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

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- (b) Report of the United Nations Council for Namibia;
- (c) Report of the Secretary-General 1565

President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

AGENDA ITEM 24

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1. Mr. El SHEIBANI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): 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 over the years performed an important and historic function: it has been charged by the General Assembly with the responsibility for facilitating a process which has begun to change the face of the world, the process of decolonization.

2. This responsibility has meant that the Special Committee has had to assume two tasks. It has, first of all, to inform the world of the plight of those nations denied their independence. It has had to follow developments in various parts of the world and to seek the truth about those nations when every effort was being made to hide the truth. It has had to ensure to the leaders of nations struggling for freedom and independence access to world opinion and a proper hearing in the international community.

3. The Special Committee has also had to guide the work and action of the United Nations itself. It has had, not just to follow developments, but also to help to marshal the forces which have assisted the peoples of many nations in their struggles. We have no illusions about the role of the United Nations. The peoples of the former colonial Territories who have achieved freedom have done so by

their own efforts. The United Nations has from time to time been able to provide marginal assistance. At certain moments, however, resolutions of support, mediation efforts and material aid from the international community have helped to bring freedom and independence closer in a particular Territory.

4. We wish, of course, that much more could have been done in the past and that much more could be done in the future for those nations not yet independent. We must recognize, however, the sad fact that the United Nations remains in important respects far from democratic and that the power of certain Members—Members with interests which are often opposed to decolonization—is much greater than it ought to be.

5. None the less the work of the Special Committee has been of great importance. We owe its members and its Chairman a special debt of gratitude.

6. In the view of my delegation, we ought at this point to consider the unique problems presented to this Assembly by southern Africa; for the problems of that area suggest that we face new tasks as a body concerned with the process of decolonization. As an Organization we have been able to facilitate the process of decolonization in various parts of the world in important ways. Yet we must realize that our role has been essentially one of facilitating a process which was going ahead anyway and to which there was no great resistance. The old colonial Powers were, in the post-war period, ready for decolonization; for they had begun to find a new way of asserting their historical domination which did not require the old colonial administrations and regiments.

7. In southern Africa today, however, we find a new situation; for southern Africa is an area in which the old colonial Powers—now the neo-colonial Powers—have come to believe that they have important interests which would be undermined by any change in the *status quo*. They are therefore resisting the process of decolonization there, despite the fact that the remaining white régimes are the most backward in the world in political, legal, social and economic terms. We are now encountering new and difficult obstacles to decolonization in southern Africa. And the analysis of this situation defines new problems and new tasks for us.

8. It is commonplace by now to observe that the major Western Powers have taken a new interest in southern Africa in the last few years. For several decades they regarded it merely as a far-away corner of the old British Empire, still safe for investment, tourism and mining, comfortably under control. Then the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau waged their heroic struggle

and brought Portuguese colonialism in Africa to an end. The effect was to open the way for decolonization in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. The liberation struggle moved to the borders of the Afrikaner heartland itself. It was at that point that the Western Powers began to manifest a new and active interest in southern Africa. They began, in fact, to try to find new means to re-assert their control over the area. The first manifestation of this effort, and the first sign of what it would mean for Africa and the world, was the intervention committed together with South African forces in Angola in 1975.

9. That intervention failed. And it was generally believed that the Western Powers read the lessons of its failure. In April 1976, Mr. Kissinger, the Secretary of State of the United States, as the spokesman for a new and enlightened policy towards southern Africa, announced the support of the United States for majority rule in Namibia and Zimbabwe. He did not say much about South Africa, although subsequently a Western spokesman spoke of the need for "change" there in rather vague terms. Mr. Kissinger's speech in Lusaka was widely seen as evidence that the United States and other Western Powers had abandoned the crude efforts to control southern Africa which were obviously at the root of the Angolan adventure.

10. In the view of my delegation, any critical analysis of the facts suggests an altogether different conclusion.

11. Let us first look at the policies pursued by the major Western Powers towards Namibia and Zimbabwe. Those Powers state that they now support independence and majority rule for the peoples of those countries. Yet today they are seeking literally to impose their own solutions in those countries. They seek, by their own admission, to install governments of "moderates" who will look after Western interests in their respective countries, hold change within acceptable limits and ensure that South Africa is protected from incursions by freedom fighters of the liberation movement. They seek, in other words, to prevent the change for which people in the subcontinent have been struggling for four decades. If they were successful, they would install Africans in the parliament but would maintain the structures of colonialism and *apartheid*. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that they seek by every means to bypass the genuine liberation movements in Namibia and Zimbabwe.

12. It must be said—and it must be said forcefully—that this is not a formula for peaceful change but one for the frustration of the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of southern Africa for freedom, independence and justice. The African farmer, miner, clerk, schoolchild and housewife cannot find freedom in colonialism and *apartheid*, the system which the Western Powers seek to preserve in the name of "economic stability".

13. To seek to impose such a formula, therefore, after so many decades of struggle is to lay the foundations for war. It is clear that in some Western chancelleries that fact is understood—for we now confront the real possibility of proxy wars in Namibia and Zimbabwe, wars in which the Western Powers will pit mercenaries and puppets against the liberation armies in order to achieve, not African freedom, but their own ends.

14. It is clear that the intention is not much different in respect of South Africa. The major Western Powers speak of freedom and change for South Africa. They talk, but they do nothing while Africans are herded into gaols, beaten, tortured, shot at and killed by the hundreds every month. They talk of human rights in their newspapers, yet millions of poor Africans in South Africa have no human rights. These people are far worse off than any of the people about which so much is written in the West. They are indeed the majority, and yet they are hostages in their own country—hostages to the system of *apartheid*. It is now clearer than ever that the major Western Powers do not want to see the end of *apartheid* in South Africa. They want some change, but change that will be safe, change that will not disturb what they call the equilibrium of the system.

15. My delegation rejects that hypocritical rhetoric of pseudo-concern. We see what shipments of arms, technical assistance and rapidly increasing investment mean. We see that the major Western Powers are heading ineluctably towards that destiny which compelled them to lay waste Indo-China for decades, and we ask the world and this Assembly to take heed and to act accordingly.

16. Today the process of political decolonization appears to be nearing its end. Political power has been transferred to the people and to partially democratic institutions in most parts of what used to be the "colonial world". However, there are areas, particularly in southern Africa, which remain under colonial rule. For the most part we expect that the smaller Territories which are not yet independent will have an easier passage to their final destination. In southern Africa the struggle for freedom is clearly going to be long and bloody. We know, however, that the peoples of the subcontinent will eventually gain their freedom and that colonialism and *apartheid* will be ended.

17. We may be proud, then, that the process of decolonization is nearing its end—however difficult the last phase may be. That is an enormous accomplishment.

