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President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Slim (Tunisia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 18

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (continued)*:

- (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from French*]: If there are no objections, I propose that, as suggested by the President at the last meeting, the time limit for the closure of the list of speakers in the debate on this item and for the submission of draft resolutions or amendments be set at 5 p.m. today. That would enable the Assembly to vote tomorrow afternoon and so conclude its consideration of this agenda item before Friday, in accordance with its agreed programme of work. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts that proposal.

It was so decided.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from French*]: I wish also to remind members that, as agreed, on Friday morning, 12 December, a special plenary meeting will be held to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In this connexion, on the basis of consultations, it was

agreed that the following persons should be invited to speak on that occasion: the Secretary-General; the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Peoples and Countries, Mr. Abdulah of Trinidad and Tobago; the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Lusaka of Zambia; and the chairmen of the regional groups. Although many representatives had indicated their desire to speak, it was agreed that, owing to the very limited time at our disposal, the speakers should be limited to those I have just mentioned. I wish to thank members for their co-operation in this regard. Messages received from heads of States of heads of Government will be circulated as official documents of the General Assembly.¹

3. I shall now call on the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Abdulah of Trinidad and Tobago.

4. Mr. ABDULAH (Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples): As the Assembly is about to commence its annual review of the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], I wish, on behalf of the members of the Special Committee and on my own behalf, to express profound satisfaction at the fact that the debate this year is taking place with the participation of the representative of the independent republic of Zimbabwe as a sovereign State Member of the United Nations. Indeed, in connexion with the related work of the Fourth Committee during the current session, we have already observed the active and constructive contribution made by the delegation of Zimbabwe, and I have no doubt that Assembly deliberations on the item before us will be all the more enhanced by their presence among us today.

5. In my capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, I wish to draw the attention of members to the report of the Special Committee covering its work during the year 1980 [*A/35/23/Rev.1*].

6. The report, which relates *inter alia* to agenda item 18, is submitted in accordance with paragraph 12 of General Assembly resolution 34/94 of 13 December 1979, on the implementation of the Declaration.

7. As I have previously stated, among the positive developments that occurred during 1980, the accession of Zimbabwe to independence in April was in-

* Resumed from the 57th meeting.

¹ Subsequently circulated as documents A/35/752 and Add.1.

deed a source of particular satisfaction to the Special Committee, as it represented the culmination of a long and hard-won struggle, with bloodshed and sacrifices by the courageous people of that country. The attainment of independence by Vanuatu and the admission of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines as a Member of the Organization during the year were likewise cause for rejoicing by all of us, as those countries had been on the agenda of the Special Committee since its inception.

8. Another positive aspect of our work this year relates to the dispatch by the Special Committee of three visiting missions: two in April and November, to the Turks and Caicos Islands and one, in July, to the Cocos (Keeling) Islands. These visiting missions, as the Assembly has repeatedly recognized, play an invaluable role in enabling the United Nations to secure first-hand information on the political, social, economic and other conditions prevailing in colonial Territories, as well as in providing the means for directly ascertaining the wishes and aspirations of the people concerned with respect to their future status. With the continuing co-operation of the administering Powers, the Special Committee hopes to be able to dispatch further visiting missions as and when appropriate. In that connexion, the Special Committee has accepted with appreciation invitations extended to it by the Governments of New Zealand and the United States to send visiting missions in 1981 to two Territories under their respective administrations, namely, Tokelau and American Samoa.

9. During the year, the Special Committee continued its study of the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. As members are aware, on the basis of the Special Committee's recommendations on the subject, the Fourth Committee submitted to the Assembly its own recommendations, which were embodied in General Assembly resolution 35/28 of 11 November 1980. The Committee also continued consideration of the military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration, and adopted a consensus on the question [*ibid.*, chap. IV, para. 8].

10. The Special Committee also undertook an examination of the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations. Although the increasing level of assistance rendered to the peoples concerned, within the framework of UNDP and in co-operation with several specialized agencies, is indeed a welcome and encouraging development, the Special Committee considers that the support and assistance extended to date is still far from adequate in terms of the critical needs of those peoples. Thus, the Committee appeals most urgently to all organizations concerned to intensify their efforts in meeting the needs of colonial peoples. These and other considerations have been incorporated in resolution 35/29 adopted by the Assembly on 11 November this year on the related item.

11. With respect to Namibia, despite the efforts of the international community, the people of the Ter-

ritory have still not achieved their basic rights and fundamental freedom. The attitude of South Africa towards the efforts to bring about a just and peaceful settlement based on the free exercise by the people of Namibia of their inalienable right to self-determination within a united Namibia has been characterized by dilatory tactics aimed at maintaining and strengthening its illegal hold over the international Territory. Those considerations have informed the Special Committee's decision to condemn the minority régime of South Africa for its continued defiance of the decisions of the United Nations and to reaffirm once again the direct responsibility of the United Nations for that international Territory. The Committee also condemned the South African and other foreign economic interests which continue to plunder the human and natural resources of the Territory, and demanded that such exploitation cease forthwith.

12. The Committee deemed it incumbent upon the international community to intensify its support of the Namibian people and their authentic representative, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], in their just struggle to achieve independence and national unity in a free Namibia. In that connexion, the Special Committee called upon all Member States, specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to render all moral and material assistance to the oppressed people of Namibia. Furthermore, given South Africa's increased use of force to perpetuate its illegal domination, its refusal to comply with Security Council resolution 385 (1976) and its repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring States, the Committee recommended that the Security Council consider taking effective measures as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

13. As I have already had an opportunity to outline at the 9th meeting of the Fourth Committee during this session, the Special Committee has given extensive consideration to the situation obtaining in other smaller colonial Territories in 1980, including, as I have mentioned, the dispatch of three visiting missions. On the basis of the close scrutiny given those Territories, the Special Committee has submitted a series of recommendations specifically relating to the particular situation prevailing there.

14. As the Assembly has, on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee, already adopted over 16 decisions on the Territories concerned and as these decisions incorporate fully the relevant recommendations of the Special Committee, it is not my intention to dwell further on the matter. Suffice it to say that, pursuant to those decisions of the Assembly, the Committee will continue to engage the co-operation of the administering Powers concerned, review the progress being made towards independence by those territories and submit further recommendations thereon at the thirty-sixth session of the Assembly.

15. The Special Committee also paid considerable attention to the problem of publicity and dissemination of information on all aspects of the decolonization process. Bearing in mind the critical need to intensify activities in that field, the Special Committee recommends, among other things, that particular emphasis should be placed by the Secretary-

General on the widest possible dissemination of information concerning the struggle waged by SWAPO for the liberation of Namibia, that wider distribution of basic texts and resolutions adopted by the United Nations in the field of decolonization should be effected and that distribution of publicity material regarding decolonization should be increased through all United Nations information centres throughout the world, so as to mobilize public opinion in support of the peoples of the Territories under colonial rule.

16. As regards the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration, the General Assembly has before it a draft resolution containing a Plan of Action for the full implementation of the Declaration, prepared by the Special Committee for the Assembly's consideration [see A/35/413, annex II]. By adopting the Plan of Action, the Assembly would recommend, *inter alia*, that Member States should render all necessary moral and material assistance to the colonial peoples and intensify their efforts to promote the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council. The Plan of Action would also have the Assembly draw the attention of the Security Council to the need to continue to give special attention to those situations where the denial of the right of peoples to self-determination poses a threat to international peace and security and, in particular, to consider the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions, including an oil embargo, against South Africa and the adoption of mandatory measures to end all military and nuclear collaboration with the *apartheid* régime.

17. Before concluding, I should like to express my gratitude to the members of the Special Committee, and especially to my colleagues the officers of the Committee, Mr. Gelaga-King of Sierra Leone, Mr. Helskov of Denmark and Mr. Peňazka of Czechoslovakia, for their constant support, hard work and co-operation, which made my task as chairman infinitely easier. My deep appreciation also goes to the Secretary-General who has throughout the year assisted generously in all phases of the work of the Committee.

18. I should also like to pay a particular tribute to the Under-Secretary-General of the Department of Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization, Mr. Djermakoye, for his close co-operation and assistance in the discharge of my responsibilities.

19. Finally, I am certain that I reflect the general sentiments of the members of the Committee when I express the hope that it will not be too long before colonialism becomes a thing of the past and the realization of the universality of the membership of the Organization a joyful reality.

20. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from French*]: I now call on the representative of Ethiopia to introduce draft resolutions A/35/L.35 and A/35/L.36.

21. Mr. SEIFU (Ethiopia): It is an honour for the Ethiopian delegation to introduce, on behalf of the sponsors, draft resolutions A/35/L.35 and A/35/L.36 under the agenda item on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

22. Draft resolution A/35/L.35 entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of

Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" is an omnibus draft resolution addressing itself to the political, economic and military aspects of the process of decolonization. The operative part of the draft resolution reaffirms General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) and, furthermore, affirms once again the legitimacy of the struggle for independence by all the means necessary.

23. While approving the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the draft resolution also requests the Special Committee to continue its efforts to ensure the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Moreover, condemnation of the activities of foreign economic and other interests impeding the process of decolonization and a call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of military bases and installations from colonial territories figure high in the operative part of the draft resolution.

