved the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories [reso-

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Fourth Committee, 1975th meeting.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 1A, para. 113.*

lution 66 (I)], the United Kingdom insisted that Southern Rhodesia did not come under the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter. Southern Rhodesia was subsequently omitted from the list and remained under British administration. However, the United Kingdom failed to furnish the United Nations with information regarding it.

85. Since 11 November 1965, when the illegal racist régime of Ian Smith declared unilateral independence, the United Kingdom has been flirting with the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia. The United Kingdom has thus been in isolation from the international community. The people of Zimbabwe have made it clear that independence before majority rule is nothing but a continuation of the colonial racist domination. The United Nations and the world community have expressed their indignation at the attitude and behaviour of the United Kingdom. In fact, the so-called dialogue is a comedy which pleases only the actors. The international community has voiced its support for the legitimate aspirations of the Zimbabwe people to majority rule before independence and the immediate release of all their nationalist leaders.

86. If the United Kingdom continues to abdicate its responsibility by allowing the racist minority and illegal régime to subjugate the Zimbabwe people, it is incumbent upon our Organization to prevent the continuation of this tragedy, which is an affront to the dignity of man and the principles of the Charter.

87. Mr. GABRE-SELLASSIE (Ethiopia): The fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly is perhaps best remembered for the historic decision it took by adopting the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Declaration, contained in resolution 1514 (XV), stands as a document of signal importance, for it proclaimed the absolute necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. By declaring the further continuation of colonial domination to be contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation, the Declaration explicitly required, in one of its operative provisions, that:

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

88. We cannot deny the initial catalytic effect of this Declaration, for it was clearly instrumental in bringing about the emancipation of some 30 countries from the colonialist yoke within the short span of 12 years. Furthermore, because of the conspiracy of vested interests in southern Africa, and, because of the assistance of their allies, the rate of progress in implementing this important Declaration has been slow.

89. While Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia have so far effectively blocked the

application of the Declaration to the Territories which they hold under their domination, their supporters and protectors have sustained them both by furnishing them with the instruments of suppression and by shielding them from effective international actions.

90. Whereas the Governments in Lisbon and Pretoria, as the Governments of States Members of the United Nations, have to account for their persistent defiance of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, in the case of Zimbabwe one might have thought that the administering Power would at least face its responsibilities as regards the 5 million Africans under its *de jure* administration.

91. Backed by the immense arsenal of deadly weapons, Portugal is still engaged in a futile attempt to retain Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), which it inappropriately claims as its overseas territories. The result is an unprecedented war of genocide against the African population in these Territories, for Portugal has been able to control large urban centres and not the countryside as a whole in all these areas. As witnessed at first hand by the Special Mission of the United Nations which visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) last April, the battle for liberation being waged by African freedom fighters is being intensified not only in Guinea (Bissau) but also in Angola and Mozambique.

92. While the inexorable tide of events is clearly against Lisbon, which is fighting a losing battle in one of the last strongholds of colonialism in southern Africa, what is most disturbing is the fact that Portugal is determined to leave its African colonies a completely devastated wasteland. To this end, chemical substances and defoliants have been employed by the occupation forces on African soil.

93. Nor is Portugal content merely with its illegal and wanton actions in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), for these Territories are used also as a springboard for premeditated aggression against neighbouring independent African States. All these acts in defiance of the Charter and decisions of the United Nations must surely be strongly resisted by the international community.

94. South African is also persisting in its refusal to withdraw its administration from the international Territory of Namibia. Much as we wish the Secretary-General's initiative success, in the event of South African intransigence here again we must insist that this Organization shall not evade its responsibilities to the people of Namibia.

95. As regards the situation in Southern Rhodesia, the administering Power could conceivably take a more constructive course of action, even at this late stage, by organizing a constitutional conference in which all political groups in the Territory will have an opportunity to participate. We are convinced that such a course would be more in accord with the rules of fair play.

96. The fact that Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury have forged the closest political, economic and military co-operation among themselves has again been emphasized in the report of the Special Committee [A/8723/Rev.1], now being considered by the General Assembly. The same report also stresses the extent to which NATO assistance and the

participation of foreign economic interests in southern Africa have contributed to the continuing colonial and racial problems in that troubled area. The facts of the matter are not in question. What we must decide upon is how best and most efficiently we can move towards the eradication of these evils which are still prevalent.

