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some cases it appeared that the colonial masters had the wisdom to hand over power gracefully, it was due to recognition on their part of the relentlessness of the struggle of the long-enslaved masses and the victory of the non-violent method of resolving the conflict.

4. In this connexion, I might mention that the struggle that was conducted by Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa against racism and colonialism was the first of its kind and was successfully carried back home; as a result of it, the British had to withdraw from India.

5. However, in other cases, either for short-term economic gains or for reasons of pride and prestige, the colonial Powers tried to hang on to their colonies, only to be ejected by means of armed struggle, waged by the liberation movements. Unfortunately, in yet other cases, predatory racist minorities unilaterally and illegally usurped power from the colonial authorities, pushing people from one period of darkness to another. On the whole, however, the overwhelming trend since the Second World War has been against colonialism and racism, and the last remnants of those conservative misanthropes, who belong to a bygone era, are bound to be swept away by the tide of history.

6. The age of the subjugation of the peoples of Asia and Africa has given way to the principle of sovereign equality among nations, as recognized and required by the United Nations Charter. Domination based on race is no longer tolerated by the civilized world, and the remaining instances of racism are rightly regarded as symptoms of mental depravity. The feeling of cultural superiority associated with Europe has been overtaken by a renaissance of the ancient cultures of Asia and Africa, which have penetrated Western thought and values as well. The ruthless exploitation of the natural resources of colonial Territories by a handful of technologically developed countries has been replaced by a struggle on the part of developing countries for a new and just economic order which would give economic substance to their political independence. Finally, the acute military imbalance, which facilitated the systematic violation of the sovereignty of peoples and countries in the past, has been countered by the growing nationalism and patriotic zeal of the former colonial Territories.

7. Normally, in this new and more enlightened age, the persistence of colonialism and racism in certain parts of the world should be regarded as an anachronistic aberration which needs to be corrected by the international community in the most expeditious manner. The principles guiding the process of decolonization of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories are contained in Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter and in General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV). The Security Council

President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

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;

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1. Mr. SETHI (India): In considering the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], we are to a large extent dealing with the residual problems inherited from the age of European expansion and Western domination, or, as one Indian historian described it, "the Vasco da Gama epoch". That era, which started with the arrival of Vasco da Gama in Calicut on the shores of India in 1498 and lasted for 450 years, ended as a dominant factor in world history with the withdrawal of British forces from India in 1947 and of the European navies from China in 1949.

2. During the ensuing three decades, over 75 former colonial countries, representing over half of the world's population, won their independence; and several other countries which were independent in name but were in fact subject to Western domination reasserted their national sovereignty. However, this newly acquired political sovereignty is now being subverted in many subtle ways, particularly through economic power. But this problem itself remains inseparable from the unfinished task of bringing the era of colonialism to a complete close.

3. Independence was regained by these countries by various means, violent as well as non-violent. But in every case the people's struggle was the most potent power which forced the colonial masters to relinquish their hold. If in

cil also has the means legally to enforce these principles in the case of the more recalcitrant of the colonial and racist régimes, under Chapter VII of the Charter.

8. There are still over 30 countries and Territories under colonial rule. The situation prevailing in each one of them, the attitudes of the respective administering Powers, the aspirations of the peoples concerned and the prospects for an early achievement of independence are most varied and need to be considered separately.

9. We have, for instance, a comparatively new phenomenon in Southern Rhodesia, where a group of armed men, bent upon maintaining their life-styles of privilege based on their domination of the African majority, usurped power from the colonial authorities and made off, as it were, with a colony of over 200,000 square kilometres and a population of over 6 million. Then we have the case of Namibia, which is an international Territory, illegally occupied by South Africa in blatant defiance of world opinion. We have a new deviation in decolonization in the form of spurious independent States, satellites of colonial Powers, such as the Trankei. We also have the example of South Africa itself, where the system of *apartheid* represents a hideous form of internal colonialism imposed by an ethnic minority over a large majority.

10. In all these cases—Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa—the aspirations of the majority are being cruelly denied, and the liberation movements have therefore had to resort to armed struggle in the absence of peaceful avenues of change. The United Nations has been a sympathetic supporter of the suffering people of southern Africa. But in some areas the racial bigots are still pursuing their uncompromising course. Failure to defeat them would be a failure of the international community.