24. The catalytic role played by the United Nations in the process of decolonization is well documented and needs no elaboration on my part. However, to make this positive role of the Organization as well as the general process of decolonization widely known and appreciated, especially among those peoples still under colonial rule, we have submitted another draft resolution, which is contained in document A/35/L.36. The thrust of that draft resolution is, I believe, contained in operative paragraph 2, in which the Assembly

"Reaffirms the importance of effecting the widest possible dissemination of information on the evils and dangers of colonialism, on the determined efforts of the colonial peoples to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence, and on the assistance being provided by the international community towards the elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism in all its forms".

In that worthwhile endeavour special responsibility is given to the Secretary-General, to all States, to the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and to non-governmental organizations having a special interest in decolonization. In this regard I cannot but emphasize the imperative need for the full co-operation of the administering Powers, which the sponsors of the draft resolution hope will be forthcoming.

25. In view of the fact that this year marks the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the sponsors urge the adoption of both draft resolutions on this historic occasion, with the overwhelming support they so rightly deserve.

26. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): The Assembly is on the eve of marking the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights [*resolution 217 A (III)*], the anniversary of which we are celebrating today, and the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) have probably become the most important documents to be adopted by the Assembly

in its 35 years of existence. Indeed it is probably fair to say that the impact of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has in practical terms been even greater than that of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights since, 20 years after the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) and 35 years after the signing of the San Francisco Charter, colonialism has been eliminated from most of the globe.

27. The pioneering efforts of countries like India, which in the late 1940s brought to the attention of the Assembly the situation in the Territory today known as Namibia and the discrimination suffered in the then Union of South Africa by citizens of India and Pakistani origin, were further strengthened at the Asian-African Conference held at Bandung in 1955, which saw the first gathering of the leaders of countries of Africa and Asia. This in turn was to provide the impetus for the adoption by this body in 1960 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which has become a kind of freedom charter for mankind.

28. The opportunity which this occasion provides should give us cause for self-congratulation because in the 20 years since the adoption of that document some 45 countries, among them my own, and more than 100 million people have achieved freedom and independence. It should also give us cause for thought that there still remain 24 Territories listed as Trust Territories or Non-Self-Governing Territories and that political emancipation has not necessarily been accompanied by economic independence.

29. In southern Africa there still remain two major focuses of colonialism and racism: Namibia and South Africa. Thirty-four years have gone by since the question of South West Africa, as Namibia was then known, was first raised at the United Nations, 14 years since the Assembly declared South Africa's presence in Namibia to be illegal, 9 years since the International Court of Justice reaffirmed the illegality of South Africa's presence in Namibia and 27 months since the Security Council adopted its resolution 435 (1978) calling for the implementation of the plan put forward by the five Western Powers. To state that is to remind ourselves of the patience and forbearance that the international community has exhibited in handling this question. It is clear that if the United Nations is not to lose its credibility the time has come for action rather than words.

30. My Government would like to hope that the conference envisaged for the beginning of January—in which South Africa and SWAPO will take part—will lead to implementation of the plan along the lines laid down by the Secretary-General in his report.² I repeat that that is our hope, though it would take a permanent optimist to believe that there is a strong likelihood of success. However, if that optimism proves ill-founded and the conference turns out to be yet one more stalling device on South Africa's part, the time will surely have come for the Security Council to take the necessary action under the Charter of the United Nations to force South Africa to comply

with the legitimate demands of the international community. It is the just expectation of the African countries that no permanent member of the Security Council would use its so-called veto to prevent the adoption of appropriate measures; but irrespective of whether such measures are adopted it is clear that a major effort must be undertaken by the Organization to inform the world community, and particularly Western public opinion, about the situation in Namibia and about the need to impose effective measures against South Africa. That, in turn, requires a major publicity effort on the part of the United Nations to counteract South Africa's propaganda and that of its allies aimed at confusing public opinion about the realities of southern Africa.

31. There remain other colonial problems also, including those of the small Territories, which will continue to occupy the Organization in the years to come; hence the importance of the Plan of Action adopted by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

32. Operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution that accompanies the Plan contains an important provision in that it rejects any agreement, arrangement or unilateral action which ignores, violates, denies or conflicts with the inalienable right of peoples under colonial domination to self-determination and independence. I cannot imagine that any delegations present in this forum could possibly have any objections or doubts concerning that paragraph, for if they did it would suggest that there are Member States that believe that a treaty between two parties which denies the right of self-determination to the people of a colonial Territory, or a unilateral act that conflicts with that right, has legal validity.

33. That would imply that in 1980 the sale, purchase or transfer of Territories under colonial rule is still a legally binding transaction. We would thus be opening the doors to a new Congress of Berlin and we would be saying that sovereignty over a colonial Territory resides in the colonial Power and not in the people of the Territory, in contradiction to what the International Court of Justice had occasion to state in its advisory opinion on Western Sahara in 1975.³ Furthermore, the International Law Commission, in the course of its codification work, has on several occasions stated that the right of self-determination as embodied in resolution 1514 (XV) has become a peremptory norm of international law which admits of no derogation. It would thus seem appropriate for the General Assembly, on the twentieth anniversary of its adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), to state categorically the fundamental nature of the right to self-determination of peoples under colonial domination.

34. The Plan itself contains few new elements that have not been restated by the Assembly in the past. It has, however, the merit of bringing together the major elements which have evolved in the implementation of the Declaration: hence the reference to the activities and practices of foreign, economic and other interests operating in colonial Territories and the emphasis on the right of colonial peoples to permanent sovereignty over their national resources, an

² *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1980, document S/14266.*

³ *Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975, p. 12.*

aspect that will acquire vital importance with the forthcoming adoption of the new law of the sea convention in 1981, which will endow many small island Territories with large sea resources; hence, also, the reference to the need to discourage or prevent the influx of immigrants and settlers into colonial Territories. Here I would clearly include South Africa and occupied Palestine, since such an influx disrupts the demographic composition of those Territories and may constitute a major obstacle in the exercise of the right to self-determination by the peoples of those countries and Territories.

35. The Plan strengthens the mandate of the Special Committee to continue to exercise a supervisory role over those Territories which have not yet been able to exercise their right to self-determination and independence and further calls on the United Nations to intensify its efforts to disseminate information on decolonization by all available means including publication, radio and television.

36. This brings me to draft resolution A/35/L.36, concerning the dissemination of information on decolonization. The draft resolution does not contain any controversial points and I would hope that the Assembly will find it possible to adopt it by consensus. It stresses the importance of publicity as an instrument for furthering the aims and purposes of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and stresses the increasingly important role played by a number of non-governmental organizations active in the field of decolonization. It calls for an increase in output by the Information Unit on Decolonization, established within the Department of Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization by virtue of General Assembly resolution 3164 (XXVIII), and to that end calls on the Secretary-General to strengthen the Unit in personnel and resources, as recommended by the Special Committee in its report.

37. I am sure that I can speak on behalf of a large number of delegations when I say that the monographs and studies published by the Unit in the decolonization series have proved to be of particular utility and interest not only to our Missions and respective Foreign Ministries, but also to scholars and universities. The fact remains, however, that the Unit, as far as I know, is so understaffed as to be barely worthy of the name and it is clearly unable to produce the quantity of material that was envisaged when it was established. This is not a case of throwing good money after bad, but simply of ensuring that the Unit continues to publish the high-level material it has produced until now, and with greater frequency, as well as other materials of a less scholarly nature addressed to the general public.

38. As I stated earlier, political emancipation has not necessarily been accompanied by economic independence. African States are realizing that fact, after harsh experience in the development field, and have set up a programme of action aimed at resolving the difficult question of the strategy for economic development in Africa, known as the Lagos Plan of Action.⁴

39. It is my hope that when we meet again to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we will be celebrating the real independence, namely, economic independence, of all countries and peoples.

40. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) [*interpretation from Russian*]: Twenty years have passed since the day when at its fifteenth session the General Assembly, in its resolution 1514 (XV) adopted a document of historic significance—the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

41. On this occasion, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the URSS, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, has addressed to the thirty-fifth session General Assembly the following message:

“I am addressing you in connexion with the twentieth anniversary of an event which marked a milestone in the history of the struggle of peoples for freedom and progress: the adoption by the United Nations General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

“In that Declaration and the decisions adopted with a view to amplifying its meaning, the United Nations called for the elimination of all colonial régimes, proclaimed the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples for their national liberation, and called upon all States to give them material and moral support in that struggle. In so doing, the United Nations elevated the task of eliminating colonialism to the status of one of the cardinal problems of world politics and provided the national liberation movements with a clear and universally recognized frame of reference. This is one of the most significant achievements of the Organization throughout all its years of activity, and people in the Soviet Union are proud that it was their country which took the initiative of raising the question.

“In the years since the adoption of the Declaration all the colonial empires have been dismantled. The flag of national independence is now flying over scores of young States, which are making an ever-greater contribution to the solution of the fundamental problems of our time.

“However, colonialism has not yet been completely eliminated. The hotbed of colonialism and racism in southern Africa still survives. The inhuman system of *apartheid* in South Africa is a challenge to the Organization and to its decisions. The South African racists are maintaining their domination over Namibia. The Soviet Union considers that the United Nations has no more pressing task in its promotion of national liberation than that of bringing about the genuine independence of the Namibian people, whose sole legitimate representative is SWAPO, and eliminating the *apartheid* régime in South Africa.

“The Declaration must also be applied fully and without further delay to all other territories still

⁴ Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa. See A/S-11/14.

under colonial rule. It is the duty of the United Nations to make every effort to ensure that no people and no individual remain subjected to colonial oppression.