97. The policy of violence being ruthlessly followed by the colonial and racist régimes in Africa has inevitably compelled those who seek their freedom and human dignity to resist. It was this conviction that led our Organization to recognize in the Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the United Nations [resolution 2627 (XXV)] the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples to achieve their freedom by all appropriate means.

98. During the same session of the General Assembly, a programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted [resolution 2621 (XXV)] to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on decolonization. The programme of action contained a set of measures to be employed by States Members of the United Nations in the effort to assist the full implementation of the Declaration. That resolution defines the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations as "a crime which constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the principles of international law". The resolution, furthermore, called upon all Member States to give their full assistance to the United Nations in the implementation of the Declaration.

99. But in spite of these and other decisions adopted by both the General Assembly and the Security Council, the goals laid down for colonial peoples in the Charter and the Declaration remain largely unfulfilled promises. The unavoidable result of this deadlock is the continuation of tension and bloodshed in Africa.

100. Under such circumstances, we, for our part, are heartened by the progress made by the nationalist forces in their struggle for freedom and independence. We are also encouraged by the support that is being given to them by some Member States. Here I should like to mention especially the Scandinavian countries, non-governmental organizations and some of the specialized agencies of the United Nations. However, in the realm of concrete assistance, we feel that their needs are now vastly greater than the assistance they have so far been able to obtain from the international community. The deplorable alliance that has been forged by the oppressors in southern Africa against the liberation movements in the subjugated Territories makes it incumbent upon those who cherish the ideals of freedom and liberty to increase their moral and material support for the struggle being waged in the noble cause of the dignity of man.

101. At the current session of the Fourth Committee, an important decision was taken to grant observer status to representatives of national liberation movements of southern Africa to enable them to participate in the work of the Committee whenever matters relating to their respective Territories are discussed. Once the United Nations had

confirmed for itself that there were in fact areas liberated by the freedom fighters, the action taken by the Fourth Committee to recommend to the General Assembly the granting of observer status was indeed logical. We consider it logical because it would not have been proper for the United Nations to continue to consider representatives of the liberation organizations as "petitioners", when in fact they represent the populations which live in the liberated areas.

102. It must also be remembered that the Economic Commission for Africa—a United Nations regional commission—has accorded associate membership status to these African movements which are waging the struggle for freedom. Furthermore, the OAU and the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries have already conferred such status on the representatives of the African liberation movements and have pledged to them increased moral and material support.

103. One of the serious problems faced by anti-colonial movements in Africa is the lack of sufficient public awareness regarding the extent of the struggle for self-determination and independence. Hence the United Nations must intensify its efforts to enlighten world public opinion about the dangerous consequences of denying millions of peoples their inalienable right to determine their own political destiny. In this regard, we hope that the International Conference for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa, scheduled to be held in 1973, will serve a useful purpose in mobilizing international public opinion against the evils of colonialism and racialism presently menacing peace and harmony in Africa.

104. The Ethiopian delegation would like to stress, once more, the imperative necessity of implementing, *inter alia*, the following measures to be adopted by the General Assembly during the current session.

105. First, all Member States should be called upon once again to refrain from supplying the instruments of terror and oppression to the arch-enemies of Africa; all Member States that have not complied with past decisions of the United Nations to that effect should be condemned.

106. Secondly, since the situation in southern Africa continues to threaten international peace and security, the General Assembly should draw the attention of the Security Council to the need for taking effective measures without undue delay. In this connexion, it might be also constructive if the Security Council were to envisage what measures could be taken against those States which have consistently ignored United Nations decisions on southern Africa.

107. Thirdly, in the face of the persistent defiance of Portugal and South Africa of the authority of the United Nations and the reluctance of the administering Power to restore legitimacy in Southern Rhodesia and implement United Nations decisions regarding the Territory, we believe that mandatory economic sanctions covering the whole area should be taken at once.

108. Ethiopia, together with other Members of this Organization, has always championed the cause of subjugated

peoples everywhere, ever since the establishment of the United Nations. I wish to assure the Assembly that my Government stands ready to co-operate fully with the international community in taking meaningful measures towards the eradication of the last vestiges of colonialism.

109. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation welcomes the priority that has been given this year to discussion in plenary meetings of the report of the Special Committee. It was not without reason that the African countries, supported by all the countries of the third world, requested such priority, and the granting of their request demonstrates that their concerns are those of the international community. There is no doubt that our debate today bears on one of the most important problems that have confronted our Organization since its creation and in any case one of the most urgent since the adoption more than 10 years ago of resolution 1514 (XV).

110. The Special Committee has regularly reported to the General Assembly on its activities, and the documentation thus provided unquestionably represents a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the problems of decolonization. Its unceasing efforts to discharge its mission and its constant concern to furnish the General Assembly with both comprehensive and objective information and with practical and far-sighted suggestions justify, in our opinion, the confidence we have always placed in it, which we should like once again to reaffirm this year. The report submitted to the twenty-seventh session deserves the same praise, and we are grateful to the Committee for the special efforts it has made since the last session to give the United Nations a better understanding of the situation in the Territories still subject to colonial domination. Because of the constant opposition of the administering Powers, it had been unable hitherto to dispatch special missions or hold plenary meetings except in the countries neighbouring those Territories and had had to confine itself to reporting the statements made by representatives of liberation movements and such findings as it made on the spot.

111. This year, for the first time, a mission of the Special Committee was able to penetrate a Territory under colonial domination and to make direct contact with the peoples concerned. This visit to Guinea (Bissau), notwithstanding the dangers and trials to which the members of the group were exposed, marks a certain success in the activity of the Special Committee and in its resolve to take the responsibilities entrusted to it with the utmost seriousness. The part of the Committee's report devoted to the visit [*A/8723/Rev.1, chap. X, annex I*] unquestionably provides information of the utmost importance and represents irrefutable testimony of the situation in the Territory and of progress achieved by the liberation movement in the struggle against the colonial forces and in the rehabilitation of the liberated populations. We wish to express our satisfaction at this to the Special Committee, whose activities deserve to be encouraged. The renewal of its mandate is essential, given the results already achieved, which give us grounds for hoping that this method of direct investigation now initiated in Guinea (Bissau) may be extended to other Territories still under colonial rule.

112. Over half the membership of the United Nations is made up of countries which have been subjected to colonial

domination. It will surprise no one, therefore, that the problem of decolonization is one of the questions to which we attach primary importance and in which we should like to see the international community play a more active and more effective role. The phenomenon of colonialism is indeed well known to everyone and no one any longer believes in its civilizing mission, still less in its humanitarian and disinterested character. As long ago as 1945 the United Nations Charter already included among its fundamental principles the need to abolish the colonial empires and to ensure the accession of their peoples to freedom and independence. An era of decolonization did in fact follow the proclamation of those principles. From 1956 onwards a considerable number of colonial peoples did accede to independence and have come to take their place in the United Nations.

113. That decolonization did not always take place without conflict and, sometimes, long and difficult struggle, in which the liberation movements found themselves pitted against the colonial Powers. In most cases it was effected against the will of those Powers, which stopped at nothing to prolong a colonial domination that was nevertheless contrary to the principles of the Charter to which they had subscribed.

114. The United Nations, in view of its universality and the prestige of its Charter, was in duty bound to play an initiating and supervisory role in the field of decolonization. It has in fact tried to respond to this ambition, often against the wishes of the Powers directly concerned. The interest it has always shown in this problem, which has been a distinguishing feature of its work since its inception, has increased as the newly independent countries joined its ranks. It is natural that those countries, more keenly aware than others of the misdeeds of colonialism, should be more impatient to combat its final manifestations and to hasten the liberation of peoples that continue to suffer from it.

115. It should, however, be noted that these questions of decolonization, because they arise every year and have been before us for consideration for so long, and also because the international community must confront other matters no less important and urgent, have finally become a sort of routine activity, a fact which blunts their interest and weakens their impact. It is true, of course, that the progress already achieved towards decolonization has considerably reduced the scope of the problem. Moreover, one cannot ignore the immediate dangers which threaten mankind as a whole and which have a priority claim on the vigilance and mobilization of international opinion.