11. My delegation has already had occasion to reiterate India's position, both in plenary meetings and in the Fourth Committee, regarding the intolerable situations prevailing in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. We feel that in order to regain credibility and to help in alleviating the sufferings of the struggling peoples of those countries, the United Nations should impose effective and strict sanctions not only against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia, but also against South Africa itself, which sustains that régime, illegally occupies Namibia and practises *apartheid* at home. In this context, my delegation has been encouraged by the recent mandatory arms embargo resulting from Security Council resolution 418 (1977), adopted on 4 November this year. We feel, however, that sanctions should be extended to the economic and diplomatic fields as well, if they are to produce the desired results.

12. In relative contrast, we have the cases of island communities, for some of which total independence might entail a precarious future because of their size, geographical location and lack of resources. We also have the case of some Non-Self-Governing Territories where the people have manifested their desire, either by means of elections, referendums or evidence placed before visiting missions 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, to retain varied forms of constitutional links with their administering

Powers. Several of those Territories have already achieved a high degree of internal self-government. My delegation believes that it is right for the United Nations to respect the freely expressed will of those people, for Article 73 of the Charter recognizes the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of those Territories are paramount and the best spokesmen for their interests are the people themselves.

13. My delegation would like to reiterate its appreciation for the co-operation extended to the Special Committee by the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand with regard to the Non-Self-Governing Territories under their administration. We have also detected some positive signs of a change in the attitude of the United States of America in this regard during the course of this year. The other administering Power, France, has also extended its co-operation to the Committee, for the first time, on the question of the New Hebrides. We express the hope that this positive development in the attitudes of the United States of America and France will become a permanent feature in the United Nations.

14. My delegation is convinced that the problems of many of the small Territories which, for reasons of size, geographical position and limited resources, have not yet attained full independence and are unlikely to do so in the near future, could be resolved by closer and more institutionalized co-operation between the United Nations and the administering Powers concerned. The concept of regional economic co-operation needs to be promoted within the broader context of international responsibility for the economic viability of those island Territories. Similarly, the United Nations has the responsibility of ensuring that the activities of foreign private interests do not deprive the people of the colonial Territories of their legitimate proprietary rights to their natural resources.

15. My delegation looks forward to the day when this item will no longer be on the agenda of the General Assembly as a result of the complete decolonization of all the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories. Only then will it be possible to say that the age of enlightenment affirming the equality and brotherhood of man has truly begun.

16. Mr. MESTIRI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): As it does each year when the report of the Special Committee is before it, the General Assembly is considering the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The objective of our discussion is to analyse the events that took place this past year and evaluate the progress made towards the realization of one of the fundamental objectives of this Organization, namely, the elimination of colonialism and the achievement of respect for the right of peoples to self-determination. It seems appropriate for us to recall here that this debate is most timely because it deals with a question that persists and is extremely important. Of course the anti-colonial surge throughout the world has brought with it many substantial victories, and colonial empires which seemed indestructible have fallen.

17. Each year in various parts of the world we see that a great number of peoples and nations have won freedom and

independence, and this confirms the power and justice of the cause of decolonization.

18. However, our task is not yet completed. In southern Africa in particular, but also in the Pacific and the Caribbean, vestiges of the great colonial era still persist. In some cases manifestations of this scourge are open and evident to all; in others, they are more insidious. But in any case they deserve to be condemned and should receive our most vigilant attention.

19. The southern part of the continent of Africa is going through a catastrophic situation that has already lasted for too long. In Rhodesia and Namibia, the African peoples continue to be exposed to intolerable suffering as a result of the oppressive policy of illegal colonial and minority régimes.

20. The response of the Ian Smith régime to the prospect of a peaceful solution of the Rhodesian conflict held out in the Anglo-American plan has been delaying tactics and repeated acts of aggression against its neighbours, which threaten to involve the whole region in a military escalation.

21. In Namibia, the Pretoria régime has created endless obstacles to the settlement of the conflict by negotiation, and after many vicissitudes we still cannot see the light at the end of the tunnel.