“Furthermore, the United Nations can and must speak out against all manifestations of neo-colonialist policy, the exploitation of newly-independent States by imperialistic monopolies, the plundering of their natural resources and interference in their internal affairs, the identification of their territory as “spheres of vital interest” of certain great Powers, or the establishment in their territory of foreign military bases and support facilities.

“The experience of economic and political nation-building in newly-independent States also confirms that it is essential to redouble efforts to avert the risk of war, to check the arms race and to maintain and strengthen détente, if these nations are to solve the complex problems which they face. Peace alone will make it possible to bring about a radical improvement in living conditions for their people and to put an end to the poverty, disease and cultural backwardness inherited from their colonial past.

“The Soviet Union, for its part, will continue to work with the utmost determination to strengthen peace, to consolidate détente, to terminate the arms race and to eliminate colonialism and its political, economic, social and cultural consequences once and for all. It is ready to co-operate with all States in an effort to attain these essential objectives of world politics.” [A/35/751-S/14294, annex.]

42. Over the past 20 years, the United Nations has made every effort to promote the early implementation of the Declaration. The United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has been attentively following the situation in colonial Territories and preparing relevant recommendations, and we should like to express our gratitude to the Committee for the work that it has done.

43. Every year the situation regarding decolonization is considered by the General Assembly. Summing up the results of the first decade following the adoption of the Declaration, the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session adopted a special Programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration [resolution 2621 (XXV)].

44. That Programme and other decisions adopted by the General Assembly have repeatedly confirmed the inalienable right of colonial peoples to fight by every means at their disposal against the colonial Powers which are crushing their aspirations to freedom and independence. At the same time, the Assembly called upon States Members of the United Nations to afford colonial peoples all necessary moral and material support in this struggle.

45. The Security Council has also repeatedly declared its support for the peoples struggling against colonial and racist régimes.

46. Over the last few years the national liberation struggle of colonial and dependent peoples, with the

support of all progressive forces in the international community, has achieved very significant successes. Vast colonial empires have collapsed, hundreds of millions of people have thrown off the yoke of colonialism and more than 50 new young States have embarked upon an independent existence. With every year those States have greater influence on the course of events in world politics and a larger role in international economic relations. The farsighted prediction, more than half a century ago, of the founder of the Soviet State, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, that the peoples of the colonies would assume a historic role after their awakening and take an active part in determining the fate of the world, is being fulfilled.

47. The young countries, having freed themselves from colonial oppression, must wage a fierce struggle against imperialism and at the same time solve the problems of eliminating the traces of their colonial heritage from all areas of their internal life and their international relations. Imperialism is doing everything in its power to put a brake on the movement of the liberated countries and peoples towards progress, bind them in the chains of neo-colonialism and continue to plunder their natural resources.

48. The Soviet Union has consistently supported the aspirations of all peoples to the earliest possible elimination of the burdensome heritage of the colonial past and the lawful demands of the developing countries for a restructuring of international economic relations on the basis of equality and free from all forms of discrimination.

49. The *sine qua non* conditions for the attainment of that goal are the safeguarding of international peace and security, the preservation and consolidation of international détente and the curbing of the arms race.

50. The impressive progress achieved in the process of implementing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples only serves to confirm the alarming fact that that process has not yet been fully completed. Colonialism, racism and *apartheid* are still poisoning the international atmosphere and are a dangerous source of tension and conflict and a threat to international peace and security.

51. Member States are particularly alarmed and concerned by the situation which has evolved in southern Africa. The bridgehead of colonialism and racism which has been preserved there represents an anachronism in current historical conditions—an aggressive and dangerous anachronism. More than 20 million indigenous inhabitants of the Republic of South Africa are subjected on their native soil to innumerable racist restrictions and the most brutal exploitation, terror and humiliation. Relying on the political, economic and military support of a number of Western States, primarily member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] and their transnational corporations, the racist régime of Pretoria is persisting in its inhumane policy of *apartheid* and is denying the oppressed people of the country their elementary political, economic and civil rights. It is carrying out arrests, repression and exe-

cutions among those who are struggling for the rights of the indigenous population of South Africa. The racist régime of the Republic of South Africa is perpetrating barbaric acts of aggression against neighbouring independent sovereign States and, relying on the broad and comprehensive support of the NATO countries, is building up its military and nuclear potential, thereby creating a constant source of tension in that area and a threat to peace and security both in Africa and in the world as a whole.

52. In spite of the numerous decisions of the United Nations, South Africa is continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia, barbarously exploiting that Territory's natural and human resources and is attempting to crush the national liberation movement of the people of Namibia led by its sole legitimate representative, SWAPO and to instal a puppet régime in Namibia. The continuing illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa is a direct result of the connivance of the Western Powers with the South African racists.

53. Numerous Non-Self-Governing Territories, scattered throughout the world's oceans and in a number of adjacent areas, are still in a state of colonial dependency. Those Territories are being widely used by the imperialist Powers, primarily the United States, for military purposes, through the setting up of military bases and strongpoints. The military bases in Micronesia, Guam, Puerto Rico, Diego García, Bermuda, the Turks and Caicos Islands and elsewhere, are designed to safeguard the military and strategic interests of the colonial Powers, for the purposes of crushing the national liberation movements and for intervention in the internal affairs of States. In their attempts to preserve their military strongpoints, the administering Powers are doing all they can to curb the decolonization process in those Territories and are imposing various kinds of status on them, such as "free association", "political union" and other forms of what is, in fact, annexation. Thus, in defiance of the Declaration on decolonization, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and by-passing the Security Council, the United States has undertaken unilateral action aimed at dismembering and annexing its Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

54. The Soviet delegation believes that the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be marked by the adoption of decisions designed to eliminate from the earth once and for all the remnants of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* and aimed at the full and rapid attainment by the colonial peoples of their lawful rights to self-determination and independence.

55. Those decisions should be aimed at the goal of providing all possible support to the national liberation movements in colonial countries. The people of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, has won a victory in its long and heroic struggle and has set us an inspiring example. Now, the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, has reached a decisive stage in its struggle for genuine independence. The oppressed people of South Africa is waging a selfless struggle for its rights. It is the duty of the United Nations to support the struggles of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa by

every effective means, including the application of effective sanctions against the Pretoria racists as provided in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

56. The decisions of the General Assembly should also promote the fullest and earliest possible conclusion of the decolonization process by halting the activities of the imperialist monopolies that are impeding that process and by calling for an end to all military activities and for the elimination of military bases on colonial Territories.

57. In the light of this, the Soviet delegation supports the draft resolution prepared by the Special Committee [A/35/413, *annex II*], which contains a plan of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as draft resolutions A/35/L.35 and A/35/L.36 on that subject submitted by a group of non-aligned and other countries.

58. The Soviet Union has always been and will always remain the true ally of peoples waging a fierce struggle to eradicate finally colonialism and racism, to overcome the consequences of colonialism, to consolidate their independence and to ensure economic and social progress.

59. Mr. KALINA (Czechoslovakia) [*interpretation from Russian*]: The adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly on 14 December 1960 was an act by which the Organization solemnly confirmed that it respected the aspirations of all the peoples of the world, both large and small, to freedom and independence.

60. If today, 20 years later, we speak of that important document as a historic one, we do so not because it has become part of the past. On the contrary, the Declaration, which was adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union, remains today as alive and as valid as ever, for in spite of the undeniable progress that has been achieved in the struggle against colonialism, it has by no means been possible to carry out in its entirety the task set forth in the Declaration, namely, the early and unrestricted abolition of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

61. Although a number of peoples that had been oppressed in the past, particularly on the African continent, have in recent years won their independence and have begun to eradicate their unhappy colonial heritage, we are today faced with the urgent task of achieving the final elimination of the last vestiges of colonial domination in the world.

62. Our delegation therefore wishes here today to confirm once again the fundamental solidarity of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic with all dependent, enslaved and non-self-governing peoples and to assure them of its support.

63. We are firmly convinced that the process of decolonization is irreversible, and developments that have occurred over the 20 years since the adoption of the Declaration give us every reason to believe that the day is not too far off when all those peoples that are still oppressed will breathe freely and when colo-

nialism will once and for all recede into the past, as called for in the Declaration.

64. The Czechoslovak delegation would like to remind those forces of imperialism and reaction that directly or in some indirect, disguised manner are still hindering implementation of the Declaration and those who have recently donned the mask of defenders of human rights with such relish, that any form of foreign domination and exploitation represents a violation of one of the most elementary human rights, the right to self-determination. It is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and poses a threat to world peace.

65. The right of peoples to self-determination and an independent existence is an inalienable right, as indeed is the right of all colonial peoples to fight for their independence with all available means. On the contrary, no one ever gave the colonialists and racists the right to continue with impunity to oppress others and to do violence to them. We therefore categorically condemn all armed or repressive actions against peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories to prevent them from attaining independence, and we call for the immediate cessation of such acts.

66. All subterfuges and machinations aimed at preventing those peoples which have not yet achieved independence from exercising their right to self-determination and independence are doomed to failure. It is illogical that those who for decades held colonial peoples in slavery and bear responsibility for today's difficult colonial heritage should now argue that the allegedly low level of political, economic, social and cultural development of the non-self-governing peoples justifies postponing the granting of independence to them. But none of those who like us, cherish the ideals of freedom, independence, self-determination and the equality of all peoples can be misled by such assertions, since we are all very well aware of what is behind those arguments.

