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REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/33/449)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will resume its consideration of agenda item 95, and I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the vote on the draft resolution on that item that appears in paragraph 8 of the report of the Fourth Committee [A/33/408].

2. Mr. ULRICHSEN (Denmark): My delegation intends to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution contained in document A/33/408, on which the Assembly is about to vote. Denmark also abstained when this draft resolution was voted upon in the Fourth Committee. At that time I had the opportunity to outline my Government's position on the draft resolution.<sup>1</sup> However, in order to emphasize

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Fourth Committee, 15th meeting, paras. 94-96, and ibid., Fourth Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.*

*President: Mr. Indalecio LIEVANO (Colombia).*

AGENDA ITEM 95

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 in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa: report of the Special Committee on

my Government's serious reservations in regard to certain of its elements, I should like to reiterate our position before this plenary meeting of the Assembly.

3. Denmark has a long-standing tradition of supporting any realistic step, compatible with the Charter of the United Nations, to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in all Territories under colonial domination, including Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, and has supported the efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa.

4. We have made our position perfectly clear on numerous occasions, and we therefore do not hesitate to reject such activities of foreign economic interests as might hamper the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

5. The main thrust of the draft resolution before us is the serious situation still prevailing in southern Africa. As has been pointed out on several occasions, the Republic of South Africa is principally responsible for the situation prevailing in that part of the continent. The South African Government's inhuman policy of *apartheid*, its support for the Rhodesian minority régime in violation of United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia, its illegal occupation of Namibia and, most recently, its refusal to co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) constitute only a few examples.

6. Having said that, my Government deplores that the important question dealt with in document A/33/408 has been presented to our Organization by means of the text now before us. I have made clear our position on the underlying problems, but I should also like to make it clear that we very strongly believe that selective references and totally unjustified accusations against explicitly mentioned countries can only be detrimental to the fulfilment of the purposes of the agenda item with which we are dealing. May I add that the wording of the sweeping condemnation contained in operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution is such that it really relates to all Members of this world Organization, including my own country. Like a considerable number of the Member States, Denmark strongly rejects these allegations or accusations and has worked actively to have them removed from the draft resolution before us. We very much regret that our efforts did not succeed, and we have therefore even considered casting a negative vote.

7. My Government very much appreciates and supports the important efforts of the five Western members of the Security Council—Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America—to attain a peaceful and internationally acceptable solution in Namibia in conformity with Security Council resolution 385 (1976). We strongly deplore the fact that this active commitment to find acceptable solutions to the problems of southern Africa might be jeopardized by arbitrary and unfounded condemnation of a number of the very countries which are instrumental in the pursuance of those efforts.

8. Mr. PFIRTER (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As we did in the Fourth Committee, we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution on agenda item 95. Without prejudice to this position it is our intention to express our disagreement with the specific mention of some States in the draft resolution since it is our understanding that this has lost for it an important measure of support and means therefore that its effectiveness will be affected. In addition there seems unfortunately to have been some disregard of the efforts made by some of the countries mentioned to see to it that South Africa does in fact abide by the resolutions of this Organization and their own efforts to abide by those resolutions.

9. That having been said, we have no doubt at all about the right of the General Assembly to criticize co-operation and collaboration with South Africa, which is flagrantly violating the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. Therefore we concur with the fundamental principle put forward in operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution.

10. Indeed, when links with South Africa go beyond mere diplomatic contacts and become a special relationship of economic or political co-operation in violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, the criticism seems to us to be appropriate. That is so because, through such special relationships, a contribution is made to the maintenance of *apartheid*, the continued illegal occupation of Namibia and the survival of the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia.

11. In the light of the foregoing it is worth recalling that there is a great difference between having diplomatic contacts with a State and co-operating with that State. Clearly, having diplomatic relations with a country in no way means supporting that country politically. What I have said not only reflects what international law, customs and doctrine have very clearly established but also coincides with what is one of the most signal characteristics of modern international relations. Diplomatic relations between countries having different and indeed contradictory systems of thought are commonplace, and no one would say that A supports B simply because A and B have diplomatic relations.

12. On the other hand, there are no binding United Nations resolutions that would make it compulsory to break off all diplomatic relations with South Africa. Hence the condemnation in operative paragraph 6 is not directed at the simple existence of diplomatic relations with Pretoria but, I would say again, is designed to condemn the collaboration resulting from the deepening of bilateral relationships to the point of transforming these relations into special links of collaboration in certain areas. That is why we can support this paragraph.

13. Mr. GUNA-KASEM (Thailand): The Thai delegation wishes to explain its vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee under agenda item 95.

14. My delegation wishes to emphasize that we fully agree with the philosophy and principles contained therein and that Thailand has throughout condemned *apartheid*, racial discrimination and economic exploitation in southern Rhodesia and Namibia and has unwaveringly supported all United Nations efforts to eliminate them.

15. My delegation would ordinarily have voted in favour of a draft resolution dealing with these problems. However, the texts of both operative paragraphs 6 and 7 are unfortunately highly selective and arbitrary in their condemnation of certain Member States while ignoring others. Since my delegation has strong reservations on both those operative paragraphs we had hoped that there would be separate votes on them so that we could have abstained in the vote on them. As there has been no proposal for a separate vote, my delegation finds itself unable to support the draft resolution as a whole and will regretfully abstain in the vote on it.

16. Mr. FERNANDO (Sri Lanka): With regard to the draft resolution submitted under agenda item 95, my delegation wishes to give a brief explanation of our vote. The delegation of Sri Lanka fully supports this draft resolution. However, with regard to operative paragraphs 6 and 7, it is the view of Sri Lanka that it is counter-productive to name countries, as has been done in those paragraphs. We feel that the threat of condemnation is usually more effective than actual condemnation. Hence we are not satisfied with the way in which operative paragraphs 6 and 7 have been drafted.

17. With regard to operative paragraph 13, the Sri Lanka delegation is of the view that this paragraph is based on one report. My Government is aware that the Government of the United Kingdom is carrying out an investigation of this matter. In the circumstances, if this paragraph were put to a separate vote, my delegation would abstain in the voting on it.

18. Subject to the remarks I have just made, I wish to state that the Sri Lanka delegation fully supports the objectives and all the other features of this draft resolution, and will vote in favour of it.

19. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "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 in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa", which has been recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 8 of its report [A/33/408]. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe,

Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia

*Against:* Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

*Abstaining:* Austria, Bahamas, Central African Empire, Chad, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Iceland, Iran, Ivory Coast, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Nepal, Norway, Oman, Portugal, Rwanda, Samoa, Senegal, Singapore, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Zaire

*The draft resolution was adopted by 83 votes to 14, with 34 abstentions (resolution 33/40)<sup>2</sup>.*

20. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those delegations wishing to speak in explanation of vote after the vote.

21. Mr. SALCEDO (Philippines): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/33/408 in keeping with the long-standing policy of the Philippines to support decolonization. However, if a separate vote had been taken on operative paragraphs 6 and 7, which specify various countries by name for condemnation by the General Assembly, my delegation would have abstained in the vote on those condemnatory paragraphs, because we do not believe they serve a useful purpose.

22. Mrs. DE RIBADENEIRA (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Ecuador takes this occasion to reiterate its absolute rejection of the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are preventing peoples still under colonial domination from throwing off oppression and, above all, the most odious form of racial discrimination the world has known, *apartheid*. It is in this spirit that we have always supported all measures designed to put an end to co-operation of any kind that might help to perpetuate the exploitation of the natural and human resources of colonial territories.

23. Therefore, my delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted, which makes particular reference to the prevailing situation in southern Africa, which is a serious threat to international peace and security and an affront to human dignity and respect for the principle of individual equality.

24. None the less, Ecuador regrets that the oft-repeated statements made by some countries involved in the condemnation, to the effect that there is no military or nuclear co-operation between them and South Africa, have not been

<sup>2</sup> The delegation of Saudi Arabia subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution. The delegation of Guatemala subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been against the draft resolution.

taken into account by the sponsors of the draft resolution. We also consider that in every instance insufficient information has been available with reference to those countries mentioned in paragraph 6; indeed, some of them have even evinced their resolute determination to co-operate by taking initiatives worthy of general acclaim, aimed at achieving an internationally acceptable solution to the problem of Namibia.

25. Miss DUBRA (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Government of Uruguay has always been opposed to any relationship or action which might be prejudicial to the interests of peoples in dependent Territories and prevent them from improving their economic and social development, exercising their right to self-determination, acceding to independence and eradicating any discriminatory system based on race, sex, colour or creed.

26. For those reasons, my country voted in favour of the draft resolution submitted under agenda item 95, since we support the spirit underlying it. We none the less regret that the text which has just been adopted was not worded with sufficient balance to ensure the desirable unanimity. Paragraphs 6 and 7 in particular, we feel, were drafted in unreasonable terms in that there is specific reference to certain countries. The fact of having diplomatic relations with a country does not in itself signify support for its policies or co-operation in maintaining those policies or régimes.

27. Had paragraphs 6, 7 and 13 been voted on separately we would not have been able to vote in favour of them.

28. Mr. SEIXAS CORREIA (Brazil): With regard to the resolution which we have just adopted under agenda item 95, I should like to state that my delegation considers that the language in paragraphs 6 and 7 is excessive and goes beyond what might be justified by facts.

29. Mr. YEO (Malaysia): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/33/408 because of the importance we attach to its objectives, particularly in regard to efforts by the United Nations to end all collaboration with the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. It has always been my Government's view that such collaboration serves to strengthen the racist régimes and encourage them to defy United Nations resolutions. While this is the consistent policy of my Government, we have reservations, however, in regard to the singling out of certain countries, as in paragraphs 6 and 7. We do not feel that this will be helpful in the solution of the problem. Therefore, had there been separate votes on those paragraphs, my delegation would have abstained.

30. Mr. RIVAS-POSADA (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Colombia, as on previous occasions when draft resolutions have been submitted on the subject dealt with in agenda item 95, and faithful to its traditional position in defence of countries and peoples struggling for their independence, voted in favour of the draft resolution which appears in paragraph 8 of the Fourth Committee's report [A/33/408]. None the less, my delegation would have preferred operative paragraphs 6 and 7 to have been voted on separately. Had that been the case, my delegation would have abstained in the voting on those

paragraphs, because, in our opinion, the specific condemnations contained in them are unnecessary and discriminatory.

31. Mr. SPETSIOS (Greece): My delegation has already explained in the Fourth Committee<sup>3</sup> that our abstention on the draft resolution which has just been adopted is entirely due to the wording of its operative paragraphs 6, 7 and 13.

32. In connexion with operative paragraph 7, we should also like to point out that some allegations referring to certain countries are not considered as having been proved.

33. None the less, my delegation wishes to declare once again its continued support for all the precepts and policies embodied in the resolution.

34. Mr. JUWANA (Indonesia): The Indonesian delegation deems it necessary to clarify its position concerning the resolution on the activities of foreign economic and other interests which has just been adopted.

35. Indonesia voted for the resolution because we agree with its general thrust and with its goals and purposes. We would nevertheless like to take this opportunity to express our reservation, in that we cannot fully accept the implications of the formulation of operative paragraphs 6 and 7 in which certain countries seem to be singled out for condemnation. In this connexion, my delegation would have abstained in the voting on those paragraphs had they been put to the vote separately.

36. Mrs. ÜNAYDIN (Turkey): My delegation abstained in the vote on the draft resolution relating to agenda item 95 contained in document A/33/408 in spite of our full endorsement of its essence and spirit.

37. As we have stated on several previous occasions, the Turkish Government remains fully opposed to the activities of foreign economic and other interests which tend to perpetuate colonial situations. Furthermore, we believe that putting an end to such activities is of vital importance for the attainment of political solutions to the problems relating to southern Africa. We therefore consider the resolution which has just been adopted as being, in principle, against such activities.

38. Moreover, Turkey is one of the countries that have absolutely no relations whatsoever with the régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, whether in the political, diplomatic, military, economic or cultural field. In other words, none of the provisions of this resolution directly concerns us or is aimed at us.

39. That being the case, our abstention stems from the fact that we reject in principle condemnations that single out countries by name. Paragraphs 6 and 7 of the resolution which has just been adopted contain such language and sweeping generalizations. In fact, had it not been for the language of those two paragraphs, my delegation would have voted in favour of the draft resolution.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Fourth Committee*, 16th meeting, para. 21, and *ibid.*, *Fourth Committee, Sessional Fascicle*, corrigendum.

40. Mr. BOZA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Peru voted in favour of the draft resolution in document A/33/408 because it reaffirms the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination, independence and the full enjoyment of their natural resources and because it condemns the activities of foreign, economic and other interests in colonial territories which Peru has always by tradition opposed in various international bodies in accordance with the unswerving tenets of its international policy. These activities are an obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That Declaration is resolutely supported by my country because it regards it as the corner-stone of the process of decolonization which is one of the historic aims of our Organization.

41. None the less, as my delegation said in the Fourth Committee,<sup>4</sup> we must express our disagreement with the substance of several paragraphs in that resolution on which we would have abstained had a separate vote been taken. Besides the fact that the wording appears to us to be unsuitable, those paragraphs contain discriminatory reference to some countries. In our view, and thinking in terms of political strategy, this in no way furthers the true interests which we should be promoting and defending.

42. Mr. OKOUA (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): My country certainly attaches considerable importance to the elimination of all the vestiges of colonialism and its protector, imperialism. We are fiercely opposed to the organized plundering of the resources of Territories under colonial domination, in particular the resources of the people of Zimbabwe. We condemn the acts of complicity with the rebel and racist Smith in the shameless exploitation of Zimbabwe.

43. Nevertheless, as much as the international community must condemn with all the authority at its command actions which thwart the legitimate aspirations of the peoples to freedom, we feel that this condemnation must be general and absolute. In other words, my delegation believes that there should be no discrimination or selection in the condemnation, because when certain countries in particular are singled out, it goes without saying that the full attention of the world public opinion is centred upon them, thus giving other States that have not been mentioned an opportunity to act with impunity in the shadows.

44. In order to avoid such a situation, my country wishes essentially to condemn criminal acts whenever they occur. By condemning the acts, we also automatically condemn those responsible for them. That is why my delegation abstained in the vote on the draft resolution.

45. Mr. MOONYANE (Lesotho): My delegation would have wished to have been in a position to vote for the draft resolution just adopted. However, it was compelled to abstain in the vote as there are several punitive paragraphs in it that, if implemented, would leave Lesotho unprotected and unfairly open to punishment. We regret that we had to abstain in the vote on a draft resolution with whose general thrust we generally agreed.

46. Mrs. DE BARISH (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution on item 95 because we support the spirit underlying it, particularly operative paragraph 1 which reads:

"Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of dependent Territories to self-determination and independence and to the enjoyment of the natural resources of their Territories, as well as their right to dispose of those resources in their best interests".

47. None the less we would have abstained if a separate vote had been taken on operative paragraphs 6 and 7 because they are selective in their accusation and condemnation. We do not think that a wording such as appears in those paragraphs serves the ends of the resolution. We nevertheless reiterate our firm rejection of any co-operation—economic, military, nuclear or otherwise—with the racist minority régimes which continue to deprive Namibia and Zimbabwe of their right to self-determination, independence and the enjoyment of their natural resources.

48. Mr. Reaz RAHMAN (Bangladesh): The Bangladesh delegation would like very briefly to explain our vote on the resolution adopted under agenda item 95.

49. Bangladesh voted in favour of the resolution in keeping with our consistent support for the fundamental elements involved therein. My delegation would have preferred, however, that paragraphs 6 and 7 had been more moderately phrased and had not explicitly singled out countries by name, as we believe this to be selective and that it would prove not only counterproductive but in fact deter the mobilization of that international co-operation needed in promoting the objectives of the resolution.

50. Mr. SOE (Burma): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/33/408. We should, however, like to reiterate the reservation we made in the Fourth Committee<sup>5</sup> on its paragraphs 6 and 7.

51. Mr. FUENTES IBAÑEZ (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution in paragraph 8 of document A/33/408, because we fully share the spirit underlying it. Nevertheless, and without in any way departing from our absolute solidarity with the people of Namibia and Zimbabwe and our absolute rejection of *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination, if a separate vote had been taken on operative paragraphs 6 and 7 we would have abstained because those paragraphs make reference to the behaviour of third States, which my delegation does not feel itself competent to judge inasmuch as respect and consideration for others rule out for us any act either implying partial discrimination or else based on accusations which we are not in a position to verify.

52. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now take up the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda items 96 and 12 [A/33/459]. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "Implementation

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 16th meeting, para. 14, and *ibid.*, Fourth Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 16th meeting, para. 6, and *ibid.*, Fourth Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.



of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations” which has been recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 10 of its report. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

*Against:* None

*Abstaining:* Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Israel, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

*The draft resolution was adopted by 133 votes to none, with 8 abstentions. (resolution 33/41).*

53. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We turn now to the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 97 [A/33/456]. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled “United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa”, which has been recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 10 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is in document A/33/489. The Fourth Committee adopted the draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 33/42).*

54. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will now consider the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 98 [A/33/449]. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled

“Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories”, which has been recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. The Fourth Committee adopted the draft resolution without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 33/43).*

55. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly has thus concluded its consideration of all the items allocated to the Fourth Committee.

#### AGENDA ITEM 24

**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

56. Mr. NEYTCHEV (Bulgaria): The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], adopted notwithstanding bitter resistance by racist, colonial and imperialist forces, for almost two decades now has been playing a very important role in the just struggle of the peoples of colonial and dependent territories for their liberation and independence. That historic document reaffirmed the equal right of all peoples of the world to determine their political status on the basis of their own free will and choice and to pursue the economic, social and cultural development of their countries. It has thus become an important political and moral stimulus of the national liberation struggle.