22. Because of the persistence of this situation, which inspires anything but optimism, we must realize that there will be very grave consequences unless urgent and energetic action is undertaken. The United Nations and all States Members of this Organization must face up realistically to their responsibilities in this regard. Obviously, intentions and verbal commitments alone are not enough. This is no longer the time for procrastination or half-measures. Events are so interrelated in southern Africa that a global strategy, to be followed by all the concrete measures necessary to implement it, must be conceived and adopted by the organs of the United Nations, and in particular by the Security Council, which has a very special responsibility in this matter and the necessary means provided under the Charter to free that region and its people from further useless suffering.

23. The Maputo International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, the text of whose Declaration and Plan of Action¹ is to be adopted today by the General Assembly, considered the situation in southern Africa and established a framework within which United Nations action should take place. We want to reaffirm today our concurrence in the conclusions and recommendations contained in the Conference's report. We consider that the United Nations must have a very clear vision of its objectives and be sure that it has the necessary means before engaging its prestige in or sanctioning any particular form of action in southern Africa.

24. It is no secret to anyone that innumerable proposals are being put forward at various levels in an attempt to

solve the very complex problems posed in that region. That universal awareness is one of the most positive elements, because it reaffirms and consolidates the aspirations of the peoples of southern Africa. None the less, intervention in one form or another by the United Nations, to be effective, must not be decided on hastily or on an improvised basis, not only because the prestige and credibility of the Organization are involved, but mainly because the United Nations might create illusions or false hopes in a situation where bitterness and frustration are already widespread.

25. The United Nations can play an effective role only if each Member State undertakes to respect its decisions and to implement the recommendations adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. It is enough for only one group of countries, for strategic, economic or other reasons, to drag their feet for the decisions adopted here to become inoperable. That applies even more when such countries constitute an important element of the international community.

26. We feel that it is the duty of all countries which have not yet done so to take all the measures advocated by the General Assembly to help the peoples still under colonial domination to realize their aspirations. It is regrettable that several States Members of our Organization continue to enable their nationals and corporations to engage in economic and other activities in the colonial Territories to the detriment of the freedom and the interests of their inhabitants.

27. We want to appeal again urgently to those Governments to pledge that no economic, financial or military assistance will be ever granted to the minority régimes in southern Africa. We are convinced that only by such sanctions will it be possible to bring about a change of heart in the régimes of Salisbury and Pretoria. But in the meantime there is no choice for the populations under domination but lawful recourse to armed resistance.

28. The situation which obtains in certain colonial Territories in the Pacific and the Caribbean deserves, in our view, more systematic attention from this Assembly. The size of those Territories or their geographical location in no way diminishes the right of their populations to self-determination or independence if those populations so desire. For many years now the General Assembly has unambiguously affirmed and reaffirmed this right.

29. The Assembly has also defined the principles and established the general framework within which the process of the decolonization of small Territories can take place. The various political or constitutional options which are open to them are valid so long as the principle of self-determination is scrupulously observed. In our opinion, there can be no question of a single general and abstract formula that will settle particular problems that in most cases are absolutely specific. This is why it is high time to devise a formula which would take account of those particular characteristics of each problem which could be overlooked by an outsider. The future of the small Territories and of their populations, their strategic situation and their resources may in the very near future arouse cupidity and thus give rise to many conflicts. We have already noted certain signs that herald such developments.

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

The Tunisian delegation, which has been a member of visiting missions in some of these Territories is convinced that the United Nations should play a more active role in helping these Territories to satisfy their aspirations by offering them practical guarantees and the means to fulfil their desires.

30. I do not want to conclude these general remarks without expressing our gratitude to the Government of Mozambique, whose hospitality and dedication to the cause of decolonization has made it possible to hold the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

31. I want also to pay a special tribute to the Chairman of the Special Committee, the Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, whose personal dedication and effective leadership have enabled the Committee on decolonization to bring its efforts to a successful end.

32. Mr. ARNELLO (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Chile attaches great importance to the debate on item 24, since we are convinced that the problems of decolonization in the world are of the utmost significance. Chile took part in the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and, through its continuous participation in the Special Committee on decolonization, it has actively contributed to the work which the United Nations has done in this regard.