18. We must be aware, however, that we are entering a new and even more difficult phase of the struggle of the peoples of the world for freedom and independence. The process of decolonization has so far involved no more than the transfer of political power in most of the newly independent Territories, and throughout the third world governments are finding that that is not enough. The countries of the third world are still for the most part entangled in a web of economic relationships which are essentially colonial. Those relationships weigh heavily upon them, and the effect of the continuing domination of the wealthy countries is to block development and social progress. International institutions dominated by the Western Powers impose "fiscal stringency" and devaluation. Transnational corporations sell their products at exorbitant prices but pay low wages. Foreign mining and agricultural companies take the resources of poor countries and pocket the proceeds.

19. In short, the third world finds that it is locked into a global system dominated by Powers which systematically exploit our people and our resources. We know that the

world economic system condemns us to poverty and that, in consequence, we must achieve the power necessary to change our economic relationships with the wealthy capitalist countries, which a century ago used different and more obvious means to achieve the same end.

20. Thus my delegation believes that we must be aware that a new and difficult struggle lies ahead. It is a struggle for the creation of a new and just international economic order. That must be seen as a continuation of the struggle that has occupied the Special Committee and the General Assembly for so many years now. If we recognize that fact, we shall be able better to see our way through the difficult times which lie ahead.

21. Mr. ROSENZWEIG DIAZ (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The idea of self-determination, construed as a commitment, as a duty of free peoples towards those which are not free, was enshrined as one of the basic principles of the United Nations and is to be found in Chapters XI and XII of its Charter.

22. However, it was not until 14 December 1960 that the General Assembly recognized, in its historic resolution 1514 (XV), that all peoples on earth wanted an end put to colonialism and that the United Nations should play a vital role in the decolonization process. Stating that the process of the liberation of peoples was irreversible, the General Assembly solemnly proclaimed on that occasion the need to put an end, unconditionally and speedily, to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

23. Seventeen years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the resulting balance is very encouraging: from 1960 to date 38 Non-Self-Governing Territories or Territories under trusteeship have achieved independence and most of them have been admitted to this Organization as Members. This has been due to a large degree to the profound desire for freedom of those peoples and the excellent work accomplished by the Special Committee on decolonization, which by concentrating and co-ordinating the activities that were dispersed throughout an excessively large number of institutions and bodies, has strengthened and given impetus to the irreversible process of decolonization.

24. Undoubtedly, United Nations participation in this field has been highly successful. Although there still remains much to be done, we are drawing closer to the final objective—the total elimination of colonialism.

25. In southern Africa, the main issues are the questions of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. The former already has been considered this year in plenary meetings of the General Assembly, and the latter will continue to be considered in the Fourth Committee in the next few days. The Security Council has dealt with both cases and some of its permanent members have initiated a series of *démarches* aimed at finding an early solution to both problems.

26. In the Caribbean, in the Pacific and in other regions of the world, there still remain many entities of distinct individuality which have not exercised their right to self-determination. Thanks to the intensive and valuable

work of the Special Committee on decolonization, and also the co-operation in the past few years of some of the administering Powers, those entities continue to evolve towards independence.

27. The delegation of Mexico has already stated its position on the subject; however, it is worth while reiterating it on this occasion. Without prejudice to and without minimizing any negotiating effort that may be undertaken to solve such questions, the consideration and actual solution of decolonization issues should be carried out within the general framework of the United Nations Charter and the specific General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. Full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) not only is a guarantee of respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter but it also prevents the exacerbation of tension and the imbalance generated by the unjust and blind attitude of minority groups which refuse to heed the voice of reason. To attempt to find partial solutions outside the approach just described is to create incalculable risks.

28. The manner in which the right to choose one's own destiny is obtained in practice is as important as the actual exercise of that right. If the right to self-determination is achieved through compromises, concessions and partial solutions that are not fully in accord with the purposes and principles of the Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), what is being committed is an act of treason against the interests of the peoples involved.

29. Furthermore, in the majority of cases in which independence or the exercise of the right of self-determination is achieved, those peoples which for centuries have suffered the assault of colonialism, are confronted with a future of dangerous economic dependency, a future which, while safeguarding freedom and human dignity, will remain mortgaged for many generations until those peoples have recovered effective control over their natural resources and means of production.

30. The Foreign Minister of Mexico was partly talking of this in his statement in the general debate on 30 September last [*14th meeting*] when he spoke of "mental colonialism". That is the product, the dead weight, that a colonial administration leaves among peoples when, instead of combining its national interests with those of the inhabitants of the Territories it administers, it devotes itself to the unlimited exploitation of their natural and human resources, without ever worrying about providing the population even with the minimum elementary education or the necessary means to face the future when they are independent.

31. The international community through the United Nations, and in particular, through the Special Committee on decolonization acts as a safeguard to ensure the due implementation of the process of decolonization as laid down in the Charter and developed in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in the interests of the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

32. However, the process must be speeded further. Any delay will have as an effect an accentuation of the

difficulties to be confronted by such peoples when they achieve independence.

33. In his first government report before the Congress of the Union, the President of Mexico, José López Portillo asserted: "The history of Mexico is the struggle against colonialism and its vestiges, which we continue in our solidarity with developing countries."

34. It is from this categorical truth the attitude invariably adopted by Mexico in international forums is derived. For this reason, from this rostrum I wish to affirm once again the faith of Mexico in the work of the Organization and its untiring efforts for the speedy elimination of all vestiges of colonialism throughout the world.

35. Mr. DOLGUCHITS (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): At its thirty-first session the General Assembly in resolution 31/143, *inter alia*, requested the Special Committee on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism. In resolution 31/145, the Assembly once again called for concrete steps to be taken for wide and constant dissemination of information about the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization.

36. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR voted for both of those resolutions; we have become a sponsor of draft resolution A/32/L.36, and we are definitely in favour of further specific steps being taken on decolonization.

37. Although 17 years have elapsed since the adoption, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, today more than 30 million people are still directly experiencing in its most cruel colonialist form the oppression of colonial and racist régimes.

38. For the implementation of the Declaration we believe that it is necessary, in taking effective steps to eliminate the remaining manifestations of colonialism in their various forms, not overlooking how the entire colonial system of imperialism was eliminated in its classic form.

39. It is difficult to exaggerate the tremendous influence which the Great October Socialist Revolution had on the development of the national liberation movement. The October Revolution, whose sixtieth anniversary has been spoken of in very warm terms by many representatives in this hall, marking as it did the beginning of a historic and world-wide swing away from capitalism and towards socialism and the break-up of the colonial system, had and still has a tremendous influence on the lives of all peoples.

40. The fact that the peoples of an overwhelming majority of colonies had won political independence marked a new stage in the development of the national liberation movements. A feature of this is the active struggle being waged by young national States against neo-colonialism to consolidate their political independence, to ensure their economic self-sufficiency and to raise the level of the social, economic and cultural development of their peoples.

41. At the present session an overwhelming majority of votes in the General Assembly have been cast in favour of a number of resolutions on matters of decolonization. In particular, the Assembly has reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of Guam and other colonial territories to self-determination and independence.