116. But it is primarily against the numbness that is bred of this familiarity that we wish to act. For we must remind ourselves, and as often as may be necessary, that colonialism remains one of the real causes of the disorders that disturb the world equilibrium and that, while it is true that the gravest crises have always been engendered by encroachments on the liberty of peoples, colonial domination does represent a standing threat to world peace. The time has passed when a people isolated from the trends that are shaking mankind could resign itself to its fate. The winds of freedom which have blown across the world since the Second World War have reached every continent and have everywhere roused unconquerable aspirations towards overcoming all forms of domination.

117. The meetings of the Security Council in Addis Ababa earlier this year were for us—that is to say, for the African countries and for all the countries of the third world—a cause for satisfaction, for it reflected renewed interest in the problems of decolonization and gave us reason to hope that more resolute action would be initiated to find a solution. Today the General Assembly is devoting its first debate to that subject, and we think that this is more than a mere adjustment in the time-table of our work. This is to say how much we still expect from our Organization and its largest Members in the continuing task of emancipating the peoples, to which the Charter gave first priority in our modern world.

118. The report of the Special Committee which is now before us presents a comprehensive picture of the situation in countries still subject to colonial domination. It points up the singular privilege enjoyed by the African continent, which remains the one where the phenomenon of colonialism is still most widespread and most violent. Without in any way wishing to play down the importance of the problem in other parts of the world, we should like to confine our statement to the situation in Africa. Those are, of course, questions which concern us directly and which call in question the stability and security of African countries.

119. Our concerns naturally originate in the experience of each of our peoples, which have all known colonial oppression and which have often paid the highest price for their liberation. The OAU, in which we pool our hopes and our efforts, has set as one of its basic purposes the liberation of the whole of the continent from the grip of colonialism and is devoting to that task the better part of its energy and its means.

120. When we address ourselves to the United Nations and to the international community and appeal to them to continue the work of decolonization, we are aware that it is primarily ourselves, the Africans, upon whom it is incumbent to confront the responsibilities and accept the sacrifices necessitated by a struggle in which our future is at stake; but we are also aware that what is at stake goes far beyond the framework of Africa. It is in that sense that we understand the role that our Organization should play in combating with us colonial domination.

121. The fact is that this struggle pits us against States which are Members of the Organization and are present during this debate, and which will perhaps yet again come forward to defend their “civilizing and humanitarian” work for the benefit of peoples who do not appreciate the advantages of their “disinterested” presence and their “paternal” domination. Those peoples are not represented here and cannot directly express what it means to them to be deprived of their freedom, to have their wealth exploited or to suffer the daily humiliations inflicted on them by a permanent state of slavery, but we who have known the true face of colonialism, who have suffered this mutilation which has cut us to the quick of our dignity, would say it for them if they were not able to express it even better through a struggle which is growing stronger from day to day and fearlessly confronting the most powerful military means and the most inhuman methods of intimidation.

122. We shall have occasion to deal at length with the problems of Namibia, Rhodesia and so-called Spanish Sahara in the further course of our debate.

123. Portuguese colonialism, which is maintaining its implacable grip in Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique, gives us sufficient food for thought for us to pause a moment to consider it. Portugal, surely, represents the only true colonial Power in the world of today. If its empire of choice is in Africa, its tentacles extend as far as Asia, which makes its ambitions unquestionably incommensurate with its own size and the place it occupies in Europe and in the international community. Of all the countries of western Europe that plunged into the colonial adventure it remains the only one obstinately to refuse any change of heart, and to maintain its domination over territories that were conquered militarily at a time when the prestige of States was measured by the size of their colonial empires.

124. Portugal, however, became a Member of this Organization in 1955, and the pursuit of its colonial policy, in contravention of the principles of the Charter and in defiance of the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, puts it beyond the pale of international law.