67. We would stress that it is precisely the continued existence of colonialism that is hindering the social, cultural and economic development of the peoples and that it is contrary to the United Nations ideal of universal peace.

68. The Organization's decolonization efforts would have been more successful had they not run up against the overt or covert, but in any case selfish and cunning, manoeuvres of the forces of international imperialism and neo-colonialism, which run counter to the Declaration. Indeed, those forces are hypocritically doing everything in their power to preserve the *status quo*.

69. Even if those forces do everything they can, working individually or in groups, and even if they call their actions initiatives, mediation or contacts, their true goals are no secret to the national liberation movements or to the true friends of those movements. Can international colonialists and neo-colonialists really have a genuine interest in ensuring that oppressed peoples achieve independence and freedom and exercise their right freely to dispose of their own natural resources and wealth? Of course they cannot. Those forces have just one aim: to prevent colonial and dependent peoples from exercising their inalienable rights and to preserve at all costs their unrestricted domination.

70. In this regard, our delegation would like to stress that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic categorically rejects all neo-colonialist subterfuges and machinations. It does not and will not recognize any attempt to establish puppet States or Governments in Non-Self-Governing Territories. We therefore demand that the integrity of those Territories be respected. Any attempts to violate their territorial integrity or national unity are incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

71. We stress once again that the right of peoples of colonial and dependent Territories to independence is gravely threatened by the preservation or expansion of the military, naval or air force bases and facilities of the imperialist countries in those Territories.

72. The forces of international imperialism and exploitative capital which are pursuing their own selfish political, economic and militarily strategic interests in southern Africa and in a number of so-called small Territories have nothing whatsoever in common with the interests of peoples not yet free.

73. But we are convinced that, given the present balance of forces in the world, it is possible, by further strengthening and consolidating the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist front, to thwart the plans of the forces of world reaction and neo-colonialism. Today the national liberation movements and colonial and dependent peoples have, as they always had in the past, a true and honest ally in the world community of the socialist States, among them the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. No one will ever be able, try as he may, to disrupt that alliance.

74. Last year, too, a number of newly independent States appeared on the political map of the world and have become equal members of the international community and of this Organization. Even at the last session, both from this rostrum and in the Security Council when the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was a member of that body, we expressed our support for the exercise of the right to independence by the people of what was then Southern Rhodesia. Today the Republic of Zimbabwe is a Member of the United Nations—a nation which won its independence as a result of many years of heroic struggle against colonialism and racism. We are proud that our country showed its solidarity with the patriots of Zimbabwe and supported them in their struggle.

75. As a result of the victory of the people of Zimbabwe there has once again been a change in the frontier between independent Africa and the racist colonial complex in southern Africa. Nevertheless, the decolonization of southern Africa remains a major and most difficult task, on which we must continue to focus our full attention.

76. The Government of South Africa is still pursuing its *apartheid* policy and trampling underfoot elementary human rights, particularly those of the African population. Despite that Government's attempts to create an impression of liberalization, all it is really doing is perfecting and intensifying that inhumane system.

77. The solution to the problem of Namibia and the exercise by the Namibian people of its right to independence are being hindered by the obstructionist policy of the South African racists, who are still illegally occupying that Territory and who are attempting, with the help of their protectors, to play for time in order to carry out their neo-colonialist designs.

78. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic categorically condemns and rejects such attempts and reaffirms its solidarity with and its comprehensive and fundamental support, based on principle, for SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia.

79. We vigorously condemn the policy of *apartheid* and colonialism pursued by the rulers of South Africa and also strongly condemn those imperialist Powers which are co-operating with South Africa, granting the racists support and assistance in the military, nuclear and other sectors.

80. We wish to express our support for the intensification and all-round promotion of the struggle against *apartheid*. We call for the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa, pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter, which in the final analysis would force the racists to comply with United Nations decisions and prevent the Government of South Africa from continuing the attacks it commits with impunity against independent African States.

81. The Czechoslovak delegation highly esteems the important contribution of the United Nations and its organs, and above all the Special Committee, in bringing about the results so far achieved in the process of decolonization. For its part, the Czechoslovak delegation by its active participation has made a positive contribution to the work of the Special Committee. We view with optimism also the further action of the international community to bring about the final and total liberation of peoples from colonial domination, and we are firmly convinced that their just national liberation struggle will finally triumph.

82. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, side by side with other socialist States, has always been and will continue to be in the future on the side of the just struggle of colonial and dependent peoples. It is our intention therefore in the future, too, actively to participate in the elimination of obstacles and in the search for new and more effective ways of implementing the Declaration, in the interests of a final victory over colonialism throughout the world.

83. Mr. ROSE (German Democratic Republic): I should like to use this occasion to express our heartfelt congratulations to the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the successful conclusion of the space mission of three Soviet cosmonauts. That mission deserves our deepest admiration.

84. May I now be allowed to read out the following message which the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and President of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples:

“The twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is an occasion for me to reaffirm the solidarity of the German Democratic Republic with the peoples’ struggle for national and social liberation.

“The people of the German Democratic Republic welcomes the commendable progress achieved in eliminating colonialism. Since the Second World War more than 90 nationally liberated States have emerged which are making great efforts to overcome the vestiges of colonial rule and to resist neo-colonial dependence. Their commitment to peace, disarmament and equal international co-operation is highly appreciated. Together with them, the German Democratic Republic strives for international security, détente, universal implementation of the right to self-determination and a democratic restructuring of international economic relations.

“As a matter of fact, millions of people continue to live under colonial and racial subjugation. The right to self-determination and independence as manifested in the Declaration applies without exception to all nations. Therefore, the German Democratic Republic opposes all attempts to hamper decolonization and to misuse still dependent Territories for aggressive military purposes.

“The German Democratic Republic condemns the terror of the *apartheid* régime, its illegal occupation of Namibia and its aggression against neighbouring States, as well as the continued support of this régime by imperialist States and international corporations. The German Democratic Republic emphatically speaks out for the strict observance of the arms embargo, the prohibition of any nuclear collaboration with South Africa and for the implementation of comprehensive economic sanctions. It extends solidarity and support to the people of Namibia and its legitimate liberation organization, SWAPO, in the struggle for national independence and self-determination.

“The peoples will continue to fight until colonialism and *apartheid* have been completely eliminated, and they will score fresh successes in implementing their inalienable rights. I assure you, Mr. Secretary-General, that the German Democratic Republic will also in the future contribute to the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial countries and Peoples.” [See A/35/752.]

85. The adoption on 14 December 1960 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, on the initiative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, marked the beginning of a new chapter in the activities undertaken by the United Nations with a view to eliminating colonial oppression and exploitation.

86. In commemorating the anniversary of the adoption of that Declaration, we commend the successes of the national and social liberation struggle of the peoples, successes that have been achieved in a complicated struggle with great sacrifice, as has been proved by the latest example, namely the achievement of independence by Zimbabwe.

87. Two decades are a historically short period of time; however, during that period the political visage of our planet has changed considerably. The colonial empires of imperialism have broken down and the liberated peoples have become a mighty international force.

88. The peoples of the African, Asian and Latin American countries are on the point of emerging, shaking off colonial, racist and neo-colonialist enslavement and beginning a life of freedom, independence and social progress. On the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration we have to think also of the millions of people who are still denied their fundamental rights. We assure them of our concern and solidarity first and foremost.

89. For a long time now we have been facing a situation in southern Africa in which massive violations of human rights are coupled with dangers to the security of States. Southern Africa has developed into a dangerous hotbed of conflicts. The threat to peace emanating from the *apartheid* régime in South Africa has considerably increased. In the face of South Africa's efforts to obtain nuclear weapons, which has become possible only because of support from imperialist circles, that threat takes on a new dimension. The rulers in Pretoria are trying to preserve their power by means of brute force, they are continuing their illegal occupation of Namibia and escalating their acts of aggression against Angola and Zambia.

90. The illegal occupation of Namibia is continuing. It must be stated that South Africa, owing to the support rendered by certain imperialist States, has gained time and carried out a number of actions designed to strengthen its illegal rule over Namibia, which is to be perpetuated by the establishment of a puppet régime.

91. South Africa has expanded its military bases in Namibia and increased the strength of its troops to 70,000. Through the election farce of December 1978, the constitution of a so-called National Assembly and a Council of Ministers, the introduction of compulsory military service and the establishment of territorial armed forces, the so-called internal solution for Namibia is to be advanced. Moreover, South Africa and its close friends are doing everything to misuse the United Nations in order to undermine the position of SWAPO and to encourage its stooges in Windhoek so that Namibia, perhaps under a new flag, will continue, to remain under Pretoria's domination as a kind of bantustan.

92. The German Democratic Republic supports the opinion of SWAPO, outlined in a press statement on 26 November this year as follows:

"... the United Nations Secretary-General's report does not contain new elements which indicate racist South Africa's readiness to accept implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and 439 (1978)".

93. The occupation régime again stipulates preconditions in order further to protect the process of implementing those resolutions.

94. It is a neo-colonialist game concealed by nice words. "Impartiality" and "trust" are spoken of. As a régime that makes use of oppression and blackmail

and violates the Charter of the United Nations daily, South Africa has no right whatsoever to ask questions about the trustworthiness of the United Nations or about its impartiality.