42. We endorse the condemnation, which has been expressed at plenary meetings by representatives of socialist, developing and non-aligned countries, of any attempts to disrupt the national unity or territorial integrity of colonial Territories and also their condemnation of the setting up by imperialist States on those territories of military bases which represent a constant threat to the liberty and independence of the neighbouring countries.

43. In this connexion, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR wishes to draw attention to what is affirmed in operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution in document A/32/L.36:

"... 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 the 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".

This is relevant first and foremost to the southern part of Africa, where there is the largest and most shameful hotbed of colonialism on earth, a hotbed of racism and *apartheid*, which represents a crime against humanity and a direct threat to international peace and security for all peoples. The racial and national oppression, the fact that millions of Africans have been deprived of their elementary human rights and the savage exploitation of the indigenous African populations of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia represent the essence of the criminal policies and practices of the colonial racist régimes in southern Africa, which continue grossly to flout the principles and decisions of the United Nations and to disregard world public opinion. In their attempts to prolong their existence, the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury have resorted to bloody terror and repression against the indigenous African population, and they have indulged in armed aggression against neighbouring independent States. One of the most recent crimes perpetrated by the Rhodesian racists was committed at the end of November of this year—the piratical incursion into the territory of the People's Republic of Mozambique, near Tete Province. As a result of their attack on a camp housing refugees that had fled to Mozambique from the repression of the Smith régime, women and children were killed. We come out in outright condemnation of these crimes.

44. The arbitrary rampages of the racists have been referred to by previous speakers in this Assembly representing many countries. The unprecedented repressive actions of the racist authorities against those who cannot acquiesce in the criminal system of *apartheid* has been demonstrated by recent events in South Africa. In the

Republic of South Africa the activities of 18 organizations have been banned, organizations which had expressed dissatisfaction with the policies of racial discrimination. They include the Union of Black Journalists, the South African Students' Organization, the Christian Institute of Southern Africa and others. In the African non-white suburbs and settlements police squads and agents of the South African Bureau of State Security carry out mass searches, witch-hunts and arrests, and the only newspaper for Africans in the country, the *World*, has been banned. Its editor, Mr. Qoboza, was arrested, and so was the editor of an East London newspaper, the *Daily Dispatch*, Mr. Woods, who called on the Government to investigate the real reasons for the death of the prominent youth leader in the Republic of South Africa, Steven Biko.

45. The present ban on all organizations that have expressed dissent with the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination goes beyond normal police action. Essentially, this is a ban on any form of protest, even the most peaceful, against the racist system that has reduced the overwhelming majority of the population of the Republic of South Africa to poverty and deprived them of their rights.

46. Attempting at all costs to prolong their domination over the peoples of South Africa, the racists of the Republic of South Africa are feverishly stepping up their military potential and are doing everything in their power to acquire nuclear weapons.

47. In view of its fundamental position on this point, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR endorses and commends the adoption by the Security Council of its resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977 imposing an embargo on the supply of arms to the racist régime in Pretoria. We have never maintained, we do not maintain and we do not intend to maintain with the racist régime in South Africa relations of any kind, political, economic, military or any other.

48. At the same time, we favour the Security Council's adopting further effective steps to combat racism and *apartheid* in the southern part of the African continent, primarily mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa.

49. The southern part of the African continent has turned into an arena for violent confrontation between the forces of national liberation and the colonialist and racist régimes, which are relying on the support they receive from imperialist reaction. The vagueness and nebulosity of the various so-called initiatives and plans proposed by a number of Western Powers in order to settle the Rhodesian problem have proved an excellent complement to the delaying tactics practised by the Smith régime. Surely it must be clear that the idea of peaceful negotiations with the illegal minority racist régime in Rhodesia is first and foremost aimed at putting an end to the armed struggle being waged by the patriots, which, for the time being, and in these circumstances, is the only way of overthrowing the Salisbury régime and bringing about liberty and national independence for the people of Zimbabwe.

50. The neo-colonialist designs of the Western Powers can clearly be detected also in the question of Namibia.

51. The main factor pertinent to the situation that has arisen in Namibia is the growing struggle being waged by the patriots headed by SWAPO against the racist occupation of the country by South Africa. This is precisely the explanation for the decision taken by a number of Western countries to hold talks with Vorster, the Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, in order to work out an internationally acceptable method of moving towards the granting of complete independence to that Territory.

52. In fact, what they intend to do is to work out the sort of plan for settling the Namibian problem that would reduce the independence of that country to a fiction and at the same time help to safeguard the economic and strategic interests of the West in that area of South Africa. Such an approach to the solution of the problem has, of course, been rejected by SWAPO, which has been recognized by the United Nations as the only legitimate representative of the people of Namibia.

53. Speaking from this rostrum on 18 October, the President of SWAPO, Sam Nujoma, said:

“Our resort to armed struggle is a direct result of South Africa's colonial oppression and brutal repression, and also of the ruthless exploitation of our people and resources by certain foreign interests. We see no way out but to continue our political and military struggle against South Africa and its supporters until all the conditions causing our struggle are eradicated.” [35th meeting, para. 75.]

54. The Byelorussian SSR advocates, as it has always done, the unconditional and immediate cessation of the policies of racism and *apartheid* in South Africa, the immediate withdrawal of the Republic of South Africa from Namibia, and the unconditional transfer as soon as possible of full power in Zimbabwe to the authentic representatives of the people in that country, namely, the patriotic forces there headed by the Patriotic Front, which is the only legitimate representative of the African majority.

55. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has solemnly proclaimed 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.”

This is a right that is also enjoyed by the peoples of the so-called small Territories situated in the Caribbean basin and in the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

56. However, this right is being violated by imperialist circles, and various arguments are put forth and various political ploys and stratagems used, in order to prevent the peoples of the small Territories from achieving freedom and independence. The administering Powers hold so-called plebiscites in order virtually to annex the Trust or Non-Self-Governing Territories. They refer to the inadequate political, economic or social preparedness of the peoples of those Territories and to the fact that they have

not reached a sufficient level of education. In this way, they are violating the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, where it is stated that: "Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence".

57. The Special Committee on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was forced to note with some regret this year that:

"... the colonial Powers concerned have taken no steps to implement the request which the General Assembly has repeatedly addressed to them, most recently in paragraph 10 of its resolution 31/43 of 17 December 1976, 'to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones', and also in paragraph 3 (5) of its resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, containing the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples".¹

58. There can be no doubt that military and other activities on the part of the colonial Powers in the Territories under their administration is one of the main obstacles to the achievement by the peoples of those Territories of independence and free development.

59. A specific and effective programme of action to bring about the final elimination of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* can be found in the statement made by the representative of the Soviet Union on this item at the present session, in which he said:

"The Soviet Union believes that the time has come for the United Nations to set specific deadlines for the elimination of the hotbeds of colonialism still remaining in the world, and to make the administering Powers responsible for the decolonization of the Territories under their administrative control within established time-limits."²

60. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR fully supports that statement. We consider that the international community should put an end once and for all to all forms of colonial domination.