125. The Territories administered by Portugal were defined as Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter in resolution 1542 (XV). Nevertheless, Portugal continues to maintain the fiction that those Territories are Portuguese provinces and that their problems fall within its domestic policies and its national sovereignty. That is an argument which has already been used by other colonial Powers when they were tempted to deny our Organization the right to consider the situation in Territories under their rule; yet we know that that claim did not impede the movement of decolonization through which those Territories acceded to independence. The affirmation of property rights to regions conquered by force of arms does not suffice to establish the legitimacy of a country's presence in territories that are clearly outside its national frontiers. Colonial expansion has constituted a veritable act of aggression against unarmed peoples, for the sole purpose of bringing them under a rule that deprives them of their freedom and gives over their wealth to exploitation by the invaders. No matter how long ago historically that aggression may have taken place, it cannot entitle anyone to territorial possession, particularly when it is vigorously contested by the real owners—and in the case of the Portuguese colonies in Africa colonial domination is not only being contested: it is being fought by the liberation movements, whose struggle is forcing the Lisbon Government to wage a war which has already been going on for several years, using military force that is daily increasing. There is no need to recall here the savagery with which the Portuguese Army is carrying on its repression and all the atrocities to which the African populations are subjected. The drama of the liberation struggle is everywhere the same, and the desperate attempts by the colonial Power to maintain its authority is matched only by its blindness in the face of an inevitable development, the outcome of which is beyond its control.

126. Portugal, for its part, is repeating experiences already undergone by countries that have attempted to resist the

liberation movement of colonial peoples. It is using the same methods, the same subterfuges, the same arguments in international bodies. But there is one lesson that it has not yet learned, and that is that all these attempts are finally doomed to failure because once the demand for independence has been unleashed, nothing can prevent it from growing until it has been completely satisfied. It would not be fitting for us to refer on every occasion to the example of Algeria, or to reopen wounds which we have wished to close once and for all; but what is now going on in the Territories under Portuguese domination, the steps taken and the declarations made by the Lisbon authorities, and even the methods used by those authorities, have much in common with the history of Algeria during the period of its national liberation struggle.

127. The Portuguese leaders should give serious thought to this precedent and draw the appropriate conclusions. It is in the respect for other peoples and their national identity and freedom that the greatness of a nation rests, not in the persistence of a rule which debases him who exercises it and arouses the resentment of him who suffers it.

128. The image of colonialism as a dispenser of the benefits of civilization to backward and impoverished peoples has long been outdated. The liberation struggle of the colonial peoples is perfectly in accordance with the principles of the Charter, which recognizes that all peoples have the right to choose their own destiny and to have equal access to progress and to a better life. This struggle has been recognized as legitimate by international organizations and by world opinion which, in general, is perfectly well informed of the situation in countries under foreign domination and will no longer accept the form of exploitation represented by colonialism.

129. To gauge the success of the liberation movements in the Territories under Portuguese domination, suffice it to consider Portugal's military expenditure which represents almost one half of its entire budget. It is hardly conceivable that that country could maintain such a war effort without external assistance, whose source appears clearly when one considers its friendships and alliances. This state of affairs cannot be explained by Portugal's claims that its war of colonial oppression in Africa is a crusade in defence of Western civilization. One might even suppose that the countries with anti-colonial traditions or which have succeeded in following the current of decolonization would manage to convince their ally to open up to the modern world and to abandon a backward policy which is in any case doomed to failure.

130. The liberation movements in each of the Territories under Portuguese domination are receiving more and more active support just about everywhere in the world where their programmes and objectives are now known and understood. Their organization is being improved and the growth of their activities is increasing their popular support in the very heartland of their struggle.

131. The report of the Special Committee's Mission which went to Guinea (Bissau) underscores the far-reaching work of rehabilitation being undertaken in the regions already liberated where they are proving themselves as educators, leaders and administrators. Their leaders, inspired by an

unshakeable faith in their cause and inured by the trials of a long and difficult struggle, are managing to ally the daily necessities of a struggle against an implacable and heavily armed enemy with the quest for solutions to problems concerning the future of their country. They are aware that they are participating in a movement which is shaking the world and which brings together in its ranks, in its forward march, all peoples aspiring to freedom and justice.

132. We have had the opportunity to hear statements by two of them, Mr. Amílcar Cabral of the PAIGC, and Mr. Marcelino dos Santos of FRELIMO, whom the Algerians have already known for several years and whose moral integrity and sincere militancy we appreciate. Their statements in the Fourth Committee do honour to all those who side with them in their struggle and display the maturity and awareness of their responsibilities that characterize the leaders of the liberation movements. We are glad that they had this opportunity of themselves making known their concerns and aspirations to the international community as a whole because they are the best interpreters of the feelings of their peoples and of their hopes.