57. In the course of this historically short period the struggle of peoples for the liquidation of colonial oppression has achieved very convincing and significant successes.

58. The number of States Members of the United Nations is growing constantly. The influence of those States which until quite recently were colonies or semi-colonies has considerably increased. Those States, together with the States of the socialist community and all peace-loving and democratic forces, are making an active contribution to the final elimination of colonialism, racism and the policy of *apartheid*. The socialist States, which in principle find colonial repression and exploitation abhorrent, have always given political, moral and material support to peoples who are subjected to colonial and racist oppression in their just struggle.

59. That position was once again reaffirmed by the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty in their Declaration adopted at the meeting of its Political Consultative Committee held in Moscow on 23 November 1978. The Declaration states *inter alia* that the socialist States:

“...reaffirm their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonial-

ism and against any form of domination and oppression. They have supported and will continue to support the forces fighting for national liberation and the peoples of the newly liberated countries in their hard struggle to uphold their independence and freedom, including their right freely to choose their path of social development and to safeguard the territorial integrity of their countries as well as their independence and sovereignty. . . .

“The socialist States vigorously support the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia in their selfless struggle for the early attainment of national independence. They are in sympathy with the just struggle of the people of South Africa for the abolition of *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination. They condemn the attempts to impose upon the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa neo-colonialist solutions which are alien to them and which could lead to the outbreak of new conflicts in that region.” [See A/33/392-S/12939, annex].

60. There is a growing concern over the situation in southern Africa where the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia are aggravating the tension by their brutal actions in oppressing the local population as well as by their barbarous acts of aggression against independent African States. Bolstered by a generous moral, financial and diplomatic assistance emanating from certain Western States, the racist régimes in Salisbury and Pretoria continue to ignore world public opinion and the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations. More than that, they constantly increase the repressive measures used against the local population and, using brute armed force, attempt to stifle the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

61. Quite recently, news agencies around the world reported the alarming news that the South African racists were preparing for another military intervention against the people of heroic Angola. That was yet another confirmation of the notorious fact that the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia represent a serious threat to peace and security, not just in that particular part of Africa but in the whole world as well. In the meantime, this is yet another warning to all who assist the racists and a reminder of the necessity for a stronger political will and commitment in order to make possible the implementation of resolution 1514(XV) and the elimination of the last vestiges of the infamous colonial system.

62. The attempts by the leader of the Southern Rhodesian racists, Ian Smith, to impart to his Government a certain touch of democratism with the help of so-called “moderate” African leaders has demonstrated to the world yet again the true intentions of the old colonialists and latter-day neo-colonialists to shape a Government which, on the one hand, would guarantee the complete preservation and even expansion of the political, economic, and social superiority of the white minority, while, on the other hand, it would present for the sake of appearances just an externally polished facade—and I should like to stress that latter point—for the participation of representatives of the African population in the country’s administration.

63. It is our deep conviction that that was precisely the direction of the latest efforts by Ian Smith during his United States visit.

64. In this connexion I should like to quote from the letter of the group of African States concerning Ian Smith’s visit to the United States:

“It is evident that the rebel leader would, naturally, interpret the gesture as proof of acceptability of his illegal régime and a weakening of the international community’s commitment against it. Furthermore, the gesture will also serve to encourage the rebel leader to intensify his persistent acts of aggression against the independent African States of Mozambique, Zambia, and Botswana.” [A/33/291-S/12886, annex, para. 5.]

65. The latest acts of aggression against Mozambique and Zambia fully corroborate the rightness of the apprehensions of African States. The incursion by Southern Rhodesian commandos into Zambia and Mozambique makes us raise once again the issue of mercenaries who, for all practical purposes, form the backbone of the Southern Rhodesian army. According to data contained in the resolution of the Fourth Commission of the International Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations for Action against *Apartheid*, which was held from 28 to 31 August 1978 at Geneva, Southern Rhodesia at present has 15,355 mercenaries shared out among countries as follows: 2,000 from the United Kingdom; 2,300 from the United States; 4,600 from South Africa; 1,800 from France; 1,055 from the Federal Republic of Germany; 2,800 from Portugal; 800 from Israel. Not included in that count are the Belgian mercenaries, whose numbers are not small, as well as those from some other Western States. It is high time for the above-mentioned Western States to display maximum political will and to put a halt to the use of their nationals as mercenaries in the Southern Rhodesian army.

66. We are neither adherents nor supporters of the Anglo-American plan<sup>6</sup> for Southern Rhodesia. However, we cannot but point out that of late a quite odd situation has been created in connexion with that plan’s implementation. The United Kingdom and the United States basically have adopted a positive attitude towards the Ian Smith plots aimed at the internal solution of the problem and in practice have begun to repudiate their former proposals to settle the question and deny power to Ian Smith. In return for that the Western States have intensified their pressure on the Patriotic Front, trying in one way or another to involve the latter in the fulfilment of different underhand dealings with Ian Smith for solving the problem on a neo-colonialist basis.

67. The Bulgarian delegation supports the idea that it is necessary to turn the power over to the people of Zimbabwe as soon as possible, and I take this opportunity to re-emphasize that for us in the People’s Republic of Bulgaria there is only one legitimate representative of the Zimbabwean people—the Patriotic Front. At the same time we express our firm conviction that the best way to settle

<sup>6</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

the Southern Rhodesian problem has been and continues to be by ensuring the strict and precise implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and the strict and unconditional enactment of sanctions in their entirety against the Salisbury régime and its ally, namely, racist South Africa.

68. With regard to the state of affairs in the southern part of Africa, we cannot but express our serious concern over the situation in Namibia. The illegal occupation of that Territory by South Africa, the policy of wanton pillage of the rich resources of Namibia carried out by the Pretoria régime and the inhuman exploitation of its indigenous population by no means constitute the totality of criminal misdeeds that have been perpetrated by the South African racists in Namibia. The African population in that Territory has been virtually deprived of its homeland which the colonizers in South Africa took from it by force and of the rich resources from which for many years now they, together with foreign monopolistic circles, have been drawing a livelihood.

69. Just as in Rhodesia, we see here criminal collusion between the racists and their imperialist patrons, the purpose of which is to perpetuate the racist system in Namibia, to dismember that Territory by bantustanization and to undermine its territorial integrity by the illegal annexation of Walvis Bay. The intention of the Pretoria régime to create a puppet régime in Namibia which would act at the behest of South Africa is simply an attempt to establish in that Territory a neo-colonialist régime under which the depredation of the country and its African population could continue unimpeded.

70. Recently, as is well known, those who support the Botha régime have been making attempts to carry out the plan involving the peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem. However, it is our unalterable view that any such efforts must, first and foremost, take into account the vital interests of the majority of the Namibian people. These efforts must help them to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, and this can be achieved only with the participation of the United Nations Council for Namibia and also with the direct and equal participation of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], which is the only legitimate representative of the African majority in Namibia.

71. Furthermore, genuine independence for Namibia can only be secured if, in accordance with United Nations decisions, South Africa withdraws its occupying forces from that Territory. When all those who for so many years have considered Namibia their private domain and a storehouse from which to extract tremendous profits, and those who with the racists in Pretoria continue to perpetrate crimes against the indigenous population, have left Namibia, the problem of that Territory can be solved in a peaceful way, but only with the participation of SWAPO and on the basis of the proposals which have been put forward by that organization. The United Nations must assist in such a solution of the problem in Namibia.

72. While paying all due deference to the decisions which have been adopted this year by the Security Council on South Africa, at the same time we consider them inadequate.

Facts prove that the Pretoria régime has ignored these decisions. That is why these measures must be supplemented by economic sanctions.

73. In the light of what we have said, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is firmly of the view that only the complete international isolation and a general boycott of the régime in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, together with the strict observance of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council by all Member States, without exception, can make a real contribution to eliminating the last hotbeds of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* in the southern part of Africa. This would be of tremendous significance also in helping to remove the obstacles standing in the way of peace in that area and in improving the international atmosphere as a whole.

74. The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has decisively condemned this year again the economic, military and other activities of the colonialist Powers in the territories under their administration, as well as the recruitment of mercenaries for the Rhodesian army. The Special Committee has also condemned the assistance which the foreign economic, financial and other circles have been rendering to the racist régime in pursuance of their attempts to continue the rapacious plunder of the natural and human resources of Zimbabwe. We fully support these demands of the Special Committee.

75. Turning now to the so-called small Territories, I should like to point out that there are scores of examples which show that the legitimate rights of the peoples of those countries to self-determination and independent national existence either are denied outright or are questioned under various pretexts.

76. Contrary to any logic and good sense, the administering Powers in many instances maintain that the peoples themselves do not want independence and prefer association or even integration with the metropolis. But these powers do not dare put these theories to the test under conditions of full freedom and under the control and auspices of the United Nations. The reason for this attitude of the colonial Powers is, above all, their interest in using the small Territories for their global strategic aims. The scores of military bases in the Pacific, the Indian and the Atlantic oceans, and in the Caribbean, form a comprehensive network of military forts, strong positions and staging platforms for keeping the many African and other peoples under subjugation, for suppression of national liberation movements, and for other aggressive purposes against independent countries throughout the world.

77. The elimination of colonialism in the small Territories is a no less urgent task than its liquidation elsewhere. The peoples of those Territories have the same inalienable rights as the people of the large Territories, and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should also be fully and unconditionally applied to them.

78. We think that this year again the General Assembly should urge the administering Powers concerned to take



immediate measures for the transfer of all power to the indigenous populations and their freely-elected organs in the legislative, administrative and juridical spheres. Once again the administering Powers should be urged also to dismantle their military bases and installations in the Territories, as they are a serious impediment to the speedy implementation of the Declaration.

79. Another important aspect of the Special Committee's work which calls for well-deserved recognition is the mobilizing of world public opinion in support of the national liberation struggle and in defence of the inalienable right of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence. The Special Committee also has obtained good results in its efforts to expand further its relations of co-operation with the influential intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and to involve them in rendering more effective and concrete help to the national liberation struggle of the colonial countries and peoples.

80. In the view of my delegation, the Special Committee has, this year also, proposed suitable and effective measures for the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). With this understanding in mind, my delegation would be gratified to see the General Assembly endorse the Committee's report as well as its recommendations [A/33/23/Rev.1].

81. While emphasizing the fruitful activity of the Special Committee, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria would like to give full credit for the competent and able leadership of its Chairman, the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Salim, whose contribution to the victorious outcome of the efforts of colonial peoples to achieve self-determination and independence is well known to all. Mr. Salim rightly deserves our most sincere gratitude.

82. In conclusion, I should like once more to emphasize that my delegation, as a member of the Special Committee, will continue its endeavours in that body. This position of principle of my delegation stems from the consistent and principled policy of the Bulgarian Government to render, within the scope of its capacity and possibilities, full support to the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, and of all other colonial territories, for the total and final elimination of colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

83. This cardinal direction of Bulgarian foreign policy was also reaffirmed during the recent visit by the President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Todor Zhivkov, to a number of African countries—Nigeria, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and others—and is reflected in the joint treaties of friendship and co-operation with some of them. During his visit to Nigeria, Todor Zhivkov said:

“Our position is clear; it is embodied in our staunch convictions and concrete deeds. The People's Republic of Bulgaria stands for implementation to the end of the United Nations Declaration on decolonization; elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism and racism in southern Africa; the right of the people of Zimbabwe

freely to determine their own destiny; and the granting of full and complete independence to Namibia.

“We stand with the people of South Africa in their struggle against *apartheid* and for the right of the majority to manage their own country.

“Together with the other socialist countries, we are actively assisting the African peoples in their struggle for national liberation and independence. Our aid is not given in pursuance of any self-interest, as the slander of our common enemies is trying to show. Our assistance stems from our principled conviction, from our consciousness of our international duty and from international solidarity in the cause of humanity, democracy and progress”.

84. Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation wishes to make some comments on 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, in connexion with the resolution adopted by that Committee on the colonial case of Puerto Rico on 12 September this year [A/33/23/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 73].

85. As everyone is aware, the question of Puerto Rico has been under review by this Organization in various bodies. The typically colonial characteristics of that case have meant that it has been discussed together with other Territories to which the Declaration applies. Precisely because of this, the Chairman of the Fourth Committee said in 1973 that, since Puerto Rico was a colonial case, it was only logical that representatives should refer to it when considering other colonial problems and issues in that Committee.<sup>7</sup>

86. A few days ago, the Secretary-General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party asked to be heard in the Fourth Committee. The United States delegation, which obstinately refuses to recognize what both the Special Committee and the General Assembly as well as all Puerto Rican political parties have declared—in other words, that Puerto Rico is a Yankee colony—mobilized all its forces, used all its influence and got together all its friends to block the request of the Secretary-General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. The Legal Counsel of the Secretariat explained, however, that although the item on Puerto Rico was not before the Fourth Committee it did indeed appear under a separate heading of chapter I of the report of the Special Committee entitled “F: Question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable”.<sup>8</sup> However, nobody objected to the decision—and there was no question about it at that time—of the Chairman of the Fourth Committee taken in 1973.

87. That having been said, we wish to add that the machinations of the United States delegation were successful, since the Committee completed its work without

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Fourth Committee*, 2062nd meeting, paras. 50-60.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-third Session, Fourth Committee*, 25th meeting, paras. 69-75 and 81-83, and *ibid.*, *Fourth Committee, Sessional Fascicle*, corrigendum.

resolving the problem of the procedural obstacles brought forward to prevent the Secretary-General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party's appearing before that body.

88. It is worth speculating why the most powerful Western country should have recourse to such a strategy to silence one petitioner from Puerto Rico in the Fourth Committee. This is not another instance of its proverbial and discredited "ostrich policy" of ignoring from its Olympian heights the fact that there is a "Puerto Rican" case which has been discussed year after year in the Special Committee on decolonization; rather it is trying to claim that the United Nations should also disregard that case, play the blind man, and not even notice what a leader of a political party of that country thinks.

89. The question of Puerto Rico, despite what it costs those that invaded that Latin American nation in the last century and today are attempting to annex it, is clearly included on the agenda of this Organization and derives from any relevant part on which the General Assembly gets direct information on the problems of the people of that island in their present colonial status. This being so, my delegation submitted to the Fourth Committee the request of the Secretary-General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party<sup>9</sup> and, when the work was completed without the procedural objections being resolved, it requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to distribute as an official document of the General Assembly the text [A/33/457] he would have read out to that body.

90. I have referred to these matters in some detail because I think it is highly educational to see how, by manipulating procedures as it wishes, one colonial Power can prevent no less than a Committee of this Assembly from being empowered to consider problems of decolonization, preventing it from hearing the representative of a people subjected to one of the most perverse processes of cultural and historical loss of identity, a nation vilely exploited which, in order to survive the "delights" of Yankee capitalism, has to export about 50 per cent of its sons as a labour force to do jobs that the first-class citizens in the metropolis disdain, or as cannon-fodder to die in wars which the empire wages against other people also regarded as "inferior".

91. With each year that passes, the tragedy of Puerto Rico is ever more alive in the minds of the Members of this Organization. Several resolutions have already been adopted by the Special Committee and by the non-aligned movement recognizing the colonial status of the island and claiming for it its inalienable right to self-determination and independence. So let us say it again: the resolution adopted this year introduces the following important concepts. First, the Committee reaffirms that

"... by virtue of that right the people of Puerto Rico should freely determine their future political status and pursue their further economic, social and cultural development".

Further, it

"Affirms that self-determination... should be exercised through mechanisms freely selected by the Puerto

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 24th meeting, paras. 3-5, and *ibid.*, Fourth Committee, *Sessional Fascicle*, corrigendum.

Rican people in complete and full sovereignty, in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) which *inter alia* provides for the full transfer of all powers to the people of the Territory and that all determination concerning status should have the approval of the Puerto Rican people".

Secondly, the Committee

"Considers that the persecutions, harassments and repressive measures to which the organizations and persons struggling for independence have been continuously subjected constitute violations of the national right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence".

Thirdly, it deems that

"... in the event the Puerto Rican people decide to form an independent republic, they have the right to recover the totality of their territory, including all lands now used by the authorities of the Government of the United States of America".

Fourthly, it deems that

"... any form of free association between Puerto Rico and the United States must be in terms of political equality in order to comply fully with the provisions of the relevant resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and of applicable international law, and must recognize the sovereignty of the people of Puerto Rico".

Fifthly, and finally, it

"Urges the Government of the United States to abide by the principles of resolution 1514 (XV) with respect to Puerto Rico".

92. From this summary reading it becomes clear why the colonial Power tries by every possible means to avoid discussion of Puerto Rico in the United Nations. The contrast between what it says and what it does is clear if we note that Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores and Oscar Collazo are still languishing in North American gaols. These political prisoners have certainly been in prison longer than any others in this hemisphere. If we note the hypocrisy and mendacity of statements which both now and in the past have been made in the metropolitan country concerning the "wonderful" situation in Puerto Rico, there is one irrefutable conclusion—Puerto Rico was and is still a colony of the United States of America.

93. But there is more to it than that. Its colonial status has been admitted to before the Special Committee by all political parties and leaders from that island, from the boot-licking annexation-loving Romero Barceló, including the sponsors of the so-called "associated free State", to those who have struggled and shed their blood in the cause of Puerto Rican self-determination and independence.

94. My delegation wishes to state categorically for the record that it is unswerving in its support of the just cause of the people of Hostos, Betanzes and Albizu Campos.