61. Mr. RAZAFINDRATOVO (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): In the course of a press conference held in Antananarivo on 24 November last, attended by journalists of the national and international press, President Didier Ratsiraka of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar declared, in particular, in his initial statement:

"Our policy of independence, sovereignty and dignity, our socialist option, all prompted us to side quite naturally with the progressive countries in assisting the just national liberation movements struggling for indepen-

dence, sovereignty, freedom and dignity, and we shall continue to do so whatever may be the defection of some or the political inertia of others."

62. That, defined in a few phrases by the most authoritative voice in the country, is the position of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar with respect to decolonization, about two and a half years before the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

63. I need hardly recall that the principles embodied in that solemn Declaration concern: the right of all peoples, great or small, to determine freely their political institutions, their economic, social and cultural options; the granting without delay of independence to peoples still under colonial domination; and respect for the national unity and for the territorial integrity of the peoples and countries concerned.

64. The United Nations has undoubtedly helped to speed up decolonization and to fight racial discrimination, and should be legitimately proud of its achievements in that field.

65. But despite some progress in the past few years it has not yet attained the objectives defined in the Declaration and in the United Nations Charter itself and thus ensured the full application of the fundamental principles contained in those two documents.

66. This year again for nearly 12 million persons throughout the world the promises of the Charter have remained a dead letter and many millions of Africans are still victims of an odious system of repression and discrimination. We take this opportunity of welcoming the accession of Djibouti to international sovereignty, a fact which demonstrates once again the firm determination of the African peoples to administer their own countries.

67. In southern Africa, the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia have taken up arms to win respect for and to secure their right to freedom and independence, and the black majority in South Africa will not cease to fight for dignity and freedom despite terrible repression and the inhuman laws enacted by the South African minority régime.

68. Thus Africa is the only continent of which a large part is still subjugated by colonialism, *apartheid* and imperialism. This is so because, following the disintegration of the Portuguese empire and the accession to independence of the brother peoples of Angola and Mozambique, the minority régimes in southern Africa, with their siege mentality and their inability to envisage any other future than one under their own rule, have simply disregarded what the international community has already affirmed in the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) and in resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970—that is, "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations."

69. In Zimbabwe, while paying lip service to the principle of universal suffrage, the minority racist régime of Ian

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Supplement No. 23*, chap. V, para. 11 (2).

² *Ibid.*, *Thirty-second Session, Fourth Committee*, 3rd meeting, para. 33.

Smith continues its acts of aggression against the African populations and against Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana.

70. After so many subterfuges and procrastinations, can one still give any credit to the words of a man who obviously is only trying to gain time?

71. The inhuman practices of the intimidation and repression of the African populations can never be compatible with promises of democratic practices.

72. With regard to Namibia, we have already had occasion to recall, in the course of our statement in the General Assembly on 20 October last, the position of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar on this burning problem, and in particular on the need for rejection of a confederation of tribal mini-States manipulated by South Africa, the safeguarding of national unity and the maintenance of the territorial integrity of the country, recognition of the legal and political responsibility of the United Nations for Namibia and “unreserved support for the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people led by SWAPO, its only authentic representative” [39th meeting, para. 185].

73. A situation of the kind found in the two Territories has been allowed to persist not only by reason of the reactionary attitude of Salisbury and Pretoria but also thanks to the open complicity of certain Western countries.

74. It is particularly interesting to note in this connexion the statement made in the Fourth Committee by Mr. Bernard Rivers,³ an economist and a member of the Haslemere Group, concerning the subterfuges to which the big multinational oil companies resort in order to sell oil to Rhodesia.

75. We therefore deplore the fact that certain Western States are still not applying the mandatory sanctions against the Ian Smith régime, with the result that those sanctions have had only a very limited effect on the Rhodesian economy.

76. On the other hand, we welcome the courageous decision taken by Mozambique and Zambia to close their frontiers with Rhodesia despite the heavy losses in earnings this entails for their economies.

77. Similarly, we are gratified by the holding in Maputo, on the very front-line of fighting Africa, of the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, from 16 to 21 May 1977, under the auspices of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

78. Need I recall that, despite the usual reservations of certain Western Powers, the Maputo Conference resulted in the adoption by consensus of a political Declaration and a Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

79. On Zimbabwe, the Conference supports:

“The development of the armed struggle and the concerted efforts of the international community”—to

create—“positive conditions for a negotiated settlement based on majority rule.”⁴

80. With regard to Namibia, the Conference reaffirms in particular that:

“The United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal authority to administer that Territory until independence has the responsibility to assist the Namibian people in their struggle against South African aggression and occupation.”⁵

81. The Maputo Declaration, which has great political and moral significance, was appropriately supplemented by the Declaration of the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid* held in Lagos in August 1977.⁶ In fact, with regard to South Africa, what is involved is not merely a human rights problem, nor even the need to grant the majority the right to vote; it is the restructuring and remodelling of a society in accordance with a democratic system by a truly popular process.

82. If we have dwelt at length on the decolonization of southern Africa it is not only because we are speaking of our continent but also because the continuance of such an explosive situation poses a threat to international peace and security.

83. On the one hand we are witnessing the struggle of freedom fighters determined to attain by any means their inalienable right to freedom, independence and dignity. On the other hand we see the racist régimes nurturing ambitions to reconquer the neighbouring African States, in order to put in charge of those States men concerned with their own interests and not with those of the peoples, in flagrant violation of the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of States.

84. Madagascar, whose long colonial night was marked by many rebellions led by the best of its sons, must remain faithful to the principles of the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV), the logical extension of which is embodied in the Maputo and Lagos Declarations.

85. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar reaffirms here the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence, without any distinction as to the geographical configuration, demographic composition or economic development of their territories. In this connexion, the administering Powers of those Territories which are still dependent must take all the necessary steps to implement as rapidly as possible the principles of the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV).

86. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar will naturally support the draft resolutions relating to this point [A/32/L.35-A/32/L.37] submitted to the General Assembly by the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, the Vice-

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12344/Rev.1, annex V, para. 14.

⁵ *Ibid.*, para. 23.

⁶ See *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2), chap. X.

³ *Ibid.*, 27th meeting, paras. 79-101.

Chairman of the Special Committee, and in particular those relating to the implementation of the Declaration and the dissemination of information on decolonization.

87. In conclusion, my delegation is happy to convey its warmest congratulations to Mr. Salim and Mr. Glayel, Chairman and Rapporteur, respectively, of the Special Committee on the competence and dedication of which they have ceaselessly given proof throughout this year, and in particular on the report they submitted here on 5 December. Our congratulations are, of course, extended also to the other members of that Committee.

88. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): This is the seventeenth time that the General Assembly has discussed the agenda item concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We have a growing conviction that this Declaration, which was adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union, has proved to be an effective international instrument and has given a definite impetus to the liberation struggle of peoples. No one, I think, can attempt to refute the fact that in recent years the peoples have scored signal successes in their struggle for national and social liberation. After the adoption of the Declaration in 1960, 45 countries threw off the colonialist yoke and were accepted into the membership of our world Organization. The relentless forward progress of the national and social liberation movement of peoples is indicated in particular by the admission to membership in the United Nations of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Viet Nam. The decisive take-off point for the general upswing in the national liberation struggle was the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution 60 years ago. With the inspiration of its ideals, a wave of liberation from alien trusteeship and colonial exploitation swept through the world. Progressive mankind marched into battle with colonialism and won. It is a matter of great satisfaction for us today to state that the international balance of power, which has shifted in favour of the forces of peace, democracy, national liberation and social progress, has led to radical political and socio-economic changes. The territories that were under the domination of imperialism have been converted into sovereign national States which have liberated themselves and have become important factors in world politics. In their alliance with the socialist States and other democratic forces, those young States are making an important contribution to the final elimination of the remnants of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

89. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has fully maintained its relevance. Its complete implementation remains one of the most urgent tasks of the present day. Thirty million people are today still deprived of their right to self-determination and independence. Attempts are being made through terror and violence to continue to deprive them of the right to take their fate into their own hands. In this connexion particular thought should be given to the southern part of Africa and also to the so-called small Territories in the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. But it is above all on the African continent that major changes are taking place at the present time. The policies of *détente* which have made so much headway, despite the resistance of

imperialist circles, have created more favourable conditions for the carrying out of political and socio-economic changes in a region which imperialist and colonialist forces have regarded as their inviolable domain. The actions of the sovereign States which arose from the ruins of the Portuguese colonial empire have considerably helped to further the liberation struggle in the southern part of Africa, which struggle has now reached its decisive and irreversible phase. The peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, under the leadership of their authentic representatives, the national liberation movements, are stepping up their resistance to those odious régimes. With their heroic and militant spirit, inspired by the successes scored by the peoples of Angola and Mozambique and relying on growing international solidarity, they will sweep away the final bastions of colonialism and racism on the African continent.

90. But further efforts will be needed if this end is to be achieved. The colonialist and racist régimes continue cruelly to oppress the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, and refuse to give them their age-old rights. There are growing instances of aggression committed against free African States. In their attempt to maintain their illegal domination over the peoples in the southern part of Africa, the racists are stepping up their military potential to a tremendous degree, and we all know where the racist régimes get their weapons from. Particularly alarming is the desire of Pretoria to acquire an atomic bomb. Those who pave South Africa's way to the atomic bomb will indeed bear a heavy responsibility. That development must be nipped in the bud.

91. In resolution 32/35 on item 94 of the agenda, adopted in the plenary meeting a few days ago, it is clearly stated that powerful economic and military circles in imperialist States are giving comprehensive assistance to the colonialist and racist régimes in the southern part of Africa. Their purpose in doing this is to prevent those peoples from achieving genuine independence and to ensure the perpetuation of a socio-economic structure in that region which is in accordance with their own interests. Above all, those activities are aimed at further exploiting the peoples of those Territories and the natural resources that are theirs, in order to continue to earn super-profits.

92. The so-called new strategy with regard to the southern part of Africa essentially turns out to be the old one. Its aim is to fetter the African States and peoples in neo-colonialist chains and to incorporate them into the imperialist blocs. In other words, these alleged solutions are not really solutions at all, because they run counter to the will of the peoples. One also wonders how these neo-colonialist notions of protecting profits by savage exploitation can be compatible with certain concepts about the protection of human rights. Neo-colonialism must not be underestimated. Through such methods of neo-colonialism as the exportation of capital, the manipulation of prices and currency rates and the exertion of pressure by transnational corporations and international financial organizations, imperialism is trying to reinforce the dependence of the free countries.

93. The peoples of the world are fully aware of the threat to peace and security represented by the régimes in southern Africa and their followers. The recent discussions

on such agenda items as "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" [item 94], "The question of Namibia" [item 91] and "Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa" [item 27], as well as the resolutions which have been adopted to date, all eloquently attest to this.

94. In the opinion of the delegation of the German Democratic Republic, the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations form an excellent foundation for the speedy attainment of effective solutions to the urgent problems of southern Africa. A genuine settlement of those conflicts can only mean the full exercise of the right to self-determination and independence by those peoples still under colonial and racist domination, through the transfer of power to their legitimate representatives, the national liberation movements. Such an approach would be fully consonant with the decisions adopted in this connexion by the United Nations and would be the clearest and simplest way to achieve a genuine settlement.

95. Unfortunately, not all States Members of the United Nations are discharging their obligations under the Charter: they are ignoring decisions taken by this world Organization—decisions which, if consistently observed, would in fact isolate those racist régimes and would, in the final analysis, be conducive to their elimination.

96. The German Democratic Republic, in an unswerving spirit of solidarity, is constantly on the side of the peoples under colonial and racist domination and also of their national liberation movements. That those peoples, in response to the cruel acts of repression which have been perpetrated against them by bands of mercenaries armed with the most sophisticated weapons, should be using every means to struggle for the rights which ought to be granted to them according to the United Nations Charter is only natural; indeed, it is fully in accord with the humanistic purposes of their struggle. It is the task of the United Nations and all its Member States to give active support to the liberation movements in their struggle. For socialist States this is an immutable principle of their foreign policies. This does not suit those who represent monopolistic capital; hence they resort to slander, a recent example of which appeared on the pages of *The New York Times* and in a local television broadcast. The fact that imperialist States maintain military bases in many parts of the world, including Africa, and also the fact that they intervene in the internal affairs of other peoples, are things which the monopolistic circles regard as entirely natural. But when a small socialist country renders both assistance and support to people who have just liberated themselves from colonial oppression in order to consolidate their security and to help them tackle the problems of devastation and backwardness, then the representatives of the imperialist monopolies declare that this runs counter to the process of détente. All this is essentially an attempt to distract attention from the real causes of tension. Incidentally, we should say that in this they are supported by a certain party which represents itself as "revolutionary".

97. Such manoeuvres, however, under whatever slogan they are carried out, have one goal, and one goal alone: to weaken the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist militant front. We consider that problems that are still extant as a result of colonialism should be settled on the basis of anti-imperialist solidarity. In view of the manoeuvres of certain circles aimed at sowing dissension and mistrust among progressive forces, particular significance attaches to the alliance of the socialist countries with those who are struggling against colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

98. The German Democratic Republic is prepared to continue to exert every effort to strengthen that solidarity. This has been corroborated by a number of visits of leading politicians from Africa to the German Democratic Republic recently, as for example, the visit of the President of the People's Republic of the Congo, Joachim Yhorabi Opango; the President of SWAPO, Sam Nujoma; the Co-Chairman of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, Joshua Nkomo; and representatives from Mozambique, Ethiopia and Tanzania. The recent visits paid by representative leaders of the German Democratic Republic to many African States, such as the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Algeria, Angola, Benin, Nigeria and Zambia, also help to further this solidarity.