133. The African countries unanimously support these liberation movements and are giving them unreserved material and moral assistance in a more and more effective manner. This is, of course, the expression of a natural solidarity on their part which closely associates them with everything that concerns the present and the future of peoples that are an integral part of the African community. But this attitude also springs from their conviction that their own freedom and their own security will be in danger so long as entire regions of their continent remain subject to foreign domination. These are no imaginary fears, but real threats that have already taken specific form in the acts of aggression by Portugal against Guinea and Senegal. Only a few days ago Senegal was the victim of such an attack, and such incidents will perhaps recur in a still graver form so long as a colonial presence persists in Africa.

134. It is one of the rare virtues of our Organization that since its inception it has encouraged the phenomenon of decolonization and thus contributed to the liberation of a number of colonized peoples. Many of us here can pay such a tribute and invite it to carry through to its conclusion an endeavour which is so well in keeping with the nature of its mission and the principles of its Charter.

135. We are, of course, aware of the limits of its possibilities, which rest first in the refusal of the colonial Powers to recognize that the Organization has a role to play in the work of decolonization and to comply with its decisions. This resistance must not discourage the international community from persevering in its attitude and in fully shouldering its responsibilities in a field which must no longer fall outside its supervision. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples provides the United Nations with a basis for action to complete the task it has undertaken for the emancipation of all peoples.

136. The results already obtained offer sufficient reason for strengthening the measures already taken and present a field in which broader and broader international solidarity is emerging. Peoples struggling for independence no longer

feel isolated in their struggle, and by recognizing the legitimacy of the liberation movements, by granting them its moral and material support, the United Nations has committed itself irrevocably to the path of decolonization.

137. The colonized peoples have the right to make known their claims and to break out of the circle of isolation in which the Powers that rule them wish to imprison them. None better than they can express their sufferings and their hopes, or say what they expect of us so that justice may be done them. The Organization cannot turn a deaf ear to their appeals, and it is our hope that it will give them an opportunity to address themselves directly to it, as do the countries that exercise over them a trusteeship they reject and combat.

138. The Special Committee has already done a great deal in that direction by going to collect on-the-spot evidence and by informing itself of their situation. We are happy to express our satisfaction at that, and once again to state the confidence we place in the Committee to carry through the mission assigned to it as concerns the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

139. Mr. MAGHUR (Libyan Arab Republic): Twelve years have passed since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. But even today, millions of the indigenous population in different parts of the world are still—under the eyes of the international community, and with the help of a segment of it—suffering from colonialism and alien domination. That means that the United Nations has failed to take concrete and effective measures to restore to those peoples one of their sacred rights—their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

140. The indigenous populations of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) are still suffering the evils of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. Despite the Declaration, the criminals and colonialists have united their forces and continue to defy this Organization.

141. The indigenous people in Zimbabwe are still deprived of their right to self-determination and independence. They are still suffering the evils of racism and oppression carried out by the illegal racist minority régime which the United Kingdom, the administering Power, has implanted. This is not the first time in its colonial history that the United Kingdom has implanted such a criminal and racist element. The United Kingdom did just the same thing in Palestine as it has done in Zimbabwe. The United Kingdom, as the administering Power of Zimbabwe, cannot under any pretense escape its responsibility for this problem. It has a responsibility to take all measures to put an end to the rebellion of the racist minority in Zimbabwe led by Ian Smith.

142. Last year we witnessed the manoeuvre by the United Kingdom to have a dialogue with that illegal racist minority régime. As everybody knows, the result of that attempt was zero, because the United Kingdom tried to ignore the right of the indigenous population. If the United Kingdom is really interested in reaching an honourable and final solution to this problem, it must negotiate with the true

representative of the indigenous population, and not with the leader of the rebellion. This principle has been reaffirmed by the General Assembly, but none the less the United Kingdom ignores that fact and negotiates with the illegal racist minority régime in an attempt to legalize its presence. The United Nations must give meaning to its resolutions and seek every possibility of ensuring their implementation so that the people of Zimbabwe will soon breathe freely.

143. The peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) continue to wage their legitimate armed struggle to restore their right to self-determination and independence, despite the repressive and Fascist war on the side of the colonialist Portuguese. Let us salute the just armed struggle waged by the peoples subjugated by colonialism and alien domination. Let us salute the armed struggle of the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) against the colonialist Portuguese.