Similarly, I wish to stress that the case of Puerto Rico is an issue which is profoundly Latin American in nature, and one which all peoples south of the Rio Bravo feel is something which personally affects them. It could not be otherwise. Let us think of Bolívar, Juárez, San Martín, O'Higgins, Martí and all of our great independence leaders who gave us an inheritance which is not a dead letter to be quietly recalled on national days but rather a living example daily to be emulated in solidarity with our brothers.

95. Cuba fully justifies and ratifies its vote in favour of the resolution on Puerto Rico, which appears in paragraph 73 of chapter I of the report of the Special Committee [A/33/23/Rev.1] and reiterates its confidence in the victory of those sons of Borinquen who have, as Martí said, contempt for "the yoke that fattens and degrades" and prefer "the star of freedom and independence which gives light and salvation".

*Mr. Jamal (Qatar) Vice-President, took the Chair.*

96. Mr. ROSE (German Democratic Republic): Thanks to the efforts of the forces striving for peace, disarmament and equitable international economic relations, and for national and social liberation of peoples, the process of political détente has been set in motion. The liberation of peoples from the colonial and racist yoke was and still is an integral part of that process. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the United Nations in 1960 on the initiative of the USSR, has greatly promoted that development. Old colonial empires have collapsed. The peoples of almost 100 States have taken their destinies into their own hands and are advancing on the path of an independent development. They have joined the broad movement of the fighters for peace, détente and disarmament, and that movement will sweep away the last remnants of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

97. What is necessary is to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in all its aspects. Colonialism and racism must be extirpated in all their forms and manifestations within the shortest possible time, be it in southern Africa or in all other territories where peoples have not yet been able to achieve their national rights. The objectives and tasks set forth in resolution 1514 (XV) are firmly based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The resolution must serve as a guideline for the action of all States. According to it the elimination of colonialism and racism necessarily entails the obligation to assist the nationally liberated States in strengthening their sovereignty against neo-colonialist practices.

98. At the recent session of the Political Consultative Committee, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty reaffirmed,

"... their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and against any form of domination and oppression. They have supported and will continue to support the forces fighting for national liberation and the peoples of the newly liberated countries in their hard struggle to uphold

their independence and freedom, including their right freely to choose their path of social development and to safeguard the territorial integrity of their countries as well as their independence and sovereignty." [See A/33/392-S/12939, annex.]

99. We render solidarity to the peoples in southern Africa. We should always bear in mind that these peoples not only wage a selfless struggle for implementing their own inalienable rights; at the same time they considerably contribute to achieving peace and justice all over the world.

100. The existence of the racist régimes in the south of the African continent, their terrorism and aggressiveness constitute a constant and growing threat to peace. We draw attention to the communiqué issued by the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries on 24 November 1978 which says, *inter alia*:

"The racist forces of South Africa, at the service of and in collusion with the forces of imperialism and colonialism, have planned and are in the process of executing another large-scale attack against Angola". [A/33/390-S/12936, annex, para. 1.]

This must not be permitted.

101. Many people keep asking why it has not yet been possible to put an end to the evil doings of a handful of racist adventurers in southern Africa. And this brings us to their backers and sponsors. Documents 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 Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the United Nations Council for Namibia, which contain the results of relevant investigations, provide information as to who supplies sophisticated weapons and military equipment which are used by the soldiery of the *apartheid* régime and Smith's racist troops in their aggressions. While we are discussing here the elimination of colonialism and racism, the illegal Smith régime carries out raids with modern bombers against the people of Mozambique. We know who supplies the oil that helps the racist war machinery maintain a constant readiness for action and we also know that more than 1,800 transnational corporations back the racists economically and promote their military build-up.

102. With great concern the German Democratic Republic has taken note of the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* which contains the names of those countries which promote South Africa's endeavours in the area of nuclear armament. And we reaffirm the demand of the German Democratic Republic for preventive measures to be taken by the Security Council.

103. One often hears the argument that the collaboration with the South African racist régime could be used for exerting a so-called restraining influence. This is a deliberate attempt to mislead public opinion. The struggle against colonialism and racism in southern Africa cannot be a question of restraining the power of the racists; rather it must be one of liquidating that power and of implementing the African peoples' right to self-determination.

104. No matter what certain circles may say inside and outside the United Nations, their real aim is to preserve the ruling system of South Africa and its basic character. What they want is to further consolidate that stronghold of imperialism and colonialism and not to remove it. Some might perhaps prefer more subtle forms of domination, but only for the purpose of stabilizing the power of the racist régime and using it as a tool against the independence and security of the African peoples.

105. The right to self-determination of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe cannot be achieved by appeals and nice words. What is necessary is resolute measures for the decolonization of southern Africa as a barrier against attacks upon the life and freedom of the African peoples. Such measures must, above all, hit the régime of *apartheid* as the core of the system of colonial exploitation and oppression. The application of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations is both justified and necessary.

106. The German Democratic Republic considers it necessary, first, that Security Council resolution 418 (1977) be consistently observed and any violation of the arms embargo be strictly punished; secondly, that the arms embargo should apply to all fields of military co-operation and all nuclear co-operation should be terminated, and South Africa must by no means obtain possession of nuclear weapons; and, thirdly, that far-reaching economic sanctions be imposed, in particular an embargo on the supply of oil and the prohibition of investments.

107. Imperialist forces are trying to direct the developments in southern Africa along neo-colonialist channels. Puppet régimes are to secure South Africa's domination and the unhindered exploitation of the peoples and their natural wealth by transnational corporations and military and strategic interests of imperialist circles. Manoeuvres designed to prevent the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe from fully exercising their right to self-determination are attempts to give the racist régimes freedom of action and to counteract their international isolation.

108. While the five States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] that are members of the Security Council engage in various diplomatic activities and let the representatives of the racist régime rise to the level of chief negotiating parties, terrorism in Namibia is increasing. The recent arrests of leaders of SWAPO show the intentions behind the so-called elections. We demand the immediate release of the SWAPO representatives. The best guarantee of the implementation of the Namibian people's right to self-determination and independence is and will remain the full application of Security Council resolution 385 (1976). That is resolutely supported by the German Democratic Republic.

109. As far as Zimbabwe is concerned, the colonialist forces also mark time. They hope to be able to split the liberation movement and to intensify actions of terror. Smith has set his so-called internal settlement against the demands for the realization of self-determination. That manoeuvre has failed due to the resistance of the liberation forces. The only feasible way to resolve the question of Southern Rhodesia is the removal of the illegal minority

rule and the complete and unconditional transfer of power to the African majority represented by the Patriotic Front. As long as the people of Zimbabwe is not free, the embargo decisions of the United Nations must remain in force and must even be strengthened. No state has the right to lift them unilaterally.

110. The peoples of the so-called small Territories in the Pacific, the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean Sea also are confronted with imperialist machinations directed against the full realization of their independence and self-determination. The colonial Powers concerned do nothing to improve the economic and social situation and to grant independence to such Territories. What is more, their aim is to perpetuate colonial domination. Even incorporation into their own national territories is sought. The establishment and expansion of military bases in small Territories is continuing and has been intensified. This applies also to the Pacific Islands, the only Trust Territory still existing. The competent Administering Authority of that Territory wants to maintain its domination in disguised form. All this is completely at variance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

111. While imperialist forces obstruct the removal of the vestiges of traditional colonialism, they increase their attacks against the freedom, sovereignty and independence of nationally liberated States. By economic, political, ideological and even military means, they want to put liberated Africa in the chains of neo-colonialist oppression. The need of the young States for international economic exchanges to overcome the consequences of century-long colonial domination is being misused to impose on them inequitable economic relations. In this context the document of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade from 25 to 30 July 1978, states the following:

“In their efforts to recover their lost positions and impose neo-colonialist relations on non-aligned and developing countries, the colonialist and neo-colonialist forces are striving to impose new forms of dependence, the transnational corporations being used for this purpose in particular.” [*A/33/206, annex I, para. 23*]

That is why a number of States refuse to respect the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*].

112. NATO wants to expand its influence in Africa both directly and indirectly. So-called military task force reserves are established. The use of armed force to interfere in internal affairs is included in their designs. Hostilities or conflicts between peoples of nationally liberated States and tribal feuds are fomented. It is the dream of those NATO strategists to see African peoples fight each other for the sake of imperialist objectives. Neo-colonialist practices also include the dissemination of false information on the life of liberated peoples and the policy of their States. The German Democratic Republic therefore supports the legitimate demand that the imperialist information monopoly be broken. Today it is no longer a secret that the hegemonist and expansionist leadership of a Power in the

Far East collaborates with the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism and causes great harm to the peoples' struggle for national and social liberation.

113. The African States and peoples are resisting neo-colonialism. They are not willing to see their hard-won sovereignty and independence reduced to a mere skeleton. In this context we should like to pay a tribute to the significant role of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], which is vigorously opposing such attempts.

114. The German Democratic Republic stands for the consistent implementation of the principles of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, particularly with regard to Africa. The strengthening of the sovereignty of nationally liberated States will also give momentum to the struggle of colonially and racially oppressed peoples to achieve their legitimate rights. Together with other States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, the German Democratic Republic has recently addressed an appeal to the States and peoples of the world:

"To eliminate as soon as possible the last remnants of colonialism and the policy of neo-colonialist exploitation which is the main source of underdevelopment and to root out national and racial oppression." [See A/33/392-S/12939, annex.]

115. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic is convinced that the heroic struggle of the peoples in southern Africa under the leadership of their authentic representatives, the national liberation organizations, will be victorious and that all peoples will realize their right to live in conditions of peace, independence and freedom.

116. Mr. RASON (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Decolonization—it cannot be said often enough—is one of the essential aims of the United Nations. A year ago, the General Assembly reaffirmed in its resolution 32/42 that the persistence of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations was incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The persistence of colonialism is a threat to international peace and security.

117. Yet again this year, at the close of our debate, my delegation reiterates its resolute, militant support for the struggle being waged by the national liberation movements for their freedom.

118. We have no intention of conjuring up again the spirit which prevailed over the drafting of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which in fact is a recapitulation of provisions of the Charter. Indeed, the Charter proclaims the faith of Member States in "fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small".

119. Still less is it for us a matter of debating fundamental principles laid down in the Declaration, namely, the right of all peoples to determine their political status and decide on their own economic, social and cultural future, and respect for the national unity and territorial integrity of the peoples and countries concerned.

120. These rules form a coherent whole having the well-defined goal of enabling all colonial countries and peoples to enjoy genuine and full freedom. They proclaim a set of political rights which are inalienable and absolute and cannot, therefore, be curtailed or distorted, still less contested.

121. This discussion, in my delegation's view, is justified only because we have achieved no definite results in our attempts to ensure the full implementation of the fundamental principles embodied in the Declaration. Indeed, all of the principles relating to sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, national unity and representativeness have been mangled, distorted or simply set aside.

122. It must therefore be recognized that pockets of resistance to achievement of the goals of the Declaration still exist. Colonialist and racist occupation and enslavement still persist. Colonialist and neo-colonialist Powers are striving to impose new forms of dependency by means of a false democracy, a semi-independence.

123. This is particularly true in the case of southern Africa, where the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe are more than ever deprived of their right to self-determination and independence, and where the denial of that right is aggravated by a blatant racism such that colonialism and racism have become a force of oppression.

124. In Namibia in particular, we have—as my delegation said from this rostrum only yesterday [80th meeting]—come to this "untenable paradox" that the United Nations has been obliged to recognize that dialogue with illegality can become the rule whereas it should be, if one dare say it, the exception.

125. In the name of a supposed peaceful solution, which is in fact unjust and only partial, an all-out effort is being made to pursue ramshackle, highly dubious negotiations and to create a new situation in which the United Nations would be brought into the negotiations with the puppets that South Africa is trying to impose through sham elections on the people of Namibia.

126. In my delegation's view, the people of Namibia have already made their decision by choosing armed struggle. There are no grounds for a peaceful solution unless it provides for the immediate and unconditional transfer of power to the authentic representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO. It is for SWAPO to choose freely the régime it considers suitable to preserve Namibia's economic and political independence.

127. In Rhodesia, events have taken a disquieting turn. The administering Power, with the collusion of certain Western Powers and South Africa, has brought about a situation which is nothing more than a fresh attempt to settle the decolonization question to the advantage of a minority and of the foreign interests which support it.

128. The administering Power, in assuming the role of arbiter solely responsible for putting forward formulas for agreement and helping to bring the conflicting parties to the negotiating table, is refusing to fulfil its obligations and its responsibility for the decolonization of Zimbabwe.



There can be no real negotiations except between the United Kingdom as the colonial Power, on the one hand, and the Patriotic Front, representing the Zimbabwean people, on the other.

129. My delegation has laid particular stress on the decolonization of southern Africa because of the extremely critical situation in the region. At the beginning of our statement, we recalled a provision of resolution 32/42 which declares that the persistence of colonialism is a threat to international peace and security.

130. In that region, the main causes of international tension lie essentially in the forces of colonialism, racism, imperialism and foreign economic interests because of the pressure they exert, or because of their threats or use of force to check the political and economic emancipation of nations.

131. Such a situation demands vigilance on our part. We must step up our support for the national liberation movements. We must concentrate our efforts on finding ways of bringing pressure to bear on the racist minority régimes and thus put an end to their repressive policies.

132. In our view, the United Nations must reaffirm its authority and refuse to be relegated to the sidelines, which is incompatible with its mission. It should insist on strict implementation of its resolutions and in no way allow the principles of resolution 1514 (XV) to be diverted from their purpose.

133. Concerning the small Territories, my delegation would stress yet again the position of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar on this point.

134. Despite the special circumstances of those Territories because of their geographical location and their demographic and economic conditions, their peoples are entitled to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That applies also to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. A so-called strategic area, that Territory is of no small importance, as it has been used as the site of military bases.

135. This situation not only creates an obstacle to the elimination of colonialism from that region, but poses a threat to its peace and security.

136. On the basis of the obligations voluntarily entered into by the administering Powers under the Charter, and on the basis of the relevant decisions of the United Nations, it is incumbent upon the administering Powers to see to it that the right to self-determination and independence is respected, as should be the true aspirations and wishes of the peoples of those Territories.

137. In particular, we regret that, in Micronesia, the authority responsible for this Trust Territory continues not to transmit the information on it which is required pursuant to Article 73 e of the Charter, and that the principles of national unity and territorial integrity have not yet been implemented, so that the Security Council,

which, in accordance with the Charter, must be involved in all measures taken with a view to ensuring the future of these Territories, has not been able to fulfil the function that is proper to it.

138. We shall not revert to the case of Territories such as Belize, East Timor or Western Sahara, which have just been considered by the General Assembly on the basis of the recommendations of the Fourth Committee. However, it is fitting that our delegation stress two questions which are important because of the principles at stake.

139. The first relates to the colonial Territory of Puerto Rico. The Fourth Committee was unable for purely formal reasons to give its opinion on the decision taken 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 in chapter I of its report. For our part, we maintain that it is the duty of the General Assembly to see to it that the right to self-determination, sovereignty and national independence of the Puerto Rican people is recognized within the context of resolution 1514 (XV) and that in considering this question the same procedure is followed as in the case of other colonial Territories and the liberation movements which are their legitimate representatives.

140. The second concerns the increased resources to be provided to the Department of Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization in its various fields of activity. In our view, it is essential that at a time when we are entering a critical stage of our struggle the question of those resources be given appropriate consideration at both the administrative and the financial level, so that the new initiatives taken should not fail because of lack of precision and reliance on existing resources.

141. No one can reduce a people to slavery. We are convinced that the 12 million people still under colonial domination will attain final victory. Until justice is done, the struggle will continue.

142. Mr. HADAS (Hungary): The major imperialist countries created their colonial empires over a long period of time, against the wishes of the indigenous peoples. The rapid downfall of those empires after the Second World War proves that the history of their economic, political and social formation, which was so contrary to human nature, has run its course.

143. The United Nations has played an active role in the decolonization process since the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples as General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). However, we did not get rid of all these problems with the achievement of formal independence by the vast majority of the former colonies because the ghost of neo-colonialism appeared simultaneously with that development.

144. In a number of cases the former metropolitan countries tried—and they are still trying—to maintain their economic control over the ex-colonies, while the big monopolies are striving to dominate the economies of the developing countries. They control the natural resources,

export raw materials at prices which they dictate and do little or nothing to support real industrialization and the expansion of agricultural production.

145. In trying to gain temporary successes in maintaining or even expanding their neo-colonialist influence, the former colonizers have to this day been using the ominous "divide and rule" policy and, unfortunately, there are several cases in which it has led to bloodshed.

146. The divisive policy of imperialism is still finding good breeding-ground in Asia and Africa, given the diversity of nationalities, languages and religions of those continents. The colonizers were adept at setting peoples against one another. It has been quite rightly stressed that, when they were forced to leave their former colonies, they left behind unexploded time-bombs in the form of tense relations, frequently strained to the point of confrontation, between different societies or even between newly independent States.

147. In Africa it has always been the policy of imperialism to prevent the unity of African countries. As part of such efforts the leading Western countries and the friends of the racists are trying to weaken OAU, to sow and deepen discord in it and to bring it under control, since a strong and unified OAU could be an obstacle in the way of their neo-colonialist purposes and play a decisive role in the carrying out of the decolonization process.