99. The recent plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which is the leading party in the German Democratic Republic, paid a great deal of attention to ways of reinforcing its alliance with the national-revolutionary States. We regard this as our contribution to the further-over-all strengthening of the independence of those States, which are subjected to all sorts of blackmail and pressure by neo-colonialist and other reactionary circles.

100. The German Democratic Republic unreservedly favours the final elimination of all vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, as well as the strengthening of peace and the provision of opportunities for peoples to devote their efforts to peaceful construction. Together with our friends in Africa, Asia and Latin America in the United Nations, we shall continue to wage an active struggle for the attainment of these goals.

101. Mr. BROHI (Pakistan): My delegation listened with great interest and close attention to the statements [92nd meeting] made by Ambassador Salim, Chairman of the Special Committee, as well as that of Mr. Sami Glayel, the Rapporteur, in introducing the report of the Special Committee covering its work during 1977. On behalf of Pakistan I wish to commend the work of the Special Committee, which is reflected in the comprehensive and concise report it has produced [A/32/23/Rev.1]. The report reflects the magnitude of the task it has performed so efficiently.

102. In the past 30 years or so the United Nations has played a major role in combating the evil of racial discrimination and accelerating the process of decolonization of the dependent peoples of the world. Further impetus to that magnificent work of the United Nations was imparted by the adoption in 1960 of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in resolution 1514 (XV). The resolution, asserted, *inter alia*, that all peoples under

colonial and alien rule had the right to self-determination and that inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness by itself should not be allowed to serve as a pretext for delaying their independence.

103. The United Nations has had a commendable measure of success in the implementing of the provisions of that historic Declaration. However, despite many successes, the last outposts of colonialism and racial discrimination—Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa—have still to be dismantled. It is therefore necessary for the international community to redouble its efforts in the direction of helping the oppressed people of southern Africa in achieving their cherished goal of freedom and independence.

104. The International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held at Maputo last May, was an event of considerable significance, if only because the international community had agreed unanimously to stress the need to liquidate once and for all the last vestiges of colonialism and racism in Africa. The Conference highlighted the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia in achieving their just aspirations. My delegation fully supports the Maputo Declaration and the Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia. We are of the opinion that it is incumbent on all States Members of the United Nations to extend the maximum possible political and moral support to the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and their national liberation movements in their struggle to attain their goal of self-determination and national independence.

105. For its own part, my country, which had to live through the agonizing experience of being under colonial rule for about 200 years, has thrown its weight since its independence on the side of those who have helped humanity to move on towards the goal of decolonization of all colonial Territories and peoples. During debates in the Fourth Committee and in other forums we had occasion to express our complete sympathy with peoples which have been struggling against the evils of colonialism and racism. We are happy indeed to see that the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia has already entered a crucial and decisive phase; at this juncture there must be no relaxation in the pressure that has been generated to bring about freedom to those people and secure independence for those Territories.

106. Recent reports have indicated the willingness of the minority racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury to hold negotiations leading to the independence of Namibia and Zimbabwe respectively. However, in the face of the past intransigence of Mr. Vorster and Mr. Smith there is every possibility that they will once again try further to delay the process of the transfer of power to the people of Namibia and Zimbabwe on one pretext or another. My country is convinced that whatever the extent of ingenuity of those manoeuvres the people of southern Africa will succeed in achieving their independence, either through negotiations or, if a painful necessity so dictates, on the battlefield.

107. The valiant people of southern Africa have waged a protracted and courageous struggle for the recognition of their just and inalienable rights. The brutality and repression unleashed on them by the colonial régimes imposed

upon them by tyrannical minorities have failed so far to weaken their resolve. That day is not distant when their struggle to liberate themselves from the shackles of colonialism, racism and oppression will be crowned with success. Pretoria and Salisbury should take heed while there is still time to resort to peaceful means for transferring power to the black majority in Namibia and Zimbabwe—for not to do so would only invite further trouble for themselves. Here, as elsewhere, a stitch in time saves not only nine—but 99.

108. In accelerating the pace of what may be called the anti-colonial revolution of our times, the United Nations has played a heroic and salutary role. When the history of our era is written by the historian of the future he will assign to the United Nations the highest place on the roll of honour. The conditioning of the moral, mental and spiritual climate of our age, which has made it possible for the colonial era to wither away, is entirely attributable to the affirmation by the peoples of the United Nations of the high ideal of the inviolable dignity of humankind. Humanity has, after all, learned the supreme lesson that its relief and redemption will not be brought about merely by partial treatment of the problems of human health, happiness and well-being, but by a total commitment to organize the relief and redemption of all the members that constitute the human race.

109. The problem of world peace can only be solved by treating the concept of the peace of the world as being coextensive with the commitment to realize the dignity and equality of all members of the human race. Unless the liberation of peoples all over the globe is attained, it is most likely that the health of the human organism will be marred by gangrenous spots and cancerous outgrowths which infest those areas of our planet where man is still in chains, and mankind will not be able to look forward to the dawn of a new day when humanity will have triumphed over the forces of darkness and evil that still persist in the heart and soul of those who are busy exhibiting the arrogance of their power. That incorrigible attitude has always been at war with the harmony of human life. The role and function of the United Nations in our time, I submit, is to write an epitaph over the grave of that aggressive, militant, exploitative and repressive colonialism which has hitherto defiled the course of human history with countless numbers of corpses.

110. Mr. KÖMIVES (Hungary): More than 30 years ago the smashing of the Fascist régimes as the most extreme forms of imperialism and the subsequent rise of the world socialist system ushered in a new era in mankind's history. There started the collapse of the shameful colonial system of imperialism and the advancement of peoples languishing under colonial oppression, dealing the colonizers a heavy blow, one from which they could never recover, for they had to awaken to the impossibility of preventing the liberation of peoples under their domination. There started an inexorable process of development that was not to be curbed.

111. Resolution 1514 (XV), of historical significance, which was adopted by the General Assembly at its fifteenth session in 1960, gave a new impulse to the struggle against colonialism, and the process of decolonization gathered

speed. It would take a long time to give a list of all the countries which have gained independence since 1960. The adoption of that resolution inaugurated a new period also in the history of the United Nations which, by working in the spirit of the resolution, became better able to help the struggle of oppressed peoples more effectively and to compel the colonial Powers to make concessions.

112. We must also be aware, however, that the reactionary forces, which are eager to halt, or at least to slow down, the march of history, are trying to adjust their standards to the new set of circumstances, no longer sticking to their old methods only. In most cases they are not opposed to a formal granting of political independence, but they bind the peoples of the Territories concerned to the metropolitan countries with economic and financial ties so strong as to make it impossible to talk of genuine independence for a long time still to come. During their domination of many decades, they not only denied their colonies the possibility of independent economic life, thus leaving them at their mercy, but also hamstrung their social and cultural development. This is why, as a result of the work of the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, a number of resolutions have been adopted which provide that the administering Powers should launch comprehensive programmes of education, social development and economic organization in most of the colonial and Non-Self-Governing Territories under their jurisdiction.