144. In this connexion, one of the main events was the visit by a United Nations Special Mission to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau). That Special Mission witnessed the determination of the African people there. It witnessed also the use of napalm and chemical weapons by Portugal, and it witnessed the bombing of civilians and the destruction of the human environment in Guinea (Bissau) by the colonialist Portuguese.

145. My delegation believes that the United Nations should not stand by and merely witness all these crimes. It is the responsibility of the United Nations to help the liberation movements in their legitimate armed struggle and in developing the areas they have liberated.

146. The illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia still exists in spite of all the resolutions adopted by both the General Assembly and the Security Council. We all know that the Secretary-General is in touch with South Africa in the light of Security Council resolution 309 (1972). Nevertheless, my delegation would like to state the following.

147. First, the presence of South Africa in Namibia is illegal, and South Africa must withdraw immediately.

148. Secondly, South Africa's Mandate over Namibia was terminated by the General Assembly in its resolution 2145 (XXI). Since then, the United Nations has had the direct responsibility of administering the Territory through its Council for Namibia.

149. Thirdly, we condemn the policy of *apartheid*, a crime against humanity practised by South Africa against the indigenous population of Namibia.

150. Fourthly, the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia should be preserved. In this respect, the policy of establishing "Bantustans" followed by South Africa to destroy the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia should be condemned. We should note that South Africa pursues that policy even after its contacts with the Secretary-General.

151. Fifthly, we condemn the collaboration between South Africa, Portugal and the illegal racist minority régime. We all know that such collaboration aims at perpetuating colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

152. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call upon the representative of the Democratic Yemen, who wishes to raise a point of order.

153. Mr. ISMAIL (Democratic Yemen): Mr. President, I thank you for calling on me again on a point of order. As a matter of fact, I do not intend to elaborate on the point of order I raised while the representative of Israel was making his statement. Your ruling was very clear and very logical, and was in the spirit of the Charter. I did not at that time continue my explanation of what my intention was in raising the point of order, since I did not wish to interrupt the present discussion of this most important item before us.

154. Your ruling, Sir, was that the representative of Israel was speaking on behalf of Israel—just as any representative here speaks on behalf of his own State. It seems to me that that was a very important, indeed vital, ruling. Therefore, am I correct in understanding that whenever the Israel representative says “our Jewish people” or “Jews” instead of “Israel”, those words should be eliminated from his statement and replaced by the word “Israel”—if it fits, and if the Israeli representative so desires? That is my first point.

155. My second point is this. I am well aware that, outside the United Nations organs, every State is completely free to say anything on behalf of anyone. But in the United Nations organs we are committed to a Charter, to the fundamental rulings and the spirit of that Charter. Accordingly, and in conformity with your ruling, Sir—which met with no objection from any representative here, including the representative of Israel—whenever any spokesman of Israel says here in the United Nations that he represents the Jewish people, that is wrong and against the fundamental spirit of the Charter, more specifically, against Chapter I, Article 3.

156. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I think we all agree that under the United Nations Charter

every representative here speaks as the representative of a State. In the case raised by the representative of Democratic Yemen, the President considers that it would not be appropriate to rule on whether the comments of the representative of Israel dealt with the matter under discussion; the rules of procedure of the General Assembly allow each member to express his opinion on this subject.

157. Mr. ISMAIL (Democratic Yemen): I would not challenge your ruling, Mr. President, I respect your ruling. I think, however, that the Charter takes precedence over the rules of procedure. If I am right—and I hope, Mr. President, that you will correct me if I am not—the Charter says, in Chapter I, Article 1, paragraph 3, that one of the main purposes of the United Nations is

“To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion”.

The representative of Israel used the words “my Jewish people” 11 times. He said he was speaking on behalf of the Jewish people—what they have done in Africa, what they are doing for the peoples of the world. As you said, Mr. President, every member has a perfect right to say what he wants—but not when it goes against a fundamental Article of the Charter and a fundamental goal of the Charter. I hope I have now made myself clear.

158. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): As I have just said, our rules of procedure provide the possibility for every delegation to express its opinion concerning positions taken here by other delegations. In the specific instance concerned, it would not be appropriate for the President to rule on this point. If there are no further comments, I shall take it that we have disposed of the point.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.