148. The most powerful imperialist circles are making desperate efforts to maintain their rule in the last outposts of their colonial empires in the southern part of Africa, in the island Territories of the Pacific and the Indian Ocean and in the Caribbean Sea. However, Africa—more specifically southern Africa—is now the key to the completion of decolonization. The former colonizers know this only too well, and try to act contrary to the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, playing it both ways by trying openly to mislead world public opinion by introducing plans to liberate the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and supporting behind the scenes the illegal racist régimes in southern Africa and impeding the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

149. The bourgeois press described the Anglo-American plan to settle the situation in Southern Rhodesia as a realistic one, but an analysis of this proposal provides a clear picture: both Powers want to prevent Southern Rhodesia, which is dominated by the racist minority, from being transformed into a Zimbabwe, with an African majority government at its head, in order to preserve the present social system and the present class and power positions of the settlers and the monopolies, and to keep that country in their sphere of influence. In the words of Joshua Nkomo, President of the Zimbabwe African People's Union:

"What the British and the Americans are trying to do is to give our people a shadow—just a shadow—of independence, while the country will be controlled by the British and their friends, the Americans, and other countries in the European Common Market, and we shall

be used to abet the local people in carrying out the exploitation of our people."

And, as if to bear him out, they shut their eyes to the increasingly aggressive and repeated steps taken by Southern Rhodesia against the neighbouring freedom-loving countries. Suffice it to mention the armed raid against Zambian territory early in November and the recent series of bombings of Mozambican territory.

150. The process of decolonization is far from being completed in regard to Namibia either. Neither the United Nations nor the Governments concerned can consider their work done. In point of fact it now appears more important than ever that, continuing their manoeuvres, the five Western Powers by coming up with a proposal for resolving the Namibian question and by entering into negotiations with Pretoria gave the racists time to complete the ill-famed unilateral elections in Namibia in violation of the existing General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and even of the Charter of the United Nations. While the five Western Powers claimed that their purpose was to reduce the tension, South Africa maintained the restrictions and limitations and its brutal oppression of the African population. During the approximately two-year period of negotiations between Pretoria and the five Powers the world's conscience was again shocked last May by the report of a bloody massacre committed by South African army units in Kassinga, deep inside Angola. Just before the so-called elections of last week the régime arrested the Vice-Chairman of SWAPO and other outstanding representatives of the Namibian people. Yet the Western press wants the Africans to forget the cruel oppression and to believe the absurd claim that, as the London *Daily Telegraph* has it: "the South Africans are making an important contribution towards an agreed settlement".

151. The Government and people of the Hungarian People's Republic firmly believe that the only way to solve the problems of Namibia and Zimbabwe is through the full implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, which, in particular, impose a total arms, economic and oil embargo against the racist régimes and call for a complete boycott against them in the political, diplomatic, cultural, sports and other fields.

152. We believe that once these conditions are fulfilled a swift completion of the decolonization process will be possible. The way to achieve it is also indicated by the decisions of the United Nations. The crucial point, nevertheless, remains the fact that the economic and other interests as well as military activities and arrangements impede the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

153. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Soviet Union assigns considerable importance to the consideration by the General Assembly of the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

154. A comprehensive and thorough discussion of that question in the Fourth Committee and in the plenary

meetings of the Assembly has given all of us an opportunity not only to take stock of the inspiring evolution in the process of decolonization but also to define the difficulties which still stand in its way and to act in co-ordination to find ways to eliminate them.

155. The adoption 18 years ago, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, of the historic resolution 1514 (XV), which contains the Declaration on decolonization, has played and continues to play a major positive role in the struggle of peoples for the total liquidation of colonialism, neo-colonialism and for the national liberation of oppressed peoples.

156. In that important document the United Nations stated that the struggle of peoples against colonialism in all its forms and manifestations is a legitimate and just one, and that all attempts aimed at maintaining the colonial system are recognized as unlawful and as being contrary to the lofty principles of the United Nations.

157. The great historic significance of the Declaration on decolonization resides, however, in the fact not only that it is one of the fundamental documents of the United Nations, but also that it has been converted into a kind of set of guidelines for the conduct of the activities of the United Nations in the total and definitive liquidation of colonialism on earth.

158. Today we are all witness to the imminence of the successful conclusion of the process of decolonization which unfolded in full strength after the adoption of the Declaration on decolonization. This year alone, three more colonies have acceded to independence. Hundreds of millions of people who formerly were under the colonial yoke and foreign exploitation, have actively joined the progressive forward march of mankind. New independent States and their peoples are playing an increasingly active role in world politics. The great Lenin, the founder of our State, at the very beginning of the twentieth century stated that the peoples of colonial and dependent countries were to play an extremely important part in the progressive revolutionary development of mankind. We can clearly see how these words have been given practical realization.

159. Particularly noticeable changes in the last quarter of a century have taken place in Africa. The peoples of that continent, which was almost totally under colonial domination, have achieved important successes in the struggle for their national liberation. Colonial empires have crumbled. The question of the total liquidation of the last remnants of colonialism and the bastions of colonialism in Africa has now arisen in full strength. In the liberated countries of Africa serious political and socio-economic transformations are taking place. There is steady progress in the strengthening of the young fledgling States in Africa. Increasingly important is the contribution of the African States in the struggle for international détente, for the strengthening of peace, for the assertion of the principles of the equality of rights in relations between States and for a new world economic order.

160. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR,

L. Brezhnev, stated that:

“In our times the countries of Africa have greatly increased their role in international affairs. Imperialists can no longer ignore their views. In these circumstances, it is particularly important to strengthen the solidarity and unity of the actions of those African countries which have been speaking out in favour of a strong, just world and against imperialism, colonialism and racism.”

161. In the Soviet Union there is great sympathy for these historic changes. In its relations with the States of Africa, the Soviet Union has steadfastly followed the principle of solidarity with the struggle of peoples for independence and freedom, for national and social progress, for genuine equality of rights, for respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, for non-interference in the internal affairs of States and for mutual collaboration.

162. Regular meetings and exchanges of views on current problems of international life held between Soviet and African leaders and treaties on friendship and co-operation which have been concluded by the Soviet Union with a number of African States are convincing evidence of the growing friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the African peoples and of the common positions assumed by them on the most important international problems.

163. It is to be especially emphasized that the treaties and agreements which have been concluded by the Soviet Union with the countries of Africa are not directed against anybody at all and agree with the genuine basic national interests of the African countries and the USSR as well as serving the cause of the final liberation of the African peoples.

164. Let us cite by way of example one of the articles of the Treaty on Friendship and Co-operation which was concluded recently, on 20 November, between the Soviet Union and Socialist Ethiopia. In that Treaty it is stated that the High Contracting Parties shall continue actively to promote the total and final liquidation of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, and the total implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

165. As will be seen from that article and from the Treaty as a whole, such a Treaty could only dispense the enemies of Africa, the colonialists and racists.

166. The positive changes throughout the whole of Africa are not acceptable to the forces of imperialism, racism and reaction, which wish to continue to exploit the African peoples and the natural resources of the continent and which continue to think in terms of colonialist categories of “spheres of influence”. To this day they do not wish to see Africans as equal partners.

167. The colonialists and their henchmen have frequently undertaken military adventures in Africa. They have provoked conflicts and encouraged the actions of separatists for the purpose of weakening various countries in Africa. They bear a heavy responsibility for the many government

coups, for the notorious "secret operations" and for the physical liquidation of such glorious sons of free Africa as Patrice Lumumba, Marien Ngouabi, Edouard Mondlane, Amílcar Cabral and many others.

168. Most recently, imperialist interference in the affairs of Africa has taken a particularly cynical and dangerous form, which indicates that attacks are being made against the national liberation forces of Africa. The colonialists wish once again to force their *diktat* on the African peoples, although that is clearly a hopeless task for them. Also dabbling in African conflicts are those who, carrying out their inhuman ideas concerning the inevitability of a new world war, are conducting a course aimed at fomenting tension, subverting the process of disarmament and achieving hegemony in Africa.

169. The direct associates of those forces are the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury, which in themselves constitute a threat to international peace, and, with the assistance of NATO, they are building up their military might and striving to gain access to nuclear weapons.

170. The holding by South Africa of illegal elections in Namibia and its attempt by means of that farce to put its Turnhalle puppets in power in that country constitute a brazen challenge to the United Nations.

171. Evidence of the clearly false, rigged nature of those elections is the fact that one third of the registered voters are representatives of the white community and persons who have been specially brought from the Republic of South Africa, along with contingents of occupation forces and police forces of the Republic of South Africa which have been deployed in Namibia and which number thousands.

172. The President of SWAPO, Sam Nujoma, stated recently at a press conference held at Luanda:

"The political farce connected with these 'elections' was needed by the racists of Pretoria to bring to power an obedient puppet régime and thereby to keep Namibia within its sphere of its political and economic influence, and to continue to use its territory as a bridge-head for further aggressive actions against independent African States."

173. SWAPO, as has been stated here by its representative, is fully resolved to continue its political and armed struggle for the freedom and independence of Namibia. In that struggle the Namibian patriots have the support of all the progressive forces and all the countries of the socialist community. They have received and will unfailingly continue to receive assistance and support from the Soviet Union.

174. The patriots of Zimbabwe, who are conducting in their country a genuine national movement against the unlawful racist régime and the designs of the colonialist Powers which are providing assistance to Ian Smith, can also rely upon our unfailing assistance. But nothing will save the degenerate, inhuman régime in Zimbabwe, neither unceasing acts of provocation against the independent African countries nor repeated attempts to drag some

western NATO Powers into a war with the people of Zimbabwe in order, allegedly, to rescue the white settlers.

175. Relying upon the disinterested assistance and brotherly solidarity of the forces of progress and democracy, the peoples of southern Africa will definitely triumph over the forces of imperialism, neo-colonialism and *apartheid*.

176. During the present session, the delegations of many countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, as well as delegations of the socialist countries, have subjected the designs and manoeuvres of the colonialists and their imperialist NATO allies to justified criticism and called for the mobilization of international efforts to combat those manoeuvres.

177. In resolutions on such important problems of decolonization as the question of Namibia, Southern Rhodesia, and so on we find justified condemnation of the Western Powers and their allies, who have not ceased their collaboration with the colonialist and racist régimes, have flagrantly violated the sanctions imposed upon the racists by the Security Council and have stubbornly avoided prohibiting the rapacious activities of their own national and multinational monopolies in colonial Territories which, together with the racists, are exploiting the natural and human resources of Namibia, Zimbabwe, southern Africa and numerous minor colonial Territories.

178. In this Assembly concern has once again been expressed at the various obstacles raised by the colonial Powers to the liberation of the peoples of many small colonial Territories. Among such barriers blocking the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization are first of all the maintenance by the colonial Powers in such Territories of their military bases and facilities and also their unceasing exploitation of the natural and human resources of those Territories by the capitalist national and multinational monopolies.

179. It is precisely for that reason that the peoples of Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, the Turks and Caicos Islands, Brunei and other Territories are still unable to achieve their inalienable right to freedom and independence.

180. That explains the tragedy of the Micronesian peoples, who are now facing a real danger of losing their national identity and being swallowed by the Administering Authority in order to satisfy the military circles of the United States, which have selected the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands as their permanent advance spring-board for attacks on the countries of Asia and the Pacific Ocean.

181. We should not and must not be deceived by the various clever legal manoeuvres undertaken by the Administering Authority for the purpose of camouflaging the colonization and *de facto* annexation of Micronesia. Even the American press does not conceal that fact.

182. The fate of Micronesia cannot be decided by the Administering Authority alone. The liberation of that Territory and its people is a problem ripe for settlement by the United Nations. The Micronesians must have the

opportunity to follow the course of peace, self-determination, independence and social progress within the framework of their own integrated sovereign State.

183. The question of the future of that Territory is an integral part of the problem of decolonization. Moreover, as is provided in Article 83 of the Charter of the United Nations, this question cannot be resolved by short-circuiting the Security Council.

184. Now, in the concluding stages of the struggle against colonialism, the United Nations must once again definitely and clearly state that the principles of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples cannot be the subject of any bargaining with the colonialists. Those principles must be fully implemented in all the colonial Territories, large and small.

185. The total and unconditional implementation of the purposes and principles of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is in keeping with the vital interests of the peoples oppressed by colonialism and of the whole international community. The struggle for international détente, its deepening and consolidation, and for economic co-operation on a footing of equality require the exertion of international efforts to ensure the speedy liquidation of the remnants of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

186. The Soviet Union, for its part, stands ready to contribute in the future in the most active way possible to the attainment of the lofty and noble purposes of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

187. That position of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was confirmed once again in the Declaration adopted recently by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty. In that Declaration the socialist countries, stating that they are resolved to increase their efforts to strengthen peace and security, to develop the process of détente and to expand international co-operation, have called upon all States and peoples of the world:

“To eliminate as soon as possible the last remnants of colonialism and the policy of neo-colonialist exploitation which is the main source of under-development and to root out national and racial oppression.” [See A/33/392-S/12939, annex.]

188. They have emphasized in their Declaration that:

“It is the inalienable right of the peoples of all continents to live in conditions of peace, independence and freedom, to exercise sovereignty over their national wealth so as to ensure the growth of their well-being and the dignity and happiness of all their citizens. No one has the right to interfere in matters of their internal life, which they and they alone must decide. The colonial and racist régimes in Africa and in any other part of the world should be condemned and boycotted by all as enemies of peace and mankind.” [Ibid.]

189. What conclusions then should emerge or can be made on the basis of the consideration of the question of the

implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples?

190. Much has been done. Very much less still remains, but nevertheless we cannot slacken our efforts in the United Nations for the speedy and total solution of the problem of decolonization.

191. First of all, there is the matter of the settlement of the problems of southern Africa—the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia from the domination of the colonialists and racists. There is also the question of the elimination of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa. So long as there are bastions of colonialism and racism in southern Africa, Africa cannot feel safe. That is now much better understood by all than before.

192. It is necessary to follow carefully the situation in the small colonial Territories, including the existing Trust Territories in the Pacific Ocean. We have adhered and continue to adhere to the position that all peoples must be liberated from colonialism, regardless of their size or the territory occupied by them.

193. It is necessary not only to strengthen our solidarity with the national liberation movements in southern Africa but also to increase the genuine assistance given to them.

194. Indeed, it is high time that the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly should clearly define a time-table for putting an end to the colonial domination of all colonial Territories, large and small. The decisions on decolonization adopted at this session could have an even more decisive effect. Since the colonialists came to these Territories not at the request of the peoples in question but against their will, the sooner those colonialists leave the Territories the better it will be for the peoples in question, for peace and for security.

195. It would be logical if, 20 years after the adoption of the Declaration on decolonization, there were no longer to be any colonial Territories on our earth. Here we share the view expressed by the Chairman of the Special Committee on decolonization, Mr. Salim, to the effect that this would be the best possible present for the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on decolonization.

196. Africa will achieve freedom throughout the whole of its territory. Of that we are convinced. The manoeuvres of the colonialists and their protectors concerning the neo-colonialist solution to the problems of southern Africa are doomed inevitably to failure. We are also firmly convinced that we shall see the independence of all the peoples of small colonial Territories, because the liberation struggle of the people is growing and strengthening and that struggle is the principal condition for the victory over the colonialists and the main condition for the total liquidation of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

197. It is the direct duty of the United Nations to help the people fighting for their freedom in this their sacred cause.

198. Mr. DE LA PEDRAJA (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Among the resolutions which may be considered examples of justice, human solidarity and political accom-



modation, all of which are principles which should inspire the United Nations, is resolution 1514 (XV), which was adopted by the General Assembly at its fifteenth session and which contains the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the implementation of which we are considering today.

199. In 1960, through the United Nations, the highest embodiment of the present system of international relations, mankind, at the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, reaffirmed three undeniable truths regarding colonial régimes in any of their possible forms. Those truths are the following: first, that the colonial régime is a violation of fundamental human rights; secondly, that the colonial régime constitutes a violation of the charter of the United Nations; and, thirdly, that the colonial régime harms international peace and co-operation.

200. On this basis and correctly guiding this general trend towards freedom, the United Nations embarked on a struggle for the independence of colonial countries and peoples, working out the means and creating mechanisms to expedite the process in a proper and just manner. In this connexion we might mention General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI), which set up the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We should also mention General Assembly resolution 1810 (XVII), which increased the membership of the Special Committee to 24. The members of that Committee have always distinguished themselves by the enthusiasm and energy with which they fulfil the mandate entrusted to them by the other Member States which have, in turn and at the same time, endeavoured to strengthen the will for independence in all other United Nations forums.

201. The right of peoples to self-determination, as is logical, appears in different lights or facets according to the aspect of social life to which it relates; thus, when we speak of the independence of countries and peoples we should not merely understand this as meaning only the political aspects of the problem but also as encompassing the economic, social and cultural aspects, which are indissolubly linked with each other.

202. In this connexion my delegation wishes to express its satisfaction at the excellent study prepared by Mr. Héctor Gros Espiell and distributed on 20 June last<sup>10</sup> on the implementation of United Nations resolutions relating to the right to self-determination of peoples subject to colonial and foreign domination.

203. We agree fully with the idea that, from the political point of view, the right to self-determination of peoples subject to colonial and foreign domination is based on the right of those peoples to obtain independence, to enter into free association or freely to consent to integration, it being understood that the achievement of those objectives in the effective exercise of their sovereignty against any hegemony or dependency must be the result of the free decision of the people concerned. When the exercise of self-determination culminates in the emergence of a new sovereign and

independent State, that same right to self-determination becomes the foundation for the right of that new State to choose freely its political régime. Thus, the right to self-determination does not end with the achievement and recognition of independence or of any other possible status: rather it further encompasses the protection and continued maintenance of that independence or of the status achieved as a result of the initial exercise of the right to self-determination.