113. Nevertheless, representatives of the newly independent countries have called our attention, both in this Assembly and elsewhere, to the fact that the administering Powers are failing to comply fully, and in a selfless way, with the obligations that fall on them by virtue of the said resolutions. Often they encourage and support such political groupings as serve to disarm and get round the liberation movement of any given Territory in order to prolong colonial bondage, or, after the formal granting of independence, they help to establish puppet régimes in an effort to avoid damage to their economic and strategic interests.

114. Those interests are extremely strong. The international monopolies of the leading capitalist countries obtain a large part of their crucial raw materials from the Territories still under domination and find the cheapest labour there that is available in the world today. For the peoples involved, all this means privation redolent of the age of slavery.

115. We all clearly realize that the fight for the liquidation of the remnants of the colonial system, and the national liberation struggles, are waged against the international system of imperialism. This has become evident particularly in the southern part of Africa. The different forums of the United Nations have been seized of the question of Southern Rhodesia for over 10 years now. No effective measure has been taken in pursuance of the relevant resolutions which were adopted as early as the twentieth session of the General Assembly. The white minority still maintains its oppressive domination. By displaying an attitude of affronts to liberty, the illegal régime there is following the old traditional methods of the colonizers. It is trying to damp down the demands for freedom and the liberation movement of the people of that Territory by

resorting to open terror and police and military actions. It does not even shy away from brutal acts of aggression against the newly independent neighbouring countries, because the usurpers of power look upon the mere existence of those countries as a threat to their illegal rule. We hope, however, that the events of recent weeks in Southern Rhodesia will move the Powers responsible for the existing state of affairs to display a greater degree of activity and that, after all, there will be a change for the better in the situation of the people of Southern Rhodesia.

116. The racists of South Africa use in occupied Namibia methods similar to those they use against the indigenous inhabitants of their own country, the black majority. Terror is on the increase as the *apartheid* régime defies the ever-growing concerted action by the international community and the demands of the broadening national liberation movements. The racists are able to act thus because, with the support of the extremist circles of imperialism, they have built up Africa's strongest army, equipped with the most modern weapons, on which they can rely in openly defying the judgement of world public opinion and the successive resolutions of the United Nations.

117. The process by which these resolutions were adopted and their fate in the Security Council and the Fourth Committee have borne out to us all the earlier statement that the struggle for the liquidation of the remnants of the colonial system is an anti-imperialist struggle. Being the last strongholds of colonialism, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia have become not only the key question, but also a symbol of this struggle.

118. It is no longer necessary to prove specifically that the elimination of the economic interpenetrations that are impeding development is part and parcel of, and a primordial task in, the process of decolonization. As the work of the United Nations to promote decolonization has always been successful and its efficiency has always increased, our delegation is confident that more significant results will soon be forthcoming in this field also. There are already some encouraging signs of it. Today, when the consolidation of international détente, peace and security is in the interests of us all, everyone participating in this debate has come to realize that the situation in southern Africa is seriously endangering this common interest of ours. It is therefore not amiss to refer to Chapter XI of the Charter which, dealing with the right to self-determination, makes it clear that speeding up the process of decolonization serves to strengthen peace and international security.

119. The Government and people of the Hungarian People's Republic have from the outset consistently supported by all available means the struggle waged against the remnants of colonialism and for the liberation and economic independence of oppressed peoples.

120. Mr. ALLAF (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The process of decolonization has made great strides since the historic day in the course of which the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples under resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. This in the course of the last 17 years processions celebrating the

liberation of tens of African, Asian and Latin American countries have succeeded each other, and a great number of Non-Self-Governing Territories have joined the family of free sovereign States Members of the United Nations.

121. The Special Committee entrusted with the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was established by the General Assembly the year after the adoption of the Declaration, has played and continues to play a fundamental part in the intensification and orientation of the efforts of this international Organization and of its Member States directed to the full effective implementation of that historic Declaration.

122. The report of the Committee before the Assembly in document A/32/23/Rev.1, which was submitted to this Assembly at the beginning of this debate by the Rapporteur, our colleague, Mr. Sami Glayel, has emphasized the great activities and tremendous efforts exerted by the Committee during the year 1977. The General Assembly has also heard the valuable statement by the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Salim, the Ambassador of the United Republic of Tanzania, which embodies a striking account of the activities of the Committee, its work, and its aspirations. My delegation, which is a member of the Special Committee, greatly appreciates the excellent work done by that Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Salim. We wish to express our appreciation also to the members of the Committee, including the other officers, for the very excellent report that has been submitted to the General Assembly. We are grateful for the great efforts that have been exerted in the preparation of that comprehensive report. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic is convinced that the Special Committee will continue in the future as well to fulfil the noble task entrusted to it by the General Assembly—namely, to bring about the total elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism in the world.

123. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic wishes also to applaud the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and his colleagues in the Secretariat for the great efforts they have been making to ensure the implementation of the purposes of the Charter and the Declaration on decolonization, as well as for the great assistance they have given, and the facilities they have placed at the disposal of, the Special Committee to enable it to carry out its task in the best possible conditions.

124. Among the great achievements of the international community during the past year was the holding of the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia in Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, in May 1977, under the joint auspices of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. The Special Committee played a fundamental role in the preparation and organization of that Conference. The Maputo Declaration, adopted at that important Conference, marks the beginning of a new and decisive era in promoting the struggle against the reigning racist and colonialist régimes in southern Africa. It signals an increase in the isolation of those régimes and in the assistance given to the heroic peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia to enable them more speedily to attain the objective of majority rule, which continues to be denied to them.

125. The Maputo Declaration, by supporting and strengthening the right to armed struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, and all other peoples fighting colonialism and racism, represents a step forward on the path of the struggle against the hateful racist colonialist régimes. The Programme of Action adopted by the Maputo Conference contains important provisions which, if put into effect, could help to bring nearer the day when the racist minority white régimes crumble as a result of the heroic struggle of the valiant peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and of their heroic liberation movements. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic joins the Chairman of the Special Committee and other sister delegations in appealing to the General Assembly to adopt the Declaration and Programme of Action of the Maputo Conference as an expression of the collective will of this international Organization and all its Members—just as they expressed the collective will of the 92 countries that participated in that Conference.

126. The Declaration and Programme of Action of the Maputo Conference have acquired even greater importance in recent months and weeks because of the violent attacks carried out by the two racist régimes, in Rhodesia and South Africa, in a desperate attempt to turn back the clock and postpone the fate that awaits them as a result of the pressure of the international community and the intensification of the heroic struggle of the African freedom fighters and their national liberation movements.