33. In few fields has the United Nations taken more relevant action than in that of decolonization. Since the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), very significant advances have been made in this field, and many are the peoples and Territories which have attained independence and which appear today with just pride among the free nations of the world. Chile has welcomed with feelings of brotherhood and happiness the independence of each one of them.

34. At this time, however, we cannot merely recognize what has been attained so far. Much distance remains to be covered and many cases of colonialism have not yet been solved.

35. No doubt the most salient cases which focus world attention and which are a true challenge for the United Nations are the questions of Namibia and Rhodesia.

36. In Namibia, not only is there a colonial situation which has been inherited from the past, but that situation has become worse owing to the application in that Territory of the policy of *apartheid*, a policy which has been universally condemned.

37. My delegation spoke on the question of Namibia when we took part in the debate on item 91 [38th meeting]. However, we wish to repeat that the policy of Chile concerning Namibia continues to be the same: we strongly condemn the illegal presence of the Republic of South Africa in the Territory of Namibia; we condemn the attempts to apply the policy of bantustanization to Namibia; and we are against that policy in itself, since it is one of the many manifestations of *apartheid*.

38. The delegation of Chile wishes to take this opportunity to reiterate that the Government of Chile does not recognize nor does it maintain any kind of link or relations with the bantustan of the Transkei, which we do not recognize as an independent State. Any statement to the contrary is false and is further proof of a lack of seriousness and of a parochial attitude on the part of some delegations which are willing systematically to spread lies to serve their political interests, or on the part of others who repeat those lies pathetically as they are taught to them by foreigners or because of their loyalty to totalitarian political ideologies.

39. In like manner, we wish to say before this Assembly that Chile will not recognize the sham independence of the Bophuthatswana bantustan, which has been announced in the press in recent days, nor will we recognize any other.

40. We repeat our hope that the unofficial steps taken by some Western Powers members of the Security Council will be crowned with success and that Namibia will thus in a short period of time become a free and sovereign nation and join this world Organization. We also repeat that the United Nations bears a responsibility with regard to Namibia and, consequently, can in no way be excluded from participation in any arrangements for attaining the independence of Namibia.

41. Concerning Rhodesia, my delegation wishes to state before this Assembly that the Government of Chile does not recognize the illegal régime of the white minority in Rhodesia and strictly applies the sanctions imposed by the Security Council against that régime.

42. Chile is a peaceful and a peace-loving country. Because of that, we are in favour of a peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian problem, according to the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Charter. Furthermore, this would prevent greater sufferings for the people of Zimbabwe, which has had to endure so much. We wish to make clear, however, that this peaceful settlement cannot entail a postponement of independence or of the creation of a majority government for the people of Zimbabwe.

43. As we have already stated, even if we recognize that Namibia and Zimbabwe are the two most important questions and the questions requiring solutions most urgently, we cannot overlook the fact that there are many other Non-Self-Governing Territories that have not yet exercised their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, in conformity with resolution 1514 (XV). In the last quarter of the twentieth century there are still peoples in various parts of the world that are subject to the rule of colonial Powers; but there are also peoples that, in this twentieth century, have been subjugated and deprived of their independence.

44. The delegation of Chile wishes to repeat that the process of decolonization should not be delayed to serve the economic, financial or strategic interests of the colonial Powers administering the Territories. On the contrary, the colonial Power must comply strictly with United Nations resolutions which have determined that the enjoyment of a country's natural resources is an inalienable right of the people of the Non-Self-Governing Territory. On the other hand, the administering Power is in duty bound to take all

the measures in its power to diversify the economies of the small Territories so that those Territories can safely exercise their right to self-determination in the certainty that future political independence will go hand in hand with economic and financial viability. Otherwise, decolonization will be a mere illusion.

45. The delegation of Chile believes that the Special Committee on decolonization established by the United Nations has fulfilled completely and with dedication the task entrusted to it by the Organization. This year my delegation has noted that the co-operation of some administering Powers in the work of the Committee has increased and that in some cases that co-operation has been reflected in the sending of United Nations visiting missions to some Non-Self-Governing Territories. Similarly, we note with satisfaction that the process of the decolonization of Djibouti was completed in conformity with agreements of the special Committee and the general postulates of the United Nations. Today the State of Djibouti occupies the place among us that it so well deserves. We express the hope that the decolonization of the Solomon Islands and Tuvalu will be completed in the coming year, in accordance with the programme that has been prepared by the local governments.