204. The economic aspects of the right of peoples to self-determination are manifested, first and foremost, in the right of all peoples freely and sovereignly to determine the system or economic régime under which they wish to live. When a people is still subject to foreign or colonial domination that right already exists, although the colonialist Power may disregard it and violate it. At the same time, we should explain that the economic content of the right to self-determination of peoples is shown in particular, without prejudice to the existence of other different aspects, in the right to permanent sovereignty over natural resources, a matter that embraces the problems posed by nationalization and the negative action that may be developed by transnational corporations.

205. As for the social aspects, the right of every people to elect and decide on the social system under which they shall live, in accordance with their free and sovereign will, and respecting their specific traditions and characteristics, has been acknowledged. More specifically, it may be said that the social aspect of the right to self-determination of peoples is connected with the promotion of social justice to which all peoples are entitled, that social justice that implies the right to enjoy effectively economic and social rights without discrimination of any kind.

206. Lastly, we also believe that all peoples subject to colonial or foreign domination have the right to fight to prevent their heritage and their individual and cultural values from being destroyed or in any way affected by the foreign colonial Power. The effectiveness of the right to self-determination of peoples in respect of their cultural aspect is indispensable if a people is to become aware of its rights and, therefore, be fully able to fight for their recognition and consolidation.

207. The Mexican delegation has always supported, to the extent of its means, all actions of the United Nations against colonialism and has always spoken out in favour of the effectiveness of the principle of self-determination of peoples, which is one of the basic guidelines of the foreign policy of Mexico.

208. The action of the peoples concerned in their struggle for the effective exercise of their right to self-determination led, in 1978, to an increase in the membership of this Organization which now numbers 151 States. It is a struggle that has not yet ended, and we believe that this is not the time for a slackening of effort, alleging that much progress has already been achieved. On the contrary, we must redouble the efforts aimed at speeding up the process of the total elimination of colonial empires, of the traditional concept of colonialism and of those manifestations which prevent the true exercise of the right to self-determination of all peoples.

<sup>10</sup> See document E/CN.4/Sub.2/405.

209. Mr. PEŇAŽKA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): From the time when, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, in 1960, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, less than 20 years have gone by, but over that historically brief period of time dozens of former colonial peoples have set their feet on the path of independence. The victories of the national liberation revolutions and the emergence of a number of new free States have led to fundamental changes in international relations, something which manifests itself particularly strikingly in our Organization. A great amount of work in the process of the implementation of this historic Declaration has been accomplished by the United Nations and its organs, in particular the Special Committee on decolonization headed by its Chairman, the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Salim. However, we see this favourable assessment of the contribution made by the United Nations primarily as encouragement for even more active and consistent efforts to implement the provisions of the Declaration and the documents connected with it with regard to all the remaining vestiges of the colonial system.

210. It is undeniable that the total elimination of colonialism would lead to the elimination of a serious source of tension in international relations, and, accordingly, would become a major contribution to the deepening and strengthening of détente and of international peace and security. In spite of the considerable progress which has been made in the struggle against colonialism, it has not yet been finally eliminated either in its classical form or in its other manifestations. It still remains a source of tension and conflicts. Imperialistic forces have done their utmost to maintain their colonial domination, have been stepping up their neo-colonialist practices and have had recourse to all kinds of manoeuvres the purpose of which is to maintain and particularly to consolidate the last bastions of colonialism and racism in the south of Africa and, thus, their political, economic and strategic interests in this part of the world.

211. Concerning one of the most important problems of decolonization, a matter which for years now has been under consideration in the United Nations—Southern Rhodesia—this year, too, we have witnessed initiatives which have been aimed at the settlement of the situation in that country on conditions unacceptable to the African majority. This was once again clearly stated by representatives of the people of Zimbabwe in the course of the recent discussion of the matter in the Fourth Committee.

212. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, like other socialist countries, has always favoured the earliest possible solution of the Southern Rhodesian problem which, however, should not in any way be brought about on a neo-colonialist basis. We are against the granting of mere formal independence to the country while preserving the existing political, economic and other interests and the privileged position of the white minority. As the most important task with regard to a just solution to the problem, we believe that the immediate thing to do is to transfer all power into the hands of the genuine representative of the African majority in the country—that is, into the hands of the patriotic forces headed by the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe. What we have to do is not just to replace the Government of the white minority by a Government

consisting of Africans; also we must see to it that that Government is genuinely representative of the African majority. Therefore, any proposal to solve this problem which fails to take into account this aspect should be categorically repudiated regardless who the author is. At the same time, we must try to bring about the total isolation of the racist régime in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. This is all the more urgent because this régime is striving to maintain itself in power and resorting to the most extreme measures against the African majority, or is having recourse to manoeuvres designed to mislead world public opinion by the implementation of a so-called internal settlement of the problem.

213. An equally urgent problem which requires an immediate solution is the Namibian question. Ten years ago the General Assembly put an end to the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia and decided that the United Nations would assume direct responsibility for this Territory until such time as it had achieved its own genuine self-determination and national independence. In that time the United Nations has tried its utmost to see to it that the Territory of Namibia should be freed from colonial domination of the Republic of South Africa. This year we have even seen a situation where this question has been discussed as a matter of the highest priority by the major organs of the United Nations: a special session of the General Assembly and meetings of the Security Council. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the Republic of South Africa continues to ignore the efforts of the United Nations to achieve a just solution to the problem and continues illegally to occupy Namibia, constantly increasing tension in that part of the world. In this particular extremely critical situation, it is inevitable that the United Nations and all its Members should bring to bear the necessary pressure on South Africa in order to compel it to bend to the will of international society and to agree to a just solution to the problem, in accordance with the demands of the people of Namibia and its sole lawful representative, SWAPO. Having recourse to all the means provided by the United Nations Charter, we must compel the régime of the Republic of South Africa immediately to cease its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia and to hand over all power to the people of that country.

214. The urgency of such action against the South African racists is also dictated by the fact that the Pretoria authorities are stubbornly refusing to comply with the numerous appeals of the United Nations for an immediate cessation of their criminal policy of *apartheid* with regard to the African majority, a policy whose consequences and manifestations represent a constant threat to international peace and security.

215. One of the most recent manifestations of that aggressive policy, which has given rise to the deepest concern and at the same time to the most categorical condemnation by part of international society, is the preparation by the South African racists to carry out a new attack on a sovereign State, the People's Republic of Angola. As is pointed out in the communiqué of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries dated 24 November of this year:

“The racist forces of South Africa, at the service and in collusion with the forces of imperialism and colonialism,

have planned and are in the process of executing another large-scale attack against Angola.

“The Co-ordinating Bureau condemns the military build-up of South Africa in Namibia, on Angola’s southern borders, and strongly condemns the racist Pretoria régime which seeks the destabilization of Angola as well as the undermining of the just liberation struggle in southern Africa.” [A/33/390-S/12936, *annex, paras. 1-2.*]

216. The Czechoslovak delegation entirely shares this view and indeed supports the appeal of the Co-ordinating Bureau

“to join in the condemnation of South Africa and its imperialist allies and to help defeat the imperialist strategy and tactics in southern Africa, the latest manifestation of which is the threatened attack on Angola.” [Ibid., *para. 5.*]

217. The consideration over many years of the whole range of questions on southern Africa within the United Nations makes it irrefutably clear that the existence of colonialist and racist régimes is possible only because of the broad and systematic support and assistance which those régimes receive from imperialist countries and their monopolies. At the same time, those countries, resorting to the most varied methods, are attempting to weaken the efforts aimed at internationally isolating the *apartheid* régime and the Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia, and are attempting to work against the adoption of active measures to call a halt to their criminal activities.

218. We think it necessary to stress once again that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is ready to support proposals and demands of the African countries for the immediate cessation of all co-operation with the racists and the consistent implementation of all effective measures in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against the colonialist and racist régimes in Southern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa which disregard United Nations decisions. It is our belief that all countries which genuinely wish to see the earliest possible elimination of colonialism, *apartheid* and racism in southern Africa, and which have a genuine interest in ensuring peace and security in that part of the world, should firmly support those just demands.

219. Another step which must be taken, and which must be taken by our Organization with the active co-operation of all its Members, is the intensification of comprehensive assistance and support for the national liberation movements of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa in their just struggle for freedom and independence.

220. The efforts of our Organization consistently to put into effect the exercise of the lawful right of all peoples to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, must also be fully extended to the so-called small Territories, which constitute the remnants of the former mighty system of colonial domination of imperialism.

221. We must with the utmost decisiveness reject and condemn the efforts and aspirations of certain adminis-

tering Powers, attempting on various pretexts to perpetuate their colonial domination over those Territories, particularly their attempts aimed at the direct annexation or dismemberment of individual colonial Territories.

222. As has been shown by the discussion of the questions connected with those Territories in the Special Committee, such illegal practices are being applied particularly in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

223. We should also most firmly condemn the policy of the establishment and maintenance by the colonial Powers and their allies of military bases and facilities in colonial Territories which are under their administration, since this impedes the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization and is incompatible with the goals and principles of the Charter. We must do everything in our power to see to it that the colonial Powers in question immediately comply with the demand addressed to them repeatedly by the General Assembly, and most recently in paragraph 11 of resolution 32/42 of 7 December 1977,

“... to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones”.

224. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has consistently supported the right of all peoples of colonial, non-self-governing and Trust Territories to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV). Together with other socialist countries, we stand shoulder to shoulder with those peoples which are struggling for the final elimination of all the remaining vestiges of colonialism and the elimination of the régimes of *apartheid* and racism. This position of principle of the socialist countries was reaffirmed at the recent meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held in Moscow. The Declaration adopted at that meeting states, *inter alia*:

“The socialist States... reaffirm their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and against any form of domination and oppression. They have supported and will continue to support the forces fighting for national liberation and the peoples of the newly liberated countries in their hard struggle to uphold their independence and freedom, including their right freely to choose their path of social development and to safeguard the territorial integrity of their countries as well as their independence and sovereignty. They reaffirm the firm intention of their countries to continue to develop all-round co-operation and friendly interaction with young socialist-oriented States.

“The socialist States vigorously support the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia in their selfless struggle for the early attainment of national independence. They are in sympathy with the just struggle of the people of South Africa for the abolition of *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination. They condemn the attempts to impose upon the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa neo-colonialist solutions which are alien to them and which could lead to the outbreak of new conflicts in that region.” [A/33/392-S/12939, *annex.*]

225. Mr. CHOU Nan (China) (*translation from Chinese*): First of all, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, I wish to pay high respects to the Governments and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that stand courageously at the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and extend our warm congratulations to the peoples of Solomon Islands, Tuvalu and the Commonwealth of Dominica, which have attained national independence recently. We wish the people of various countries continued successes in the cause of defending their national independence and building their respective countries.

226. Over the past year, new victories have been scored in the mounting struggle of the people of various countries to win or safeguard national independence and to combat imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. The situation is very good. The experience of struggle has further shown that the third-world countries and people are playing the role of main force in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have strengthened their unity and mutual support in the struggle. The African States have voiced strong opposition to foreign interference in African affairs. While guarding against and opposing super-Power meddling and interference, the people in the non-independent regions in southern Africa are directing the spearhead of their struggle against the reactionary rule of colonialism and racism, valiantly carrying out armed struggle and other forms of mass struggle for national independence and liberation. Other non-independent States and people are also continuing their advance on the road towards national independence and liberation. Some Asian and African countries and peoples have succeeded in defending their national independence and territorial integrity by repulsing military intrusions engineered by a super-Power and frustrating its schemes of subversion and sabotage. In order to recover the occupied Arab territories and regain the national rights of the Palestinian people, the Arab and Palestinian people are fighting against the common enemy and persevering in the struggle against Israeli Zionist aggression and super-Power rivalry in the Middle East. The struggle of the Latin American peoples for safeguarding State sovereignty and independence and defending their national economic rights and interests is surging forward.

227. The struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism constitutes the great historical trend of our time; that is, countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution.

228. With the deepening and growth of the national liberation movements, a series of countries have won independence successively and the old colonial system has disintegrated with only very little territory still under colonial rule. But the old colonialists have not yet stepped down completely from the stage of history. Southern Africa is the main stronghold for them to put up a last-ditch struggle, and it remains the biggest colonial area in the world today. The rivalry between the two super-Powers and their interference have made the situation more acute and complex. That is why the struggle of the southern African people for national liberation has always attracted the attention of the people of all countries.

229. Breaking through the numerous obstacles set up by the racists and imperialists, the people of southern Africa are carrying forward in depth their struggle for national independence and liberation. The armed struggle of the Zimbabwe people has dealt increasingly heavy blows at the Smith reactionary régime. The armed struggle of the Namibian people has kept on shaking the colonial rule of the Botha reactionary authorities. A new situation has emerged in the mass movement of the Azanian people against racial discrimination and *apartheid*, and they have reached a new high in their political consciousness and capability of waging struggles. With the support and solidarity of the African countries and the people of the rest of the world, the struggle of the southern African people for national independence and liberation is pounding at the reactionary racist rule with irresistible force. The racists are finding their going tougher and tougher.

230. Of course, the road of struggle remains tortuous. Colonialism and racism, like all other reactionary forces, will never be reconciled to their defeat. The nearer they approach their doom the more they want to put up a last-ditch fight. They resort to the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of using military repression and political deception simultaneously or alternately. They are stepping up the repression of freedom fighters and launching frequent military invasions of neighbouring African sovereign States. At the same time, they are resorting to "soft" tactics in an attempt to lure the freedom fighters into laying down their arms, to split the unity of the African States and rig up and foster puppets so as to prolong their colonial rule by changed methods.

231. In Zimbabwe, while stepping up the Fascist military repression of the Zimbabwe people, Smith and his like have been juggling with the political gimmick of an "internal settlement" and doing their utmost to sow disunity among the Zimbabwe liberation organizations. In Namibia, the Botha régime, inheriting Vorster's reactionary ways, has stubbornly refused to withdraw from Namibia and staged a farce of sham elections in repeated violation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. In Azania, over 10 million Africans are still suffering from brutal persecution under the savage system of racial discrimination and *apartheid*. However, as the Chinese saying goes, "the evil is strong, but the good is 10 times stronger".

232. The people of southern Africa are making better use of revolutionary dual tactics to deal with the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of the racists. The experience of struggle tells us armed struggle is the basic approach to victory, political struggle must be backed by military struggle, and negotiations must be based on fighting. The constant build-up of the people's armed strength with the tactful co-ordination of other forms of struggle will enable one to seize the initiative and remain invincible under any circumstances, thus leading to final victory.

233. What merits attention is that in recent years the two super-Powers have intensified their rivalry in Africa and that southern Africa, which is strategically important and rich in natural resources, has become an important place for their rivalry. One super-Power is doing its best to preserve

its own vested interests and is offering all kinds of advice to the racists, who are beset with troubles both at home and abroad, in an attempt to lull the fighting will of the southern African people and extinguish the flames of armed struggle. The other late-coming super-Power, motivated by its ambitions for world hegemony, has long cast a covetous eye on southern Africa. Taking advantage of the repeated setbacks being suffered by the old colonialists and racists under the heavy blows of the African people, it has stepped up its infiltration and expansion in southern Africa under the banner of supporting the national liberation movements. Working hard to sow dissension and create division among the African countries and the national liberation organizations, it praises one as progressive and labels another as reactionary so as to create confusion which will provide leeway for it to sneak in and carry out military intervention in an attempt to replace the racists and old colonialists. It remains a serious task for the southern African people to chase away the tiger at the back door while repulsing the wolf at the front gate.

234. Historical dialectics tell us that the iniquitous acts of the reactionaries have always served as lessons to educate the revolutionary people by negative example. Super-Power aggression and expansion have caused the people of southern Africa to get further united, support each other in a common fight and closely link the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism with that against super-Power hegemonism. Many African countries and people have also increased their support and assistance to the people of southern Africa. The fifteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU held not long ago strongly condemned imperialism, colonialism and racism and forcefully exposed super-Power acts of aggression and expansion in Africa. It pointed out in all seriousness that Africa was not to throw off one yoke of colonialism only to put on another colonialist shackle. The Assembly adopted a series of resolutions strongly condemning the racist régimes and reaffirming its resolute support to the liberation struggle of the southern African people. This fully demonstrates the strong determination of the 400 million African people to liberate the whole African continent. History is made by the people. No reactionary force that tries to stem the advance of the wheel of history can escape from its own destruction.

235. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and in pursuance of the foreign policies formulated by Chairman Mao Tsetung and Premier Chou En-lai, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the just struggle of all oppressed nations and peoples and firmly support the southern African people in their just struggle against white racism and for national independence and liberation. Zimbabwe and Namibia should attain immediately genuine national independence free from any external interference and on the basis of territorial integrity and unification. South Africa's policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* must be abolished, and the Azanian people should achieve liberation forthwith. We firmly support the African and other third-world countries and people as well as the people of all countries in their just struggle against super-Power hegemonism and for the defence of national independence and state sovereignty.

236. We are deeply convinced that persevering in unity and struggle the African people, with the support of all the countries and people that uphold justice, will win victory in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and hegemonism and attain the complete independence and liberation of the African continent.

237. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Congo, who will speak on behalf of the African States.

238. Mr. GAYAMA (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): Eighteen years have already elapsed since the adoption by this Assembly of the true charter on decolonization—namely, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in resolution 1514 (XV). The work of decolonization could have been accomplished since then had it not been for the nefarious and retrograde actions of foreign economic interests at play in the countries thus dominated, on the one hand, and, on the other, the resolutely negative attitude of a handful of settlers whose premise for survival remains domination at all costs over the majority of the populations of the countries in which they live. This is true of Rhodesia and, by and large, of southern Africa.