95. The United Nations can and must advocate that Namibia gain its independence and that the Namibian people exercise their right to self-determination. It must demand that South Africa swiftly apply the resolutions adopted by the Security Council. It really is time now to discontinue the policy of concessions and appeasement that has been pursued with regard to the aggressor.

96. With regard to the small colonial Territories in the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans, the respective Administering Authorities are never at a loss in attempting to preserve their rule over those Territories by means of their military presence or by the more subtle means of neo-colonialist dependency. Guam, several islands of Micronesia, some colonial Territories in the Caribbean and Diego García have been converted into military bases which not only constitute a serious obstacle to the peoples striving for independence and self-determination but contribute to destabilization of the situation and pose a threat to the States and peoples of the region's concerned.

97. The increase in the military presence of the United States and other members of NATO in the Indian Ocean makes the dangerous character of that interventionist policy clearly seen. The repeated demands by the United Nations for the immediate dismantling of the military bases and other military establishments in colonial Territories and for the guaranteeing of the people's right to independence and self-determination must at last be met.

98. The liberty of Namibia and South Africa and the independence of all Territories still under colonial rule would have become a reality long since if all States had acted in accordance with the provisions embodied in the Charter and in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

99. Imperialist forces, however, are impeding the completion of the process of decolonization. Instead of supporting the liberation struggle they are depriving the oppressed peoples of the right to defend themselves by every means against the colonialists and racists. Instead of working for the isolation of the South African racist régime they are expanding their collaboration with it and propping up its rule. Instead of advocating the protection of the natural resources of the colonial peoples they are exploiting those resources. Those forces are well-known. They are precisely those imperialist States and corporations which time and again have been named in United Nations documents, as, for instance, recently in the resolution on the activities of foreign economic and other interests. They are the same forces that are seeking to include the whole of Africa in the range of NATO's activities, to forge a new military alliance in the south Atlantic and to spread a network of imperialist bases over the Indian Ocean.

100. The South African Foreign Minister's call on the Secretary-General of NATO speaks for itself. NATO's interest in southern Africa was only recently

emphasized in an interview given by its Secretary-General to the French news agency, Agence France-Presse.

101. All forms of violation of the people's inalienable rights and denial of the exercise of those rights which are practised in southern Africa and elsewhere have one thing in common: they aim to prevent the peoples from deciding their own fate and choosing their own road to socio-economic progress, and they pose a danger to international security. In this context, we should like to draw attention to the document entitled "Meeting of leading figures from the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty" held in Moscow on 5 December 1980, which states *inter alia*:

"The participants in the meeting noted that... in various regions of the world there remained hotbeds of military confrontation and tension. New conflicts were emerging. The situation called for increased vigilance vis-à-vis the aggressive efforts of the imperialist forces and the attempts of reactionary circles to harm the positions of socialist countries, the developing countries, and the national liberation movements." [A/35/785-S/14301, annex.]

102. The comprehensive and consistent implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is a crucial issue, now as before. The United Nations must contribute to the definitive eradication of colonial and racial oppression by adopting appropriate resolutions and implementing them. This is an obligation which Member States have undertaken in the Charter. It is necessary to point out clearly the impediments obstructing the process of decolonization and to help to overcome them.

103. With regard to southern Africa, all experience has shown that good words only encourage the racist régime in its intention to continue the policy of *apartheid*, occupation and aggression. Therefore it is imperative to put into effect immediately those measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, as has been repeatedly demanded in General Assembly resolutions.

104. The German Democratic Republic most resolutely demands that the following measures be taken against South Africa. First, the Security Council must consistently supervise the strict observance of the arms embargo binding on all Members. Secondly, the arms embargo must be extended to all fields of military and nuclear collusion with South Africa. Thirdly, comprehensive economic sanctions, in particular an oil embargo and the cessation of investments, must be imposed.

105. The draft plan of action prepared by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples concerning the rapid and complete implementation of the Declaration meets with the unrestricted approval of the German Democratic Republic. It focuses on the major problems with a view to eliminating all remnants of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* and reflects the demands put forward by the majority of States.

106. The oppressed peoples expect that plan to be strictly implemented, without reservations or a watering down of its contents. The German Democratic Republic will advocate the immediate translation of that plan into reality. Our political, diplomatic and material support belongs in particular to the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and to their legitimate representatives, the national liberation movements of the African National Congress and SWAPO, respectively.

107. That is the policy which the German Democratic Republic has decided to pursue in the future as well.

108. Mr. AFSARUDDIN (Bangladesh): Since the founding of the United Nations in 1945 nearly 100 nations whose peoples were formerly under colonial rule have joined the world Organization as sovereign independent States. In this transition of millions of people from colonial domination to freedom, the United Nations has played a crucial role. The decolonization effort of the United Nations, which has given impetus over the years to the aspirations and struggles of dependent peoples, derives from the Charter, which asserts the principle of "equal rights and self-determination of peoples". Three separate Chapters XI, XII and XIII which, *inter alia*, provide for the international trusteeship system, stress the importance which this Organization attaches to that task.

109. By 1960, 30 Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories had attained self-government or independence. That was considered by many people to be slow and not in keeping with the urgent demands of the dependent peoples to be free of colonial domination. The result was the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. As the Secretary-General said at the time,

"the adoption of the Declaration was an act of conscience on the part of the international community. It was a clear affirmation by the General Assembly of the right of peoples under colonial domination to share fully in the benefits of the Charter and of its determination to eradicate once and for all colonialism, which it saw as a major impediment to the achievement of world peace and genuine international co-operation".

110. The 1960 Declaration stated that the process of liberation was irresistible and irreversible and that "all armed action or repressive measures of all kinds against dependent peoples should cease so that those peoples might peacefully and freely exercise their right to complete independence. Paragraph 5 of the Declaration also called for immediate steps to 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". The role played by the Special Committee in this regard is commendable.

111. Twenty years have passed. There has been a steady progression towards the implementation of the Declaration and towards the achievement of decolonization. That has, however, not been universal. It is true that the sacrifice and determination of the peoples of the world have given us Zimbabwe and the

burgeoning growth of the membership of the United Nations. The acknowledgement of the dignity and worth of the human person has, however, not been achieved. Open wounds still scar the visage of humanity. Our brothers in Namibia, southern Africa and certain other Territories are still suffering their tragic fate. Violence and hatred have made a mockery of the international will and the conscience of mankind.

112. The hope which the international community had placed in resolution 1514 (XV) still remains unfulfilled. A speedy and unconditional end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations has not yet been secured. The yearning for freedom has been thwarted by intrigue and the lack of political will on the part of some of the administering Powers.

113. The question of Namibia has been a case in point. The continued defiance and intransigence of South Africa have prevented the valiant people fighting there from living in honour and dignity. There exists today even more than before a need to reaffirm our support for the people of Namibia and for the international community to resolve to assist in the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the people of Namibia. We have mentioned so often in various meetings that such a solution is of course dependent on the end of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, so that the people of that Territory can exercise freely their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and National independence through democratic elections under the auspices of the United Nations. We also take this opportunity to reaffirm our pledge of continued support and commitment to SWAPO in its just struggle for the liberation of Namibia.

114. The continued existence of colonial vestiges constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. The intensification of the activities of certain foreign economic, financial and other interests, which continue to exploit the natural and human resources of the colonial Territories and which accumulate and repatriate huge profits to the detriment of the interests of the inhabitants, has further exacerbated the situation. Steps must be taken to avoid further deterioration. All Governments should take legislative, administrative or other measures in respect of their nationals and the corporate bodies under their jurisdiction that own and operate enterprises in the colonial Territories in order to put an end to such enterprises and to prevent new investments which run counter to the interests of the inhabitants of those Territories.

115. In addition to this, the international community must make serious efforts to co-operate fully with the Committee of the Security Council concerned with the question of South Africa which was established under Council resolution 421 (1977). Military collaboration, including the dispatch of arms and arms-related materials to South Africa, must cease. We all know that such arms are being used for furthering the racist intentions of the South African Government in southern Africa, including Namibia. In this regard, we would also urge all Member nations to provide such information as may be sought by the Committee of the Security Council.

116. It will be a severe indictment of the conscience of the civilized world if the last vestiges of the colonial pockets cannot be liquidated owing to the obduracy and lack of perspective of certain countries. For the sake of peace and progress, stability and international security, the process of decolonization must be completed with speed and dispatch.

117. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): Before beginning my statement, I should like to deliver the text of a message from the President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic to the President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly on the occasion of the commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That text reads as follows:

“On behalf of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Hungarian people and on my own behalf, I extend my greetings to the session of the General Assembly on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The adoption of this historic document at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly gave a new stimulation and impulse to the devoted struggle for the final liquidation of the colonial system during the past 20 years. The peoples living under colonial oppression and exploitation have achieved considerable successes in their struggle for the attainment and strengthening of political and economic independence of their countries. As a result of this a great number of countries suffering earlier under the colonial yoke have entered on the road of independent development. The adoption of the Declaration was an important milestone in the history of the United Nations and became an effective instrument of the world Organization in the struggle for the liquidation of the colonial system.

“The Hungarian People's Republic is in solidarity with the peoples fighting against colonial oppression and with the liberation movements and according to its possibilities assists actively their struggle. It condemns the policies of the colonial and racial systems and supports resolutely the efforts aimed at the full implementation of the provisions laid down in the declarations of the United Nations. Finally, I should like to express my hope that the present session of the General Assembly will adopt further effective measures in the interest of an early, complete and final liquidation of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.” [See A/35/752.]