127. Thus, the hateful *apartheid* régime continues its illegal occupation of the international Territory of Namibia and increases its criminal oppression of the African freedom fighters in that Territory and in South Africa itself. This racist régime is exploiting the results of the recent elections—in which only the ruling white minority participated, without any participation by the overwhelming black majority—in the interest of the régime in power, to enable it to justify its pursuit of its inhuman, cruel policy against the legal black majority and to continue its acts of provocation and aggression against the neighbouring peoples and countries, particularly Angola.

128. As for the racist Ian Smith régime, it has further revealed its true nature and criminal aims during the manoeuvres in which it has been engaging recently to muzzle world public opinion and sow dissension among the national forces and elements opposing this régime in Zimbabwe. Ian Smith has engaged in criminal aggression against the Republic of Mozambique, a neighbouring country. This has resulted in the loss of hundreds of lives among innocent civilians, particularly women and children. This shameful crime perpetrated by the racist Rhodesian régime must not go unpunished; it should be a point of departure for action by the international community and the Western countries that co-operate with that illegal régime, so that an end may be put to its illegal domination.

129. These ruling racist régimes in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa could not continue to commit racist aggression against the African peoples if they did not have the support of certain large and medium-sized Western Powers, as well as the assistance of certain identical racist régimes in other parts of the world.

130. It is those Powers which bear the main responsibility for the continued obstinacy and defiance shown by the two

white minority racist régimes in southern Africa, as well as by the other racist régimes in other parts of the world. If those Powers were really sincere about their claims of opposition to *apartheid*, racism and racial discrimination, they would have been able to ensure the overthrow of these illegal régimes in a few weeks by cutting off all assistance to and military, economic and technical exchanges and trade with those régimes.

131. On the other hand, the alliance and close co-operation between these aggressive régimes, through their racist axis, which seeks to surround the Arab and African peoples in the northern and southern extremes of the African continent, play a very dangerous role. This enables those régimes to continue and maintain their aggressive domination over other peoples and to occupy their lands.

132. The United Nations has condemned the constant escalation of the aggressive racist alliance between the Zionist régime and the régimes of Salisbury and Pretoria. This alliance and racist co-operation, in particular between the régimes of Tel Aviv and Pretoria, has recently acquired an even larger dimension, especially in the military and even the nuclear fields. This requires the speedy adoption of international measures to eliminate the danger represented by this dreadful racist co-operation—a danger not only for the Arab and African States, but also for international peace and security as a whole.

133. In an important article published in the October issue of a magazine for the American armed forces,⁷ Mr. Anthony Cordesman referred to the great danger that would be posed by the possession of nuclear weapons by Israel and South Africa and their ability to perfect such weapons; he referred also to the danger posed by their close co-operation in this field. Similarly, nuclear experiments which the racist régime in Pretoria is seeking to carry out on the African continent would be conducted with Israeli weapons.

134. This dangerous situation threatening the Arab and African peoples arouses concern over the possibility of a destructive nuclear war that would destroy the whole of mankind. The United Nations, particularly the great Powers permanent members of the Security Council, should pay special attention to this situation—before it is too late—because the fate of mankind's security cannot be left at the mercy of such adventurous racist minority régimes as the Zionist régime and the two white minority régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury.

135. Although, as I have already said, there have been great achievements in recent years in the process of decolonization, that does not mean that the international community is in a position to relax its efforts to put an end to the last vestiges of colonialism and foreign domination over other peoples. Despite the victories of peoples fighting for freedom that have led to an increase in the membership of the United Nations through the accession of new States to independence, there still are, in addition to Zimbabwe and Namibia, other Non-Self-Governing Territories which do not enjoy self-determination.

136. My delegation welcomes the independent Republic of Djibouti, the newest member of the international community. We hope that the number of countries achieving independence will continue to grow and that, by the grace of God, the United Nations shall eventually be able to celebrate the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

137. The elimination of classic colonialism in its well-known forms is a great achievement. However, the international community should oppose the most modern forms of colonialism and domination represented by the attempts of colonialists to reimpose their domination over other peoples and to control their destiny through economic hegemony and the activities of multinational companies serving foreign economic interests, which affect their sovereignty.

138. The international community must take also into account the dangers and obstacles represented by the presence of foreign military bases and installations in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and in certain small countries that have recently acquired independence but are still dominated economically and politically.

139. My delegation is gratified by the growing importance being attached by the United Nations, and in particular by the Special Committee, to the problems and needs of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. My delegation very much appreciates the method of sending visiting missions and missions of inquiry to a number of those Territories as an acceptable means of establishing direct reports on the situation prevailing in those Territories and the aspirations of their populations. My delegation rejoices at the growing co-operation of the administering Powers of those Territories with the United Nations and with the visiting missions sent to them by the United Nations. We would draw attention to the fact that those visiting missions should be allowed to make more direct contact with the populations and the true representatives of those Territories in conditions that would enable those representatives to give their views and express their wishes more freely.

140. The administering Powers of the Non-Self-Governing Territories must be more sincere in their actions and ensure the inalienable rights of those peoples and their sovereignty over their national resources and over exploitation of such resources. My delegation condemns foreign activities undertaken in an effort to hamper the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and to plunder the resources of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, as well as their national property, by every possible means.

141. The Syrian Arab Republic has had the honour of contributing to the work of the Special Committee charged with implementation of the Declaration since its inception 16 years ago. Today, my country has the honour of holding the post of Rapporteur of that Committee. Syria is also a member of the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid*. In the past, as during this session, we have presided over the Fourth Committee, which is dealing with the question of decolonization. All of these activities

⁷ See Anthony H. Cordesman, "How Much is Too Much?", *Armed Forces Journal International*, October 1977.

express the depth of the Syrian Arab Republic's attachment to the message of the United Nations concerning the need for decolonization and the need to eliminate foreign domination in all its forms and manifestations.

142. The Syrian Arab Republic sides with those struggling against colonialism and racism throughout the world, and our attitude is based on our desire for unity in our struggle against the common enemy, regardless of the name of that enemy or of the slogans it may adopt, whether it carries the banner of *apartheid*, Zionism, colonialism or any other form of domination, racism or religious hegemony or ethnic superiority.

143. In reaffirming its determination to continue its struggle side by side with its brothers the African, Asian and Latin American peoples and with other peoples of the world that love peace and freedom and against all forms of

racism and colonialism, Syria is convinced that the end of those racist and colonialist régimes is near at hand, and that the dawn of liberty and dignity of all peoples will soon appear.

144. The PRESIDENT: It is my intention that the Assembly should conclude the consideration of agenda item 24 today. Thus, at the end of this afternoon's meeting, the Assembly will proceed to vote on the three draft resolutions before it: A/32/L.35, A/32/L.36 and A/32/L.37. Draft resolution A/32/L.41, which was submitted yesterday evening but was not introduced today, will not be put to a vote.⁸

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

⁸ See the 102nd meeting, paras. 29-32.