239. There are thus two aspects to the problem that arises. It is both a question of colonial domination in the strict sense of that term, and of society as such. In fact, colonial domination is characterized, to cite the case of Rhodesia, by the close link that the rebels headed by Mr. Ian Smith establish between the position of the ruling classes—namely, the white settlers—and the conviction that only persons stemming from the so-called humanist, Western Christian civilization can and should exercise absolute domination over all other peoples. Yesterday and today that so-called civilizing theory has served and still serves as a basis for the legitimization of all situations of this kind, however anachronistic and fallacious they may be.

240. A crucial problem has been added to that cultural basis—that of the abdication of the colonial Powers. To quote again the case of Rhodesia, it is enlightening to note the weakness with which the former colonial Power faces up to its responsibilities. It would seem that it is not doing so at all and, in fact, that is exactly what is happening.

241. By adopting, on 12 October 1970, resolution 2621 (XXV), containing the programme of action aimed at implementing fully the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the General Assembly truly emphasized its determination to eradicate the evil of the colonial status imposed on peoples, nations or individuals by other peoples, nations or individuals.

242. There are countless ways of envisaging relations between human beings, and colonialism is undoubtedly one of the most anachronistic, not to say one of the most abject and therefore one of the most intolerable.

243. A few days ago, we commemorated the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Colonial status in no way is consistent with the principles defined in that Declaration, let alone with the evolution that has taken place in the world during the last few decades.



244. Indeed, colonialism, apart from promoting all manifestations of barbarism and contemptuousness, legitimizes plunder and exploitation and in this sense is a thinly disguised form of enslavement. Racism, *apartheid* and the exploitation of the human and economic resources of peoples for the benefit of foreign interests grow in the shadow of colonialism. The colonialist spirit encourages repression; hence it is incompatible with the concept of freedom. Under colonialism, all dialogue is forbidden. That is why the national liberation movements are ostracized. Freedom fighters are treated as terrorists. Some, who are even more subtle, describe any action against the colonial and imperialist order as a “Communist” anathema in order to justify constraint and repression. So clever a slogan is it that it has been passed on from generation to generation of settlers ever since the good old days of the colonialist era.

245. We believe the time has come to put an end to all this. The imperatives of respect for human beings and their self-determination and free development are categorical. By observing those imperatives, we gain time and we spare peoples unnecessary suffering. Indeed, what purpose is served by not granting today what we will have to grant in the future? For example, we continue, thanks to the unrelenting efforts of peace-loving, progressive peoples, to witness new accessions to independence. We take this occasion to applaud, on behalf of the African States, the accession to independence, on 3 November last, of the Commonwealth of Dominica, which was recently admitted as the one hundred and fifty-first Member of the United Nations. This same year we have seen two other former Territories gain independence: Solomon Islands, on 7 July, and Tuvalu, on 1 October.

246. These accessions to independence demonstrate that there is no political entity so weak or so small that it does not have the right to self-determination and independence. That should shed light on many a discussion and reduce much useless tension, be it in Africa, Latin America, the Pacific or in Asia, where a number of problems, which are generally dealt with in the Fourth Committee and are the subject of reports submitted to the Assembly, persist.

247. One of the elements that emerge from an examination of the report of the Special Committee on decolonization is the obstacle created by economic, military or other interests to the implementation of measures proposed by the international community to put an end to the perpetuation of colonialism and domination. This is obvious in Rhodesia, where the illegal racist minority régime still survives thanks to the many favours bestowed on it by certain economic Powers.

248. The Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia, adopted at the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held at Maputo in May 1977,<sup>11</sup> as well as the Lagos Declaration on Action against *Apartheid*,<sup>12</sup> have already advocated the line of conduct to be followed by us

all. We continue to deplore the active complicity between the rebel régime and the transnational corporations of certain countries which provide Ian Smith and his illegal régime with the necessary means of survival. Thus it is that, despite the embargo on arms and on all economic relations, the rebel régime continues, as usual, to receive supplies from its traditional partners and, indeed, to prosper.

249. Oil continues to be provided to it through South Africa, although Rhodesia and South Africa have no oil companies of their own on a world scale capable of supplying that energy.

250. The supply of contingents of mercenaries, always recruited by the same sources, to the racist minority régimes is further confirmation of the complicity between those régimes and certain highly respectable Governments. No matter how much the countries which supply those mercenaries may try to deny it, the fact is that it is in their territories that information offices and tourist and other agencies are maintained which praise the charms of those detestable countries.

251. All Governments must therefore take appropriate and effective measures to prevent any emigration of their nationals to Rhodesia or South Africa, until the democratization of social life in those countries has been achieved.

252. It would also be most advantageous for the liberation of Zimbabwe if passports or any other travel documents were refused to the minority racists under all circumstances, and if such documents issued in Rhodesia were clearly and simply invalidated.

253. Moreover, apart from offering general, political or material assistance to the national liberation movements—in particular, the Patriotic Front in the case of Zimbabwe—it would be absolutely decisive if the minority racist Powers were to be deprived of their capacity to attack States Members of the United Nations that endeavour to implement the measures adopted by the General Assembly or Security Council. The aggression perpetrated this year against Mozambique and Zambia, as well as the constant threats against other neighbouring countries, attest to the need for urgent measures in this connexion.

254. The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has made the pertinent suggestion that specific measures be taken to inform world public opinion more fully of problems connected with decolonization. This is indispensable, because a decolonization of minds in those countries from which the retrograde colonial régimes obtain their greatest support would be one of the best means of achieving the objectives of the United Nations. Otherwise, even the best-intentioned Governments would be elaborating peace plans that would take into account the interests of only the military-industrial oligarchies, while not solving the problem as soon as we would wish.

255. We have already had occasion to comment on the present low level of credibility of the peace plans put forward by certain Western Powers for Namibia and Zimbabwe. Yet one could hardly be more unembarrassed

<sup>11</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12344/Rev.1, annex V.

<sup>12</sup> See *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid, Lagos, 22-26 August 1977* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2 and corrigendum), chap. X.

than the authors of those plans, which have resulted only in giving aid and comfort to the colonial régimes in their arrogance.

256. It is not only the interests of the captains of industry or of the military strategists that should be taken into account. We continue to believe that if the Governments of the great Powers involved here were motivated in their actions by their own public opinion, as they claim they are, many situations would change in favour of peace and security for the African peoples. Viewed from this angle, the achievement of the goal of decolonization remains one of the essential elements in the improvement of international relations.

*Mr. Maina (Kenya), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

257. Mr. KOCHUBEY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Last year, the whole of progressive mankind solemnly celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which opened up new prospects for the development of the national liberation struggle in colonial and semi-colonial countries. The defeat of fascism was one more powerful incentive in the intensification of the struggle for national liberation and accelerated the process of the collapse of colonial empires. Every year, one country or another embarks on the course of sovereign development. To a large extent, this has been promoted by the easing of international tensions, which has created conditions propitious for the total elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism, for the strengthening of the equality and independence of peoples and for the affirmation of the right of all peoples to national independence.

258. The collapse of the colonial system was by no means the consequence of the goodwill of the imperialist Powers, as so late in the day certain Western quarters are trying to have us believe, but rather the result of a long-drawn-out and cruel struggle of the liberation forces of oppressed peoples against the forces of international imperialism, and one can state with every justification that in this just struggle the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries unswervingly enjoyed the comprehensive support and assistance of the countries of the socialist community, for the international solidarity with peoples struggling against colonialism and for national independence remains and continues to be one of the fundamental principles of our foreign policy as it was 60 years ago.

259. In the time that has elapsed since the adoption in 1960, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, considerable progress has undeniably been made in the field of decolonization. This is particularly evident in the example of the African continent; with the exception of its southernmost part almost the whole of the continent has attained freedom. In Africa 49 sovereign States have now achieved freedom and independence as a result of many years of struggle against the colonial yoke.

260. There has been a considerable increase in the role and the influence of liberated countries—and not only African countries—in international affairs. The overwhelming ma-

ajority of such countries have favoured and fought for peace and freedom and against various forms of aggression, expansion, exploitation and oppression.

261. Nevertheless, an end has not yet been put to colonialism. Hotbeds of colonialism continue to survive in southern Africa and are dangerous sources of tension and international conflict. They serve as bases for the imperialists in their offensives against the national liberation forces in Africa and against young African States which have embarked upon the course of independent development.

262. As the Assembly is aware, the principal source of colonialism and racism exists in the form of the shameful racist and colonial régimes of the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. These régimes are attempting by force to deprive the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia of their lawful rights to freedom and independence and are striving at any cost to preserve and perpetuate colonial systems in this region and to consolidate the domination of a mere handful of racists and colonialists.

263. The situation in southern Africa has given rise to legitimate concern on the part of world public opinion, and this is demonstrated by the work of the General Assembly at this session. The harshest possible racial and national oppression, the flagrant violation of the elementary human rights, the ruthless exploitation to which are being subjected the indigenous inhabitants in the Republic of South Africa, where the policy of *apartheid* and racial oppression is rampant; in Namibia, which is illegally occupied by the Pretoria régime; and in Southern Rhodesia, in which what in essence has been implanted is a complete system of racial discrimination—all this cannot fail to arouse just and righteous indignation on the part of all genuinely democratic forces in the world.

264. The system of violence and repression established by the régimes of the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia, the ever-more frequent acts of aggression against sovereign African States, the feverish build-up of the military potential in Pretoria and Salisbury, the aspirations of the racists in South Africa to acquire nuclear weapons have created in that part of the world a situation which represents a most serious threat to international peace and security.

265. In view of the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, it is the duty of every State and all peace-loving forces to promote by every means in their power the elimination of the explosive situation which has arisen in southern Africa. In this regard, what has become of even more significance is the total and unrestricted implementation of the principles of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The United Nations must make its powerful influence felt and take practical measures to achieve this end. The situation urgently requires such action. Suffice it to take a look at the situation in Namibia, where the illegal, unilateral holding of so-called elections there, in defiance of decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, represents a direct challenge to the United Nations and the world community, the most flagrant violation of the rules of international law and a threat to international peace and security.

266. The Government of the Republic of South Africa and the racists of Salisbury have, in defiance of the decisions of the United Nations and the demands of international public opinion, continued ruthlessly to oppress Zimbabwe's population of 6 million. In that country there has been established a régime of racial oppression, comprising political persecution, overt terror and the most cruel exploitation of the indigenous inhabitants. In view of the growth of the liberation movement, the Southern Rhodesian racists have had recourse to various political manoeuvres in an attempt to mislead world public opinion.

267. In condemning the policy pursued by the Southern Rhodesian régime with regard to the indigenous population and its attempt at blackmail and intimidation of the independent States of Africa, our delegation expresses its support for the patriots of Zimbabwe struggling against the colonialists for freedom and independence of their country and insists on the adoption of even more effective measures against the racists of Rhodesia.

268. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR with utmost determination condemns the policy of those circles and States which pay lip service to their criticism of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations but in actual fact do everything in their power to protect the racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa, in disregard of the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations, and go out of their way to seek every possible loop-hole in order to violate the sanctions that have been adopted against South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

269. One of the previous speakers, clothing himself in demagogic phrases about super-Powers, hegemonism and so on, has attempted to confuse the idea and the purport of the struggle being waged by the peoples of southern Africa. He is the representative of a country which, for reasons of its unprincipled interests, expresses solidarity with the most reactionary régimes and political forces oppressing and exploiting the peoples of southern Africa that are attempting to bring about the independence of a number of countries in Africa.

270. We are firmly of the opinion that only total international isolation of the racist régimes of southern Africa, and also strict observance by all States Members of the United Nations of their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and of the appropriate decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, can help to make a substantial contribution to the putting into effect and the exploiting of the existing objective possibilities for effective and speedy solutions to the problems which have arisen in southern Africa for the purpose of eliminating colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

271. The United Nations, and in particular the Special Committee on decolonization, which has been doing most useful work, should continue its persistent efforts to find ways of putting an end once and for all to the anachronism of our time—colonialism and neo-colonialism.

272. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia): The question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has been on the agenda of the session of the United Nations General

Assembly year after year as one of the most important problems facing the United Nations and the world community.

273. Each time the discussion of this problem represents an important step and contribution to the unstinting efforts of all the progressive peoples of the world to achieve the ultimate aim of the complete elimination of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, which still poison the international atmosphere. Indeed, the immediate and total liquidation of remnants of colonialism and racism will not only alleviate the sufferings of millions of people but also remove a dangerous source of international tension and thus greatly foster the process of international détente, which continues to be the characteristic feature of the present world situation.

274. It should once again be noted with satisfaction that recent years have seen some most remarkable achievements in the field of the liquidation of colonialism, achievements which led to the total collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire and to the emergence of a number of new progressive countries on the African continent. None the less, the final goal of rooting out the vestiges of colonialism and racial discrimination has not yet been fully attained. There are millions of people, in particular in the southern part of Africa, who still suffer under both colonial domination and racial segregation.

275. Nothing has been achieved with the illegal minority régime of Salisbury, which continues its policy of the ruthless exploitation of and racial discrimination against the indigenous people of Zimbabwe, while the other racist régime of South Africa, with the encouragement and support of its Western allies, clings to its obnoxious policy of *apartheid* and to the illegal occupation of the international Territory of Namibia. Moreover, the racists are attempting to spread the inhuman policy of *apartheid* to Namibia and Zimbabwe, and thus they pose an open challenge to the world community and to the United Nations, which has repeatedly condemned the *apartheid* system as a crime against humanity.

276. At the same time, the racist régimes flagrantly commit barbarous acts of aggression against neighbouring countries, which jeopardize the peace and security of the region and the world as a whole. The most clear-cut examples of such blatant acts of aggression are to be found in the predatory attacks carried out this year by the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia against Angola, and most recently against Mozambique and Zambia. These wanton acts of aggression must be stopped once and for all. In this regard, my delegation considers that the defence capacities and capabilities of the front-line countries such as Angola, Mozambique and others, which still face acts of aggression on the part of racists, should be consolidated and strengthened so that these countries could most successfully repulse any future attacks by the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury.

277. My delegation, like many others, is deeply concerned over the actions of those Western Powers which ostensibly profess to be patrons of human rights but actually prove themselves to be the main protectors of racist and Fascist régimes in southern Africa and elsewhere, where the worst

and most numerous violations of human rights take place. Indeed, it is common knowledge that the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia exist and are able to make a sinister challenge to the world community thanks only to the broad support and collaboration of certain Western Powers and their transnational corporations. It is equally well known that the so-called negotiated settlements of the issues of Southern Africa, initiated by some Western countries, are first of all dictated by the vested interests of these Powers and their multinational monopolies rather than by the interests of the indigenous populations of the territories concerned.

278. Confronted with the ever-growing role of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa under the leadership of their national liberation movements, the racists and their protectors, in an attempt to preserve their positions, are now resorting to drastic measures and different manoeuvres. The recent so-called elections in Namibia, carried out unilaterally by South Africa with the single purpose of installing a puppet régime there, are the direct outcome of the long-prepared designs of the racist and imperialist forces. The world community, and first of all our Organization, must condemn and reject these so-called elections in Namibia.

279. The time has come to take the most effective measures against the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. One such measure is the strict and over-all application of economic sanctions against South Africa and other enforcement measures provided in Article 41 of the Charter. We consider that the arms embargo imposed against South Africa in accordance with Security Council resolution 418 (1977) cannot in itself serve as the only effective instrument unless it is supplemented with other enforcement measures against the Pretoria régime. It is therefore necessary and most urgent for our Organization, and in the first instance the Security Council, to take the further mandatory measures against both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia which could exert the most effective pressure upon them.

280. In the meantime, my delegation deems it vitally important and imperative for the international community and our Organization to render continued and increased assistance and support to the national liberation movements, which have been recognized both by OAU and by the United Nations as the sole legitimate representatives of the indigenous peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Such support and assistance should be channelled, on both a bilateral and multilateral basis, into political, moral, material and other fields.

281. In regard to the other Territories still under colonial rule, the position of my Government has been set out time and again in the statements of my delegation in the General Assembly. That position is in full conformity with the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV), which stipulates that

“All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

“Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence.”

282. In this connexion, my delegation once again wholeheartedly welcomes among us the newest member of our Organization, Solomon Islands, and wishes it every success in the consolidation of its independence and freedom as well as in its development along the path of social progress and justice.

283. It should also be noted with satisfaction that other colonial Territories will soon be able to attain their independence and join the family of the United Nations.

284. Together with this encouraging news, there are discouraging developments which may lead to the perpetuation of colonial domination unless urgent and decisive action is taken. In particular my delegation expresses its deep concern over the developments obtaining in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

285. According to the latest data, the Administering Authority of those islands is attempting to dismember that Territory and eventually annex a part of or the whole of that area. My delegation considers that action a gross violation of and an open challenge to the Charter, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Trusteeship Agreement between the Administering Authority and the United Nations, which clearly and categorically set forth the necessity of preserving the territorial integrity of colonial countries and facilitating the speedy granting of independence to them.

286. In the light of the foregoing, my delegation holds the view that the General Assembly should demand that that Administering Authority take the necessary steps so that the people of those islands may be given the earliest opportunity to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and freedom in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

287. The twentieth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is drawing closer. It is our earnest hope that by the time of the commemoration of that historic date the United Nations will have achieved concrete progress in the complete decolonization of the remaining colonial Territories. The Mongolian People's Republic will further strive to contribute to the achievement of that noble goal.

288. In conclusion, I would inform the Assembly that the Mongolian delegation has decided to become a sponsor of draft resolutions A/33/L.16 and A/33/L.17.