118. Shortly after the Second World War, in 1946, the first list of Non-Self-Governing Territories contained in General Assembly resolution 66 (I) enumerated 79 countries that were still suffering as colonies, Non-Self-Government Territories or Trust Territories under the domination of Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States. As a result of the struggle of the oppressed peoples, 14 countries achieved independence or were united with neighbouring States before 1960. In an attempt to stop that development and to prevent the involvement of the United Nations, the administering Powers—the colonial Powers, in fact—unilaterally took the 15 most

important Territories off that list between 1946 and 1960.

119. The oppressed peoples needed the help of the United Nations to unmask the colonialist and neo-colonialist manœuvres and to mobilize the progressive Powers of the world in promoting the cause of the colonial peoples. Recognizing that need, and acting on the initiative of the Soviet Union, 43 nations submitted a draft resolution to the General Assembly at its fifteenth session, in 1960, which was adopted as resolution 1514 (XV) by an overwhelming majority. That resolution entered colonial history as the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The accession of 18 African countries to independence also marked that year as a turning-point in the history of decolonization.

120. After 1960 the process of decolonization accelerated, largely owing to the increased efforts of the United Nations to help the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples in the spirit of the Declaration. Between 1960 and the present day more than 60 countries have become independent. A comparison of the figures—14 countries by 1960, and 60 today—shows the real importance and effectiveness of the Declaration.

121. This positive picture, this promising development of which I have been speaking, is but one side of the coin. In addition to Namibia, which has been illegally occupied by South Africa and exploited by Western economic interests, 22 other Territories are still on the Special Committee's list as Trust or Non-Self-Governing Territories. If we go into detail and try to analyse the reasons for the survival of the remnants of the colonial system, we find the question of foreign economic and other interests to be of crucial and fundamental relevance since colonization began for economic reasons and its last vestiges also rest on economic interests. That was recognized by the United Nations long ago, and the Fourth Committee has also focused its attention on this issue at the current session. Nevertheless, some assume that the multinational corporations are not impeding the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions on decolonization. On the contrary, we call into doubt the attitude of those so-called good corporations since we know perfectly well that they are not social welfare institutions, that they subordinate the destinies of whole nations to their profit interests and that they do not in the last care about the interests of any one of the countries or peoples affected.

122. We should be mistaken if we were to fail to mention that the imperialist Powers do not hesitate to use military force to ensure their economic and political interests.

123. In Namibia the South African Government has continued to expand its network of military bases, and it has carried out a massive build-up of its military forces in the Territory to perpetuate its illegal occupation and to prevent the achievement of genuine independence by the people of Namibia. In escalating the war and the political campaign against the Namibian people and its liberation movement the racist régime is trying to install a puppet régime in an at-

tempt to ensure that Namibia's political future is decided to that régime's advantage.

124. As far as other colonial Territories are concerned, the Special Committee on decolonization has several times deplored the establishment and maintenance by the colonial Powers and their allies of military bases and other installations in the colonial Territories under their administration. We condemn all military activities in those Territories that are detrimental to the interests and rights of the colonial peoples and that pose a threat to peace and international security. We reject the arguments of some countries that maintain such military installations, asserting that military bases do not impede implementation of the resolutions on decolonization but that on the contrary they benefit the inhabitants of the Territories by creating employment for them. The Special Committee long ago pointed out that the large-scale utilization of local economic and manpower resources for this purpose—that is, for the maintenance of military bases—diverts resources that could more beneficially be utilized in promoting the economic development of the Territories concerned and is thus contrary to the interests of their populations.

125. The Government and people of the Hungarian People's Republic firmly believe that the most important step in the further process of decolonization must be to solve the Namibian problem through the full implementation of all the relevant United Nations resolutions which, in particular, impose a total arms and economic embargo against the racist Pretoria régime.

126. Concerning the other Territories, the crucial issue remains that of the economic and other interests as well as the military activities and arrangements that impede the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

AGENDA ITEM 21

Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity: report of the Secretary-General

127. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from French*]: I shall now call on the representative of the Sudan, who will introduce draft resolution A/35/L.29 and Add.1 on behalf of the group of African States.

128. Mr. ABDALLA (Sudan) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: Last year, the Assembly examined the item on co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [OAU] which reflects, on the one hand, the desire of African States members of the OAU to strengthen and develop the co-operation between those two organizations and, on the other, the fact that the international community, represented by the Assembly, wishes to ensure this co-operation, and make it broader and more general. The interest among African countries in that co-operation has been manifested by the statements made at successive sessions of the General Assembly by the Chairman of the OAU Assembly. This year it was the President of Sierra Leone who addressed the

General Assembly at the beginning of the present session [8th meeting] as current Chairman and particularly stressed the importance of co-operation between the two organizations.

129. Co-operation between the OAU and the United Nations is the natural outcome of the work of the two organizations, which wish to ensure international peace and co-operation in the political, economic and social fields in a world which is ever more intimately bound together and complementary. Although the geographical framework of the two organizations is not the same, the efforts of the OAU are complementary to the mission and the objectives of the United Nations.

130. Africa is the continent which suffers most from and is most vulnerable to political, economic and social problems, as well as being exposed to natural calamities of all kinds. Southern Africa is still groaning under the yoke of racism and colonialism. Africa is the continent which is the poorest and the least developed and which suffers most from the disequilibrium of international relations at the present time. Furthermore, aside from those problems, Africa is vulnerable to drought, floods and various disasters which further accentuate a constantly deteriorating economic situation.

131. It is also necessary to mention the millions of African refugees, who place a heavy burden on Africa's limited resources, particularly since Africa contains two thirds of the least developed countries of the world.

132. The United Nations and the specialized agencies have taken an interest in the problems of Africa and are trying to find solutions, but the size and the intensity of those problems make necessary closer co-operation between the two organizations and greater participation on the part of the international community represented by the United Nations. The most urgent problem is that of southern Africa, and Africa expects the United Nations to fulfil its responsibilities by bringing about the rapid independence of Namibia, putting an end to the *apartheid* régime in South Africa and ensuring majority government in that country.

133. With regard to economic problems, we hope that the United Nations will complement the efforts of the OAU in the field of the economic and social development of Africa as provided for in the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, which was adopted at the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU—the first conference devoted to African economic questions—, held at Lagos on 28 and 29 April 1980. We hope to see the application of the Lagos Plan forming part of the over-all International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations development Decade, particularly as regards the Transport and Communications Decade in Africa and the Industrial Development Decade for Africa.

134. Africa notes with regret that the role of the United Nations has not been commensurate with the importance of the problem of the refugees in Africa, who constitute half of all the world's refugees. We

should like to see this session approve the holding of a world pledging conference for African refugees next April and we hope this will be a positive and serious point of departure so that the international community can take a proper interest in the plight of the African refugees.

135. The General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session adopted resolution 34/21 on co-operation between the two organizations with a view to strengthening that co-operation, primarily by the holding of meetings between representative of the two secretariats. One such meeting took place in Nairobi from 5 to 7 June this year and produced proposals and decisions to strengthen co-operation between the two organizations [see A/35/446]. The need for periodic consultations on questions of joint interest was also noted. We hope that the next joint meeting, which will take place in 1981, will succeed in working out ways and means of ensuring the necessary co-operation.

136. On behalf of the group of African States, the delegation of my country wishes to present draft resolution A/35/L.39 and Add.1 on co-operation between the United Nations and the OAU, which is supported by the group of African States at the United Nations and is similar to the draft resolution on this subject adopted by the United Nations at previous sessions, except as regards the preamble. This recalls one of the most important achievements of the international community—that is, the attainment of independence by the people of Zimbabwe.

137. The draft resolution recalls the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa and also notes with profound regret that the international community has not paid sufficient attention to the plight of refugees in Africa, who now constitute over half the population of refugees in the world.

138. The draft resolution also expresses the grave concern of the General Assembly at the deteriorating situation in southern Africa arising from the continued domination of the peoples of the area by the minority racist régime of South Africa.

139. There is an organic link between the OAU and the United Nations and the need for untiring efforts to strengthen this co-operation is recalled in operative paragraph 6. The Secretary-General is therefore requested to arrange, in consultation with the Secretary General of the OAU, for the meeting between representatives of the secretariat of the OAU and the secretariats of the United Nations and other organizations within the United Nations system to be held Geneva in April 1981.

140. In the draft resolution the General Assembly reaffirms the determination of the United Nations to work closely with the OAU towards the establishment of the new international economic order in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, and reiterates its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his efforts, on behalf of the international community, to organize and mobilize special economic assistance programmes for African States experiencing grave economic difficulties. The Assembly further calls upon all Member States, regional and international organizations and organiza-

tions within the United Nations system to participate actively in the implementation of those special economic assistance programmes.

141. In the draft resolution the Assembly also calls upon all United Nations bodies to continue to associate closely the OAU with all their work concerning Africa and urges the specialized agencies and other United Nations organizations concerned to continue and expand their co-operation with the OAU and, through it, their assistance to the liberation movements recognized by the OAU.

142. In the last operative paragraph of the draft resolution the Secretary-General is requested to submit to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session a report on the implementation of the present resolution and on the development of co-operation between the OAU and the organizations concerned within the United Nations system.

143. In conclusion, we hope that there will be closer co-operation between the two organizations, that the United Nations and the specialized agencies will establish means for the co-ordination of the efforts of the United Nations and the OAU and that, through the United Nations, all possible kinds of aid will be rendered to the national liberation movements in Africa recognized by the OAU.

144. The group of African States hopes that the General Assembly will adopt this draft resolution unanimously.

145. Mr. BEN FADHEL (Tunisia) [*interpretation from French*]: My delegation spoke last year on the item entitled, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity"⁵ which has been included once again on the agenda. Allow me first of all to recall briefly the three problems which were raised at that time.

146. The first one, of a practical nature, involved the management and the rational functioning of the machinery involved, especially in the fields of documentation and information.

147. The second point concerned programmes for economic and social development and emergency relief services for refugees and the victims of natural disasters. The co-ordination of efforts and initiatives of the OAU with the resources and experience of the United Nations and the specialized agencies should make it possible to break through red tape and bureaucracy in order to achieve a judicious division of labour.

148. The third point is the anachronistic situation in southern Africa. The fact that the peoples of Namibia and South Africa are still under the yoke of a brutal racist minority at the end of the twentieth century is an aberration and a burden on the conscience of the international community which, although unanimous in its view, is powerless to act as long as the application of sanctions provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter remains blocked by certain Powers.

149. My delegation feels that since last year there has been considerable progress in co-operation be-

tween the OAU and the United Nations. We are sincerely pleased at this and wish to commend the secretariats of the United Nations and the OAU for providing us with two excellent documents. The first, distributed as document A/35/463 and Corr.1 which contains the text of the resolutions and decisions adopted at the Seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Freetown from 1 to 4 July 1980, honours that organization and enables us to assess the contribution of the OAU to the solution, or to the search for solutions, not only to specific problems of the African continent but also to problems of common interest that have been raised in the United Nations, such as the establishment of a new economic order, the law of the sea, the Middle East, Palestine, human rights and so forth.

150. The other document, that is the report of the Secretary-General document A/35/446, gives us quite an encouraging description of the co-operation between the organizations at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Lagos in April 1980, and at the Assembly held in July 1980 at Freetown. The Secretary-General participated in that conference, and consultations and very useful exchanges of view took place.

151. Of no less importance was the meeting held at Nairobi in June 1980 of representatives of the OAU secretariat at the very highest level and representatives of 24 organizations, organs and specialized agencies within the United Nations system, headed by Mr. Farah, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Questions. Another meeting of the representatives of the two secretariats is being planned for April 1981 at Geneva. My delegation wishes that conference every success.

152. In spite of those commendable efforts and the strengthening of co-operation between the United Nations and the OAU, which we are the first to recognize, the year 1980 has witnessed and is still witnessing murderous, fratricidal struggles in different parts of Africa, paving the way for foreign military intervention and causing an increase in the already excessive number of refugees. The number of refugees in Africa constitutes more than half the total number of refugees on our planet. The economic difficulties inherent in inflation and disruption in the world economy, and the disastrous whims of nature, such as droughts and floods, have not helped matters at all. The OAU has done its best to confront all those problems, but it is clear that it cannot succeed alone and that it needs the effective and sustained co-operation of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

153. My delegation believes that there are many forms and types of co-operation, of which I shall mention three. First of all, there is inter-African co-operation, which stands to gain a great deal if it can be improved at the political, economic, social and cultural levels. God helps those who help themselves. We must rely on our own best talents to organize our own development and to resolve ourselves conflicts among Africans in a peaceful manner through the strengthening of the means and machinery for negotiation and arbitration provided by the OAU. Secondly, bilateral and multilateral co-operation are

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 61st meeting, paras. 123-140.

very useful and even necessary for the majority of African countries. But unfortunately there are cases, although they are rare, in which, for example, a substantial budget is allocated for a given development programme in a given African country and as a result of the squandering of efforts and resources and the high cost of studies, materials and the salaries of technical advisers and experts—who are experts only when they do not make mistakes—it happens that the project is emptied of all meaning and that the country which was supposed to benefit from it actually benefits hardly or not at all. It is therefore important in studying development projects and other questions of vital interest to Africans, as far as possible to associate the bodies of the OAU which can contribute to the search for the best ways and means of economizing effort and resources and of using them intelligently. There is a third form of co-operation which is pernicious and to be condemned and which in fact has been condemned by many resolutions of the OAU and the General Assembly. This is co-operation, or rather “collaboration”—in the French sense of the term, as it was used during and following the Second World War—by certain countries with the colonialist and racist régimes of South Africa. Weapons supply and the transfer of sophisticated nuclear technology to that régime and financial investment in it are in flagrant violation of the principles and goals of the international community and, paradoxically, contribute to undermining international co-operation in the struggle against colonialism and *apartheid*.

154. At the conclusion of a conversation between President Bourguiba and a journalist, the latter asked the following question:

“Mr. President, might I sum up our interview in the following formula: ‘You are a fanatic for co-operation and moderation’?”

“President Bourguiba told him: ‘No, sir, you have misunderstood me. Moderation for the sake of moderation, co-operation for the sake of co-operation, that does not mean very much. Say rather that I am a fanatic for effectiveness.’”

It is that sense of effectiveness that my delegation wants to give to inter-African co-operation and to co-operation between the OAU and the United Nations.

155. I should like to conclude on a fairly optimistic note at this period when we have celebrated the week of solidarity with Namibia and the Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. The great event of the year for Africa in particular is undoubtedly Zimbabwe’s accession to independence. That resounding victory augurs well, and thanks to the combined efforts of the United Nations, the OAU and all organizations struggling for freedom and human dignity we can one day hope to see the dawn of a new day over southern Africa and to see the wind of independence blow and sweep the spectres of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* off the Cape of Good Hope.

156. In April 1958, I had the good fortune of attending the first Conference of Independent African States at Accra. There were eight of us present. Twenty-two years later, a short time in the life of a continent, we are 50, nearly a third of the Members

of the United Nations. That is one reason for the optimism of my delegation, which hopes that the Assembly will unanimously adopt the draft resolution submitted by the group of African States.

157. Mr. PETERS (Luxembourg) [*interpretation from French*]: In the view of the nine States members of the European Community, the inclusion of item 21 in the agenda of the General Assembly provides us with an opportunity to take stock of the present level of co-operation between the United Nations and the OAU. We must say that today our task is greatly facilitated by the detailed report submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 34/21.

158. The way in which the countries of Africa are working together to tackle the serious and complex problems of the African continent deserves the support of the Organization. That is why we note with satisfaction the efforts made by the various interested United Nations bodies to strengthen and intensify their assistance to the OAU. That, in turn, should enable the OAU to act in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations.

159. The States members of the European Community are convinced that African problems can best be solved through African solutions worked out by the countries of that continent, free to determine their own future within the framework of the OAU and without foreign intervention. In this connexion, the Community welcomed the first extraordinary session of the OAU Assembly devoted to economic questions, which was held at Lagos on 28 and 29 April 1980.

160. I should like to conclude by reaffirming our support for the efforts made by the members of the OAU to strengthen their national independence in both the economic and political spheres. The Community is prepared to co-operate as closely as possible with all African countries in promoting their economic development. As a specific example of that co-operation, we might mention the signing of the second ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé,⁶ which links the Community with the countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. In this connexion, we welcome the signature, on 31 October 1979, of the Agreement on the accession of Zimbabwe to this Convention. Co-operation between the members of the Community and the members of the OAU takes place within a framework of mutual co-operation that reflects the ever-increasing interdependence of countries and continents in our contemporary world.

161. Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): My delegation would like to express its gratitude and appreciation to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts in helping to realize and cement the close co-operation which exists between the United Nations and the OAU.

162. A look at the fundamental postulates of both the United Nations and the OAU will disclose the affinity that exists between the two organizations and why they have endeavoured to collaborate so closely in the interests of their respective constituencies, which in this case and to a very large extent happen

⁶ Signed at Lomé on 31 October 1979. See *The Courier*, ACP-EEC, No. 58, November 1979.

to be one and the same. Both the United Nations and the OAU are attached to the principle of the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and to freedom, equality, justice and dignity. Both organizations are conscious of their responsibility to harness human as well as material resources for the advancement of their peoples, the one in larger freedom and the other in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences. Both organizations are dedicated to the maintenance of international peace and security. In short, and according to the Charter of the OAU, "the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights... provide a solid foundation for peaceful and positive co-operation among States".

163. Notwithstanding South Africa's unrepentant occupation of Namibia and the perpetuation of its *apartheid* policies, both the United Nations and the OAU have recorded considerable progress in their efforts to free that continent from all forms of colonialism and racism, the most recent being the achievement of independence by the people of Zimbabwe. With the achievement of political independence, our major task and preoccupation has shifted to the solution of the economic problems which face us at the moment, the challenge of which has increasingly come to cast doubt on the viability of our political independence.

164. Aware of these present economic difficulties, for the first time in its history the OAU held at Lagos last April an extraordinary session of heads of State and Government which the Secretary-General found time in his busy schedule to attend. That session was devoted solely to economic problems in Africa, and it adopted the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos.⁷

165. The Lagos Plan of Action is an attempt by independent African States to cultivate the spirit of self-reliance and to adopt a policy of organizing our own socio-economic progress by raising that Plan to the level of a priority programme.