289. Mr. NIKULIN (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Almost two decades have elapsed since the General Assembly's adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, initiated by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. However, the question of the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization remains a matter of extreme relevance and topicality and is of the greatest practical significance to the

fate of those peoples still living in conditions of colonial exploitation and imperialist dependence and to the completion of the process of the total elimination of the remnants of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

290. The national liberation struggles of the colonial and dependent nations, a powerful impetus to which was the victory of the great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, has in the most recent decades won major successes.

291. Striking changes have occurred particularly in Africa. These have come about as a result of pressure from the national liberation movement and have caused the collapse of the colonial empires. In practical terms, the question of the elimination of the remaining hotbeds of colonialism and racism on African soil has been raised. In the liberated countries of Africa serious political, social and economic changes are under way. We are also witnessing the unswerving process of the consolidation of young States. In a number of African countries the positions of political forces leading their countries along a non-capitalist course have been strengthened, a course of development that has opted in favour of a socialist orientation. There is also consolidation of the national liberation movement in southern Africa.

292. However, positive changes in Africa are clearly not to the liking of the imperialist forces of the West and the forces of racism and reaction, which continue to think in old colonialist terms and are doing everything in their power to blunt the edge of the anti-imperialist struggle in Africa and not only to preserve but even to further consolidate their positions and to channel the development of African States in a neo-colonialist direction acceptable to them.

293. Behind all this we find primarily the interests of the Western monopolistic circles that have such a vital interest in the continuation of the colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation of the human and extremely rich natural resources of Africa, circles which are pumping out of that region fabulous super-profits, and the military and strategic interests of the imperialist Powers, the main members of the aggressive NATO bloc.

294. The actions of imperialist circles in the south of the African continent and of the major Western Powers are in flagrant violation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other United Nations decisions on problems of decolonization. In its resolution 32/42 the General Assembly affirmed once again that:

“... the continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations—including racism, *apartheid*, the exploitation by foreign and other interests of economic and human resources, and the waging of colonial wars to suppress the national liberation movements of colonial Territories in Africa—is incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and poses a serious threat to international peace and security”.

295. In the declaration adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Moscow on 23 Novem-

ber 1978, the States of the socialist community stressed that :

“... the imperialist policy directed at the peoples fighting for liberation from colonial and racist oppression, against neo-colonialism and for independence and social progress, also represents a threat to international détente.” [See A/33/392-S/12939, annex.]

296. The last major bastion of racism and *apartheid* in the south of the African continent, a main base of Western imperialist monopolies, remains the racist régime of South Africa. Nowhere more than there do we find in total agreement and mutual understanding a coexistence of die-hard racists and hundreds of Western imperialist monopolies. That should be no surprise, because both are parasitic, drawing on the labour of the indigenous African population. And their aims are the same: the most cruel possible exploitation of the indigenous African and Coloured population of South Africa in order that the South African and Western imperialist monopolies can syphon off super-profits and plunder the natural resources of southern Africa for the benefit of monopolistic capital. Precisely for that reason we find that that is the destination of a vast influx of Western investment amounting to billions of dollars. About 70 per cent of all investment in the economy of the Republic of South Africa comes from Western industrial monopolies and banks, and the amount of profits streaming back in the opposite direction is no less impressive.

297. The vast proceeds earned by imperialist monopolies through their ruthless exploitation of the Africans is utilized for comprehensive support for the reactionary colonial and racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, for the suppression of the same Africans, and for the organization of intervention against independent African States, coups d'état, and the payment of mercenaries.

298. Thanks to financial support from the major Western countries members of NATO, it is possible for South Africa speedily to build up its military potential. Its military expenditures have over the last five years increased almost fourfold.

299. Despite the decisions of the United Nations, the British, American and West German monopolies and the monopolies of other Western countries are not only not reducing their activities in South Africa but are actually penetrating ever new spheres of the country's economy. The British Steel Corporation, for example, controlled by the British Government, remains one of the most important investors of capital in South Africa. It takes a direct part in the development of the iron and steel industry which is so vital for the military industrial potential of the racist régime.

300. In the petroleum processing industry of the Republic of South Africa a large part is played by the British companies Shell and British Petroleum and the American companies Mobil Oil and Caltex.

301. In the plot to ensure oil for Southern Rhodesia, through South Africa, in defiance of United Nations



sanctions, practically all the leading oil monopolies of Western countries take an active part.

302. It is no secret that the production of such companies, which have their affiliates in the Republic of South Africa—companies such as the International Telephone and Telegraph, the American and British departments of General Electric, the West German firms Telefunken and Siemens, and many others—are very important for equipping the South African army with modern means of waging war.

303. It is precisely the Western monopolies which have helped the racists of South Africa to create a military industry and to organize the manufacture of various forms of military technology. Research in the field of nuclear energy carried out in the Republic of South Africa along with Western specialists has made it possible for the Pretoria régime to proceed to the creation of its own nuclear weapons, something which represents a serious threat to international peace and security in Africa and beyond Africa.

304. Major Western countries are the major violators of United Nations decisions with regard to South Africa. This includes Security Council resolution 418 (1977) on a mandatory embargo on arms deliveries to South Africa. For example, according to the magazine *Southern Africa*, in its issue of November this year, on 14 December 1977, some six weeks after the adoption of that resolution, the United States State Department approved the sale of six reconnaissance aircraft of the Cessna type to South Africa, and in March 1978, the sale of 70 to 80 more light aircraft was approved.

305. Side by side with the headlong growth of foreign capital investment in the Republic of South Africa, Western banks are granting the *apartheid* régime tremendous loans amounting to \$300-400 million a year. There are very broad trade, economic and also political links between the West and the racists of the Republic of South Africa.

306. That economic and political considerations which determine the imperialist policy of alliance with the racist régimes in the south of Africa should have added to them a military strategic aspect is only understandable. The Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia have been and remain the most important bases for the carrying out of NATO's plans in Africa.

307. The constant and comprehensive assistance and support given to the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa by the imperialist circles of leading Western countries has made it possible for the South African racists not only to pursue a criminal policy and the practice of racism and *apartheid* within the country, but also to continue their illegal occupation of Namibia, and what is in essence the colonial exploitation of its human and natural resources.

308. The racists of Pretoria have not only provocatively been disregarding the numerous decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on the cessation of the illegal occupation of Namibia, but also are undertaking measures to strengthen their colonial domination in Namibia.

309. The United Nations has categorically condemned any measures taken by the racist Government of South Africa designed to impose a so-called internal settlement on Namibia to preserve its occupation of the Territory.

310. However, the constant cruel acts of repression against the Namibians, particularly against the members of SWAPO, and the unprecedented wholesale and cruel acts of aggression against neighbouring sovereign States which have already led to the causing of hundreds of casualties among the peaceful civilian population, principally women and children, all most convincingly demonstrate that South Africa has no intention of leaving Namibia or changing its policy with regard to independent African States.

311. The most recent piece of evidence of the Republic of South Africa's total disregard of the relevant decisions of the United Nations and the demands of the international community was the farce of so-called elections carried out by the racists of Pretoria in Namibia in order to implant in the Territory a puppet neo-colonialist régime and to perpetuate their racist domination.

312. The liberation of Namibia from the illegal occupation of the racist régime of Pretoria is one of the most important international problems which will brook no further delay. Major responsibility for the fact that one of the last remaining hotbeds of colonialism still survives in Namibia lies with the leading Western members of NATO, which in defiance of the decisions of the United Nations, in violation of the binding sanctions imposed by the Security Council, continue to give South Africa political, diplomatic, economic and military support.

313. The General Assembly, in resolution 33/40, has categorically condemned the plot of the major Western countries and Israel, which co-operate with South Africa in all areas of activity, including the nuclear field, which is a flagrant violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

314. The activities of imperialist circles of Western countries in southern Africa, including Namibia, is one of the major obstacles to the attainment of political independence by the indigenous African population, and also to the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization contained in resolution 1514 (XV).

315. The Byelorussian SSR has always consistently supported and continues to support the ensuring to the people of Namibia of this inalienable right to self-determination and independence on the basis of preserving the unity and territorial integrity of that country, including Walvis Bay, as we have always favoured the immediate and total withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and the handing over of power to SWAPO, which is the sole legitimate and genuine representative of the Namibian people.

316. The basis for a solution to the Namibian problem is to be found in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and other United Nations bodies.

317. We must ensure strict observance by all States of Security Council sanctions against the racist régime of Pretoria, primarily Security Council resolution 418 (1977),

on a mandatory embargo on arms deliveries to South Africa; and we must also immediately introduce comprehensive and mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

318. We must establish a total political and diplomatic blockade of the racist régime of Pretoria.

319. A critical situation exists in another hotbed of racism in southern Africa, namely, Southern Rhodesia. Here, as in Namibia, the racists, with the support of their Western imperialist protectors, are making desperate efforts to extend the existence of the illegal régime of Ian Smith, which is objectively doomed to failure. The Salisbury régime has recourse to all kinds of reckless measures in its attempts to crush by force the legitimate aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe for freedom and independence. In extending the war against the peoples of Zimbabwe and their national liberation movement the illegal racist régime is continuing to commit acts of aggression against neighbouring sovereign States—Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana. For the purpose of fighting the national liberation movement of the people of Zimbabwe and strengthening its own military machine, the Salisbury régime is recruiting in a number of Western countries mercenaries for its army. According to reports in the foreign press the number of Western mercenaries in the regular armed forces of South Africa amounts to 5,000, that is, 50 per cent of the regular units of the racist army. The contingent of American mercenaries numbers more than 1,000 so-called soldiers of fortune. Military expenditures in Southern Rhodesia are growing with every year. As is pointed out in United Nations documentation with regard to the military activities of colonial Powers in the Territories under their administration:

“In the 1977/1978 budget, the illegal régime increased its defence budget by almost 75 per cent and its police budget by almost 30 per cent over the 1976/1977 levels. It is believed that the illegal régime is now spending \$U.S. 1 million a day on its military operations.”<sup>13</sup>

320. The Special Committee on decolonization has condemned the military and political co-operation of South Africa with the illegal Salisbury régime and also “the continued recruitment by the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia of foreign mercenaries for its war against the people of Zimbabwe and their national liberation movement and its acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States.”<sup>14</sup>

321. One of the most cynical manoeuvres of the illegal Smith régime undertaken for the purpose of deceiving world public opinion and establishing in Southern Rhodesia a neo-colonialist régime while keeping real power in the hands of the white racists, was the agreement on 3 March this year with regard to a so-called internal settlement concluded between the leader of the Rhodesian racists, Ian Smith, and three of his African collaborators. This illegal deal from the very outset was repudiated and condemned by the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, by the United Nations and by the whole of the progressive world community as

one more manoeuvre on the part of the illegal racist régime of the minority designed to preserve its domination and oppression of the people of Zimbabwe.

322. The Western countries, which are attempting to pose as champions of the self-determination and independence of the African peoples, including the people of Zimbabwe, have not only failed to halt these illegal actions on the part of the Salisbury régime, but have actually taken measures designed in practice to legalize the illegal Smith régime and to provide it with additional military, political and economic support. The United States Congress has adopted a resolution permitting the Government to end the participation of the United States in United Nations sanctions against the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia; and the United States Government has allowed the head of the illegal racist régime of Salisbury, Ian Smith, as well as his African collaborators, to enter the country, thus violating the sanctions of the Security Council against Southern Rhodesia and its obligations under Article 25 of the Charter.

323. The General Assembly has condemned such action on the part of the United States Government in resolution 33/38 B adopted today.

324. The Smith régime has indeed survived 12 years of economic sanctions thanks to the covert support of none other than the Western countries.

325. At the present time, according to statements in the American press including the *Washington Post*, dated 1 December, Ian Smith and his puppets have declared their intention to go even further along the road of their “internal settlement”. They have stated their intention to create, in April 1979, a so-called coalition Government which would guarantee real power for the white minority and give it a decisive role in this Government at least for the next five years.

326. The Byelorussian SSR is in favour of supporting the total isolation of the racist régime of Salisbury, the strengthening of the extension of sanctions within the full scope of Article 41 of the Charter, and the expansion of every possible kind of support for the patriotic forces in Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front. The Byelorussian SSR firmly favours, as it has done in the past, the implementation of the exercise of the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence, and is in favour of the elimination of the racist régime in Rhodesia and the transfer of full power to the people of Zimbabwe through the Patriotic Front.

327. One further question which is of very great importance for the total implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is the question of the decolonization of the so-called small territories. This is a problem which is becoming ever more urgent because of the use of small territories, particularly island territories, by the leading imperialist administering Powers as their own military bases, and also because of their attempts to annex the territories in defiance of the Charter and the decisions of the United Nations.

<sup>13</sup> See document A/AC.109/L.1235, para. 21.

<sup>14</sup> See document A/AC.109/569, para. 8.

328. The Special Committee on decolonization has condemned the creation and maintenance of military bases and other facilities by the colonial Powers and their allies in colonial territories which are under their administration. These impede the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization, and are incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter and resolution 1514 (XV). It has also condemned continuing appropriation of land in these territories for the building of military facilities.

329. The economic, financial and military activities of the colonialist and imperialist Powers in the Territories under their administration, in particular including the broad areas which are to be found in the region of the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean, are a hindrance to the ensuring of the right of the peoples of these Territories to self-determination and independence, lead to the plunder of their natural resources and deprive the indigenous population of their rights to enjoy the wealth of their country.

330. This particularly applies to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Micronesia. Recently, the Administering Authority, the United States, has been blatantly infringing the territorial integrity of Micronesia and has been following a course of dismembering this Territory and annexing parts of it, imposing upon its constituent parts the status of a "political union" or "free association".

331. Without any doubt, these unilateral actions on the part of the Administering Authority with regard to Micronesia, which are in direct contradiction of the Charter and the purposes of trusteeship as laid down in Article 76 of the Charter, cannot be viewed as correct or having legal force.

332. The position of principle of the Byelorussian SSR in support of the struggle of the peoples for the earliest possible total liquidation of all the remnants of colonialism excludes any distinction whatsoever between the rights of large and small peoples to self-determination and independence. This inalienable right of the peoples should be ensured in accordance with the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

333. On 1 January 1979, the Byelorussian people will be marking the sixtieth anniversary of the Byelorussian SSR and the Communist Party of Byelorussia. Throughout these years, the Byelorussian people, in the fraternal family of the peoples of the Soviet Union, together with the other countries of the socialist community, have unswervingly and categorically supported, and will continue to support, peoples waging the struggle for self-determination and independence, for social progress and for the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. Within the United Nations, the Byelorussian SSR has consistently supported the elimination of the illegal racist régime at Salisbury and the transfer of full power to the people of Zimbabwe through the Patriotic Front. We are in favour of the immediate and total withdrawal of the Republic of South Africa from Namibia and the handing over of power in the country to SWAPO, the sole, lawful and genuine representative of the Namibian people. We support the elimination of the blot on the escutcheon of mankind that is the system of *apartheid* in South Africa, and we are fighting for the total elimination of colonialism,

racism and *apartheid* in whatever form they may be manifested.

334. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Guinea, who wishes to explain his vote before the vote.

335. Mr. KOUYATÉ (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): The continued vigorous disinterested action of my country, the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, under the banner of its State Party and its admirable leader, President Sékou Touré, and the people of Guinea acting together with all the other peoples against imperialism, colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, is something that requires no comment because we believe that no people have sought to be colonized by another. It follows, therefore, that colonization is unnatural. That is why the Republic of Guinea was among those States which in 1960 took the initiative to endorse resolution 1514 (XV), which has since become what should rightly be called the charter of decolonization. That also means that the State Party of Guinea will spare no effort to eliminate from Africa and the rest of the world the last vestiges of imperialist-colonialist domination.

336. It is our profound conviction that people make history and that no material force, however powerful, can indefinitely violate the inalienable rights of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe, Palestine and elsewhere to independence and sovereignty. It is for all these reasons, which stem from the sacred protection of the interest of all peoples, that my delegation wished to become a sponsor of draft resolutions A/33/L.16 and A/33/L.17, which are now before the General Assembly under agenda item 24. In addition, I should like to point out a serious error which occurred in the recording of the votes this morning on draft resolutions A and B in document A/33/460. My delegation in fact did not participate in those votes, but the record of the vote which was issued by the Secretariat indicates that we voted in favour of draft resolution A and against draft resolution B. The delegation of Guinea, as a member of the OAU *Ad Hoc* Committee on Western Sahara, declares null and void its so-called affirmative and negative votes cast on draft resolutions A and B in document A/33/460.

337. As we stated in the Fourth Committee on 8 November, the delegation of Guinea repeats that its position of non-participation in any vote on the question of Western Sahara in the United Nations remains unchanged. In the opinion of the State Party of Guinea, one cannot be both an arbiter and a participant in cases of this kind. My delegation sincerely regrets that the voting equipment should have failed and recorded those votes in respect of my country in view of the fact that, at the end of the meeting of the OAU *Ad Hoc* Committee on Western Sahara at Khartoum on 30 November last, my delegation stated that it had no intention of participating in the vote on this question, since it was a matter which the OAU should be able to solve very effectively. We hope that in the future such technical hitches will not recur and that our position will be clearly understood by everyone. We request that this statement should be included faithfully in the records of the General Assembly on the item entitled "Question of Western Sahara."

338. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the two draft resolutions appearing in documents

A/33/L.16 and A/33/L.17. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of those draft resolutions is contained in document A/33/490.

339. We shall first vote on draft resolution A/33/L.16 and Add.1, entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

*Against:* None

*Abstaining:* Belgium, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

*The draft resolution was adopted by 129 votes to none, with 5 abstentions (resolution 33/44).*

340. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution A/33/L.17 and Add.1, entitled "Dissemination of information on decolonization". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala,

Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

*Against:* None

*The draft resolution was adopted by 135 votes to none (resolution 33/45).*

341. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of their vote after the vote.