166. In order to implement both the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos the support and co-operation of the United Nations will be most desirable. President Siaka Stevens, addressing the General Assembly on 24 September this year in his capacity as Chairman of the OAU Assembly for its current session, made a solemn appeal to the United Nations to give maximum support to the OAU in this enormous task.

167. Thus, as we embark on the decade of the 1980s, the African continent faces a mammoth task of economic reconstruction. To quote my President, "if this community of States is to continue to survive not as a fossilized institution of man-made curiosities, but vibrant, viable and relevant to our age" [8th meeting, para. 12] the two organizations must continue their co-operation in order to achieve the goal of economic self-sufficiency. That is our goal for the 1980s, and it happens to coincide with that of the United Nations.

168. Mr. LOZINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republic) [interpretation from Russian]: The Soviet Union values highly the work of the OAU. As an

organization which expresses the common interests and aspirations of independent Africa, the OAU has made, and continues to make, a major contribution to the cause of the total liberation of the African continent from colonialism and racism and is doing a great deal to promote the strengthening of the independence of African States, enhancing their role in international co-operation and consolidating international peace and security. The provisions of the Charter of the OAU reflect the aspiration of the liberated States of Africa to put into practice the principles of sovereignty, equality, non-intervention in other States' internal affairs, non-alignment and solidarity with the struggle of peoples still oppressed.

169. The seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Freetown from 1 to 4 July 1980, took as its motto the strengthening of unity and solidarity among the countries of Africa in the struggle against imperialism for the final elimination from the continent of the last bastions of racism and colonialism and the total implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted 20 years ago.

170. The Soviet Union highly esteems the peace-loving initiatives of the African States, including their proposal for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Africa, and supports the efforts of the OAU to strengthen good-neighbourly relations in Africa, to consolidate peace in the African continent and to secure the earliest elimination of the burdensome heritage of the colonial past.

171. We whole-heartedly support the demands of the OAU for the application against the racist régime of Pretoria of effective and comprehensive sanctions pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations because of its refusal to comply with the United Nations decisions calling for the granting of genuine independence to Namibia and the elimination of the criminal policy of *apartheid*.

172. Free Africa is now going through a critical period in its development imperialist circles are pursuing a policy of stepping-up tension in Africa and adjacent regions, intervening in the internal affairs of African countries and attempting to sow division among African States and hamper their relations with the socialist and progressive countries of the world.

173. As for the Soviet Union, as was recently stressed by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, L. I. Brezhnev, our country:

"... is not seeking any special rights or privileges for itself in Africa or in any other continent. What we wish to see there is the reign of peace and harmony. We would like to see every African nation enjoying the fruits of freedom, as master of the resources of its own soil, with racism and *apartheid* rooted out of every corner of the African continent. This is a policy which we will continue to pursue firmly and consistently."

174. In establishing the OAU in 1963, the heads of State and Government of the African countries declared that it was the desire of the OAU to strengthen

⁷ See A/S-11/14, annexes I and II.

and support the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to fulfil all of the obligations imposed on it by the Charter. At the present time co-operation between the United Nations and the OAU is carried on in various spheres, promoting the implementation of those noble goals which both organizations have set themselves.

175. Convinced that the continuation and strengthening of co-operation between the United Nations and the OAU is in keeping with the interests of the struggle for the final elimination of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* and for the strengthening of international peace and security, the Soviet Union will continue to provide the necessary support in United Nations organs for the efforts of the OAU to defend the political and economic independence of the peoples of African countries and for the further enhancement of their positive role in international affairs.

176. Mr. SCHROETER (German Democratic Republic): The delegation of the German Democratic Republic would like to stress that it fully endorses draft resolution A/35/L.29 and Add.1.

177. The joint endeavours undertaken by the United Nations and the OAU proved particularly successful in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, of which we commemorate the twentieth anniversary this year. The implementation of the demands contained in operative paragraph 4—namely, to intensify the efforts finally to eliminate colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, as well as to increase assistance to the national liberation movements in Namibia and South Africa—is particularly urgent for the liberation of the African continent.

178. These activities of the OAU aimed at deepening the co-operation between African States and peoples with regard to solving the crucial problems of that continent are greatly appreciated by the German Democratic Republic.

179. The importance of the OAU is increasing in the light of the mighty movement of African peoples for national, political and economic self-determination. It cannot be overlooked, however, that certain circles try everything in order to undermine the strengthening of African unity on the basis of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism.

180. Is it not surprising when those very circles which want to keep alive the racist régime of South Africa through multilateral assistance, which derive gigantic profits from the plundering of human and natural resources in South Africa and Namibia, and which take feverish action to increase the number of their military bases in Africa, talk about non-interference in the affairs of African peoples and States? This makes it imperative for all people to be vigilant.

181. The German Democratic Republic fully understands the efforts made by the OAU to place the activities of transnational corporations in African States under national control and supervision and to curb their neo-colonialist practices, and it supports the endeavours of the Organization directed towards a restructuring of international economic relations on an equitable and democratic basis.

182. The African peoples' will finally to eliminate the remnants of colonial exploitation and suppression, as well as to determine their own development in peace and security, free from external interference, is fully backed by my country. Indeed, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and President of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, declared one again in his message of greetings to the seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU the readiness of the German Democratic Republic "further to strengthen and deepen its relations of friendly and fruitful co-operation with African States".

183. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from French*]: The General Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/35/L.29 and Add.1, submitted by 50 African States. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution is contained in document A/35/738. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/117).

184. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from French*]: A number of delegations have expressed the wish to explain their positions on the decision just taken. I shall now call on them.

185. Mr. PETERS (Luxembourg) [*interpretation from French*]: Although the nine members of the European Community joined in the consensus on draft resolution A/35/L.29 and Add.1, they have certain reservations on its contents. They would like to reaffirm the view that the General Assembly should not, in principle, endorse decisions taken in forums other than those of the United Nations.

186. Mr. TUROT (France) [*interpretation from French*]: France did not object to the consensus on the draft resolution. None the less, I wish to make clear that had the text been put to a vote my delegation would not necessarily have voted in favour of it.

187. In addition to the reservations expressed by the representative of Luxembourg on behalf of the nine States members of the European Community, I should like to add that it is difficult for us to note "with satisfaction" or "to approve" all the decisions, recommendations and proposals that are contained in the conclusions of the Nairobi meeting of June 1980. Those conclusions indeed affirm the role of an organ the competence of which we do not recognize, give to certain movements which do not represent sovereign States a role about which we have reservations of principle, and lead the United Nations to contribute subsidies in various ways to the OAU. We have, of course, the greatest esteem for the OAU. Since its establishment it has played a remarkable role in the process of the unification and development of Africa. But it seems to us contrary to the rules of sound budgetary practice to request the United Nations Secretariat to meet automatically all requests for assistance. What would be the result of such a procedure if it were used by other institutions outside the Organization? We have reservations also about the United Nations taking responsibility for the

meeting to be held at Geneva in April 1981. Moreover, the French delegation cannot associate itself with terms, contained in the preamble, which are used in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

188. Once again, the remarks I have made should be properly understood. France acknowledges the fundamentally positive role played by the OAU, and on this occasion I wish to restate our esteem for Mr. Edem Kodjo, its Secretary General.

189. In that spirit, the Plan of Action adopted at Lagos is, in our view, one of great interest, especially since it is consistent with the goals of co-operation established by France and the European Community with the African countries.

190. Moreover, my delegation shares the concerns of the sponsors of the draft resolution concerning the need to promote the economic and social development of African States.

191. France, for its part, will continue to participate in the economic assistance programmes for certain States. My country will spare no effort, as it demonstrated again recently, to help the African States which have been victims of natural or other disasters. Finally, France will continue to give special attention to the tragic problem of refugees, the importance of which has been stressed by many delegations today.

192. Miss FORT (United Kingdom): My delegation, of course, favours close co-operation between the United Nations and the OAU. Indeed, my Government seeks to maintain close co-operation with the OAU. We have therefore traditionally supported resolutions of the Assembly on this subject.

193. I should, however, like to record that my delegation does not accept that there is at present a situation resulting from "acts of aggression" in the sense in which that expression is used in Article 39 of the Charter. My delegation also has reservations about certain other operative paragraphs.

194. Ms. NEWSOM (United States of America): Let me take advantage of this opportunity to underline my Government's deep respect for the OAU and to express our appreciation for its efforts in the fields of political and economic co-operation. We welcome continued co-operation between the United Nations and the OAU in furtherance of the principles on which the two organizations were founded and on issues of importance to both. Most recently, joint action by the United Nations, the Commission on Human Rights and the OAU to convene a conference on African refugees underscored the mutual interests of these organizations and the complementary role they can play in the treatment of this and other pressing problems.

195. While we are pleased to have been able to join in a consensus on the draft resolution before us today, my Government has reservations concerning certain aspects of its.

196. With regard to the ninth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 8, the United States position on resolutions adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly is well known and remains unchanged. In addition, we must express our reservation on the thirteenth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 18. We believe that the increased politicization of United Nations specialized agencies undermines their effectiveness in performing the technical and humanitarian functions for which they were created. We believe, therefore, that the United Nations and the specialized agencies should offer assistance to the people of Africa, not to liberation movements as organizations. Finally, reference to "acts of aggression" in operative paragraph 9 cannot override the discretion of the Security Council in exercise of its responsibilities under Article 39 of the Charter.

197. We would hope that prior consultations next year would enable us to support such a resolution without reservations.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.