342. Mr. BENTINCK VAN SCHOONHETEN (Netherlands): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/33/L.16 since it attaches the greatest importance to the full and strict implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. However, my delegation has some reservations on parts of the resolution just adopted. Although we gave our general approval to the report of the Special Committee, we do not endorse every single consideration and recommendation therein. My delegation reiterates its opinion that the exercise of the right of self-determination can lead to solutions other than independence if the people of a Territory choose, in a truly free and democratic decision, another option. Such a decision should be fully respected.

343. My Government considers the development in South Africa as highly critical and it totally rejects the abhorrent, inhuman and immoral policy of *apartheid*. However, the situation in South Africa is not a question of decolonization. In our opinion, the eradication of the *apartheid* system must not be sought in the framework of resolution 1514 (XV).

344. Mr. BROCHENIN (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation did not oppose the adoption of draft resolution A/33/L.17. As we had occasion to say in the Fourth Committee, the fact that we join in a consensus, or even that we vote in favour of a draft resolution, does not mean that we renounce our usual well-known reservations concerning certain resolutions to which we have not subscribed and which are mentioned in the adopted text.

345. Mr. HUTCHINSON (Ireland): The delegation of Ireland is proud to recall the vote it cast in favour of resolution 1514 (XV) in 1960. That vote emphasized the

deeply felt views of the Government and people of Ireland as to the unacceptability of foreign domination and exploitation of peoples in any part of the world. My delegation's support for the two draft resolutions before the General Assembly today [A/33/L.16 and A/33/L.17] is a reaffirmation of our support for the principles of resolution 1514 (XV) and, indeed, for all United Nations work in the area of decolonization. With regard to draft resolution A/33/L.16, however, my delegation holds certain reservations, which were enunciated in our explanation of vote on the very similar resolution 33/42 adopted at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly.<sup>15</sup>

346. Mr. MURATA (Japan): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/33/L.16 because of our firm support for the basic objective expressed therein, namely, a reaffirmation of the inalienable right of peoples of non-self-governing Territories to self-determination and independence. There are, however, some paragraphs in the resolution which my delegation finds it difficult to support. They are the sixth preambular paragraph and paragraphs 2, 5, 9, 10 and 12 *b*. Furthermore, my delegation does not accept certain implications of the language used in the fifth preambular paragraph and in paragraphs 3, 4 and 11. With regard to paragraph 7, my delegation's understanding is that it is not intended to condemn all foreign economic activities.

347. Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the delegations of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and Norway. The Nordic Governments have consistently and actively supported the decolonization process. They will continue to contribute to the efforts of the United Nations to eradicate colonialism and help colonial peoples achieve their inalienable right to self-determination. They will continue to give moral and material support to the colonial peoples in order to help them fulfil their aspiration for self-determination and independence. The Nordic countries recognize the special responsibility of the United Nations in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and they voted in favour of draft resolution A/33/L.16 because they support the main objectives of that resolution.

348. The Nordic countries have reservations, however, concerning some of the paragraphs in the resolution just adopted. We would point out that paragraph 4 contains formulations which might be considered contrary to the principle upheld by the Nordic countries that the United Nations should seek peaceful solutions. We have reservations also concerning certain other paragraphs, some of which seem to run counter to the principle of universality, which our delegations continue to uphold.

349. Mr. BANDINI (Italy): Italy voted in favour of the two resolutions just adopted by the General Assembly. We did so, as we did last year on similar texts, in the light of our long-standing support for the decolonization process set in motion by the historic resolution 1514 (XV), in the adoption of which Italy is proud to have participated. My delegation wishes in this way to reiterate its continuing

commitment to the cause of eradicating the remaining vestiges of colonialism.

350. I should, however, like to express our reservations on the text of document A/33/L.16. Since we have dealt with them at length in the past, I shall confine my statement to some brief remarks. With regard to paragraph 4, it is our understanding that the reference therein to "by all necessary means" should be interpreted as referring to all peaceful means, in conformity with the Charter. As for paragraph 7, regarding foreign economic interests in Non-Self-Governing Territories, I should like to reiterate the position already expressed by my delegation in the Fourth Committee, namely, that we object to the suggestion that all foreign economic interests are necessarily detrimental to the well-being of the population of Non-Self-Governing Territories and to their progress towards independence. With regard to paragraph 2, we wish to reiterate that in our view the system of *apartheid* represents the most inhuman and condemnable example of mass violation of human rights but that it cannot be construed as a form of colonialism. Finally, I should like to put on record our reservations on paragraphs 8 and 10.

351. Mrs. STAHL (United States of America): The United States agrees with the basic goals of draft resolution A/33/L.16 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We have long worked to secure for all peoples the free exercise of the right of self-determination without outside interference. We shall continue to do so in the future. The United States is fully committed to working for internationally acceptable solutions to the problems of southern Africa which will lead to independence for Zimbabwe and Namibia and the elimination of *apartheid* in South Africa. However, my delegation abstained in the vote on this draft resolution because of serious reservations on several important points.

352. The United States believes that the right to self-determination is the right of a people to determine for themselves the status they should have. The United States has no preconceived notion as to what status any Territory should achieve, except that it should correspond to the freely expressed wishes of the local people.

353. The report of the Special Committee on the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV), which is approved in paragraph 5 of the resolution, contains reference to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and Puerto Rico. The intemperate and untrue remarks of the representative of Cuba leave us no choice but particularly to regret the inclusion in the report of the Special Committee the section in chapter I containing a draft resolution which prejudices the situation in Puerto Rico and includes the decision to take up this issue again in 1979. Puerto Rico is not a matter which falls within the purview of the Special Committee, and its inclusion is a clear instance of intervention in United States internal affairs.

354. Concerning the Committee's discussion of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, we wish to point out that authority has been delegated to the Trusteeship Council by the Security Council to consider the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and it is the Trusteeship Council to which this question properly belongs.

<sup>15</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 96th meeting, paras. 272-278.



355. Turning to other parts of the resolution, my delegation believes that paragraph 4 does not adequately convey the view that self-determination should be sought through peaceful means wherever possible.
356. With regard to paragraph 7, the United States shares the view that foreign economic activities which impede the free expression of the right to self-determination should be condemned. We do not believe that foreign economic activities in Non-Self-Governing Territories can be generally so categorized, however.
357. For reasons which are well known, the United States has reservations on paragraphs 6, 9 and 11. The United States believes that the increased politicization of the specialized agencies undermines their effectiveness in performing the technical and humanitarian functions for which they were established. We believe that the United Nations and the specialized agencies should offer assistance to the people of southern Africa—not to liberation movements as organizations.
358. The United States cannot support paragraph 8, as it could be interpreted as condemning all contacts, including even diplomatic relations, with the Government of South Africa. As is well known, the United States—whose nuclear co-operation with South Africa has always been limited to peaceful purposes and has in any case been in abeyance since 1975—has been discussing the basis for resuming peaceful nuclear co-operation with South Africa. Any such co-operation must of course include adequate international safeguards and adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*].
359. Finally, with respect to paragraph 10, our views are also well known. The United States is opposed to the presence of military bases in Non-Self-Governing Territories, if such bases in fact interfere with the free exercise of the right to self-determination. However, we believe that the actual circumstances of individual cases should be examined and that it is not possible to generalize with regard to specific situations. The indiscriminate nature of this paragraph also ignores the wishes of the indigenous populations.
360. With regard to draft resolution A/33/L.17, the United States supports the dissemination of objective information on decolonization but has reservations concerning the language of the Special Committee calling for greater publicity to such items as the role of foreign economic and other interests in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the role of military activities of the colonial Powers which are impeding the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.
361. Mr. BYATT (United Kingdom): My Government strongly supports the principle of self-determination and has done so for 30 years. As the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary of the United Kingdom, Dr. David Owen, said when he spoke in the general debate on 27 September,
- “When the United Nations was established at the end of the Second World War, the British Empire covered one eighth of the world’s land surface and had a population of over 500 million. In the years since then, 35 independent States have emerged from among the people and territories that made up that Empire and have taken their place among the nations of the world. There can be no clearer testimony to the commitment of successive British Governments to the principle of self-determination.”
- [10th meeting, para. 109.]
362. As far as the Territories still under the administration of the United Kingdom are concerned, we remain committed to the principle of self-determination, though we shall not force independence on those who at present do not wish it. First and foremost among our residual responsibilities is Southern Rhodesia, and I should like to quote again briefly from Dr. Owen’s statement, when he said:
- “My Government’s objective is to do everything possible to bring about a peaceful settlement through negotiations providing for majority rule and independence on a basis acceptable to the people of Zimbabwe as a whole.” [Ibid., para. 147.]
363. Bearing in mind our past record and our continuing commitment, it is with regret that the United Kingdom has found itself obliged to abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/33/L.16. I should perhaps add that my Government actively considered voting against it. My regret is all the greater in that the United Kingdom sympathizes with many of the sentiments expressed in this resolution.
364. The United Kingdom rejects the implication in the sixth preambular paragraph of “collaboration” with the Government of South Africa. Furthermore in paragraph 2 we regard as inappropriate the use of language from Chapter VII of the Charter and the implication that *apartheid*, hateful though it is, is a form of colonialism. My Government has strong reservations about the politicization of the specialized agencies of the United Nations implicit in the language of paragraph 6, and does not accept the theory, elaborated in paragraph 7, that the activities of foreign economic and other interests are necessarily an impediment to the self-determination of the peoples of dependent Territories.
365. The United Kingdom voted for and actively adheres to Security Council resolution 418 (1977), but nevertheless the United Kingdom was singled out, with a number of other Western countries, for condemnation in resolution 33/40 on agenda item 95. If the condemnation in paragraph 8 of the present resolution is directed at the United Kingdom among others, we categorically reject the allegation.
366. The United Kingdom does not intend to comply with paragraph 10, the language of which is unrealistic. Lastly, my Government regards certain elements of paragraph 12 as placing on the General Assembly tasks which are beyond its competence or authority.
367. I have mentioned a number of particular points in this resolution with which my delegation does not agree. I should like to conclude by making a general point. The resolution seeks to address itself simultaneously to the

problems of colonial Territories in southern Africa and to the problems of the residual small dependent Territories elsewhere in the world, as though those problems were similar or closely related. Of course they are not. Inevitably, therefore, an attempt to combine them in this way leads to the construction of an elaborate but misleading and unrealistic text. Both sets of problems either have been or will shortly be addressed by the General Assembly in a large number of other resolutions. The present text, in our view, is superfluous where it is not mistaken.

368. Mr. DE ALBUQUERQUE (Portugal): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/33/L.16 as a token of our appreciation of the work of the Special Committee in the field of the implementation of United Nations resolutions dealing with the question of decolonization. Portugal is fully aware of the urgent need to take all the necessary measures to eliminate forthwith the remaining vestiges of colonialism; hence our unflinching support for all the instruments and programmes of action aimed at effectively assisting the peoples in the colonial Territories to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence.

369. Notwithstanding this commitment, my delegation is unable to accept all the conclusions and decisions put forward by the Special Committee in the report presented to the General Assembly and referred to in paragraph 5 of the resolution. Moreover, consistent with the position Portugal has taken on this matter, we express our reservations concerning paragraph 10.

370. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

371. Mrs. STAHL (United States of America): I regret having to speak at this late hour to respond to the remarks of the representative of Cuba concerning Puerto Rico. My delegation had hoped that this matter would not be raised during the work of this General Assembly, and we imagine that this is the view of most members. The United States position with regard to Puerto Rico is clear and well known to this forum. The United Nations position is also clear. However, given the continuing attempt to distort the truth on this matter, I will briefly reiterate the facts.

372. It is up to the people of Puerto Rico to choose whatever status suits them, and Puerto Ricans have had two separate opportunities freely to choose their status since 1952. This development led to removal by the General Assembly of Puerto Rico from the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories in 1953 and to rejection by the General Assembly in 1971 of the inclusion of an item on Puerto Rico. Thus it is not appropriate for the matter to be raised in the General Assembly.

373. The United States position on Puerto Rico was clearly stated most recently by President Carter in his 25 July proclamation to the people of Puerto Rico. Mr. Young made clear the United States position on United Nations consideration of this matter in his 28 August statement. In the President's proclamation, he reiterated United States support for the continued exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Puerto Rico, and stated that he would support any status option—statehood,

independence, commonwealth, or mutually agreed modifications in that status—selected by the people of Puerto Rico in a status referendum.

374. The Cuban representative does not stop at distorting the situation in Puerto Rico. He seeks to distort what happens in the United Nations. He not only distorts what happened in 1973 and tries to make a casual remark by a Chairman of the Fourth Committee into a formal ruling, but also he fails to mention General Assembly resolution 748 (VIII), which removed Puerto Rico from the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. We are pleased to note that the Fourth Committee did not allow Cuba to circumvent proper procedures and persuade it to take up an issue not on its agenda. The Committee heard the views of all concerned and accepted the advice of the Legal Counsel and decided the matter was not properly before it.

375. The Cuban representative owes it to this great international Organization to stick to the facts. He also, as a matter of normal courtesy and good taste, should not refer to freely elected leaders such as Governor Romero Barceló in such vulgar and insulting themes. In short, the matter raised by the Cuban delegate is not on the agenda of this Assembly, and it should not be discussed.

376. Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I regret that I must delay representatives at this late hour on this particular point, but I cannot help it because of the remarks made by the representative of the United States.

377. The position of the United States with respect to the colonial case of Puerto Rico is well known. It is also a well-known fact that the United States invaded that island during the last century, and that it continues to occupy it militarily. It is equally well-known that the people of Puerto Rico has never had the sovereign power freely to decide for itself its political destiny. It is not possible that a people whose country is occupied by the most powerful imperialist Power in the West can freely decide its destiny under foreign military occupation. That is precisely what happened when the representatives of Puerto Rican parties, who, as in past years, have come to the United Nations, requested the full transfer of powers to the people of Puerto Rico so that it may freely choose its own destiny in full sovereignty. That has never happened, and until it does, Puerto Rico will continue to be a colony of the United States whether the representatives of that country like it or not.

378. As for the legitimate right of my delegation to raise this question in the United Nations, I do not believe it is within the competence of any delegation, least of all that of the United States, which occupies Puerto Rico, to tell me what procedure I should follow.

379. The fact is that the question of Puerto Rico is before the United Nations, if not *de jure* then *de facto*, and for this purpose one is as good as the other. The matter is before the United Nations. For years it has been considered in the Special Committee on decolonization. If it is not *de jure*, that is precisely because the United States delegation opposes the consideration of this question by the United Nations. Were it not to oppose it, the matter could be dealt

with fully, as was done in the Special Committee on decolonization, even with the presence of the colonial Governor. The manner in which I broach the subject must be that of all Latin Americans who do not accept elections under the pressure and occupation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, other American agencies and the American Army, which occupy Vieques Island in Puerto Rico, where they have bases. This is a subject with which we deal with revolutionary candour because we are revolutionaries and not diplomats. That is why we use the language of the people and call things by their proper names, and call a spade a spade.

380. Lastly we should like to say that President Eisenhower authorized his representative at the United Nations, Cabot Lodge, to make a statement to the effect that if Puerto Rico wanted more independence it would be given independence, that the United States would give it full independence if it so desired. That is reflected in the resolution adopted this year by the Special Committee on decolonization, although that resolution does not use the exact words of the President of the United States or of the present Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, Mr. Young.

381. To Cuba, the Puerto Rican question is very simple. It is a question of maintaining Puerto Rican nationality and cultural identity. Those Puerto Ricans who feel that way came here this year, some demanding free association and others independence. Both views are reflected in the resolution. It is obvious that Romero Barceló is not a Puerto Rican, nor does he feel Puerto Rican. He feels like an American and hence that gentleman is of no importance from the Puerto Rican point of view. He is a North American, the Governor of a territory occupied by the North Americans, and nothing else. He is not a Puerto Rican and we do not recognize him as such.

382. I should like to add that when Mr. Leonardo Díaz González was Chairman of the Fourth Committee in 1973,

he made a ruling and not a casual observation. Members may consult the United Nations records. They will see that that is so. Apart from that, Mr. Díaz González is at the United Nations and the question can be put to him directly.

383. This question of Puerto Rico is an obsession for some people in the United States. I should therefore like to refer to a draft resolution submitted by a United States Senator, Mr. Moynihan, who I believe was a representative here in the United Nations. I believe he is the same person. In that resolution he used the proverbial language of imperialism. He said that the 10 Governments of sovereign and independent Member States which had voted in favour of the resolution were without exception anti-democratic Governments. I do not know who told Mr. Moynihan that he was entitled to say what democracy was. And, on the other hand, in the resolution—which is addressed to the Senate—the President of the United States was requested to inform those Governments that had voted in favour of the Committee's action that the United States continued to view their favourable votes as unfriendly acts. Frankly, that gentleman believes he lives in the days of gunboat diplomacy. Perhaps this may intimidate Somoza, but certainly it does not intimidate sovereign independent Governments which speak plainly and not in the language used in an imperialist Congress to conceal the facts.

384. Quite obviously, the people of Puerto Rico will decide its own future. In addition, we want to say that we hope that, when they deal with the question of Puerto Rico, the delegation and Government of the United States will implement resolution 1514 (XV) and transfer all powers to Puerto Rico so that the Puerto Rican people can then choose its own destiny, whatever it may be. We would then agree with the representative of the United States that Puerto Rico had exercised its right to self-determination and full sovereignty.

*The meeting rose at 8.40 p.m.*