46. The task of decolonization might be regarded as nearing an end. Many peoples have attained independence. Those that are still not independent are inexorably moving towards it. This is therefore the time for new States and the third-world countries—and we are no longer such a new State, since we have been independent for a century and a half—to view with attention and concern certain phenomena that are obvious symptoms of policies that contradict the letter and the spirit of the Charter and affect the sovereignty, independence and integrity of the developing nations.

47. The widening of the existing gap between the wealthy and the poor nations, and between the overindustrialized countries and the under-developed or developing countries, is a present-day phenomenon which points to a growing economic dependence and a lack of sincere international solidarity.

48. Interference in the internal affairs of other States by Powers and super-Powers is another alarming symptom of the breach of basic principles of the Charter.

49. Political warfare, ideological confrontation, the struggle to acquire positions of strength or spheres of influence encompass covert—when not unmasked—forms of encouragement of internal subversion in a State or of the commission of aggression.

50. A distinguished Head of State of an African nation, the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, stated to this Assembly October last that he rejected the forms that action by the great Powers was taking in that continent. He said:

“... the great Powers often play a destructive game. Some of them treat our continent as a reservoir of raw materials, while others see in it a field for manoeuvre for the sake of subversion”. [34th meeting, para. 99.]

51. On the other hand, the representative of a Member State said that there was a serious form of “neo-colonialism” being applied against new States—a new form of colonialism, military and ideological, which would violate the principles of the Charter and is a grave threat to many independent nations.

52. Neither the task of decolonization carried out by the United Nations nor the struggle for the national independence of so many peoples can be frustrated by policies such as those I have mentioned.

53. Third-world States must take note of the existing facts, and this must lead us to an awareness of the dangers involved in those facts. We must firmly demand respect for the basic principles of international order, principles which will ensure peace, independence, freedom, sovereignty, security and integrity for every nation.

54. Mr. MATOSSI (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): Item 24 of the General Assembly’s agenda is of interest to my delegation for more than one reason—for, to my delegation, the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is an essential principle designed to accelerate the process of decolonization.

55. The granting of independence to the countries and peoples still under colonial domination cannot admit of any exceptions. It must be noted that all the young States in this Assembly today were the beneficiaries of a process set in motion by resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. That process should be irreversible, and yet for 17 years the problem of colonialism has been appearing on the agenda of each session of the General Assembly. In fact, the decolonization machine that had been set in motion has now slowed down, on the one hand, because of the reluctance shown by some and, on the other, because in our times colonialism has taken on a variety of forms. Confronted by this many-sided colonialism, the international community must make additional efforts to induce the Powers that still administer Territories, or maintain their presence in those Territories in violation of the relevant resolutions, to give up for ever the positions they occupy in those Territories.

56. The continued presence of these Powers in Territories far away from their soil, still less the illegal occupation of a Territory, can no longer be justified today. The time is long past when colonization was regarded as a sacred civilizing mission. Can the presence of a Power on a colonial Territory be justified by strategic reasons? The threat of a possible nuclear war does not hang over these Territories, which aspire only to freedom, to justice and to peace.

57. Other Powers maintain their presence in colonial Territories for economic reasons. That is what they say. But the question my delegation would ask is this; who essentially benefits from such a presence? In my delegation’s view there is no doubt at all that the presence of Powers in Territories still under their domination can only do a disservice to the interests of those Powers. Other Powers, prompted by the desire for expansion, have illegally occupied and then annexed certain Territories in whole or in part.

58. Whatever the motivations for these acts, which are divorced from reality, it is important to my delegation that the spirit and the letter of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be applied in toto. Resolution 1514 (XV) does not commit just one category of States; it commits the whole of the international community.

59. The continuance of colonialism and the oppression, aggression and subjugation of a people cannot be considered a factor for peace. It would certainly be wrong to believe that the situation can long be perpetuated. We must take into account the will of the populations concerned, which aim to obtain their freedom, because this is what is really involved. Nothing can shake the will of a people that seeks to recover its rights, despite whatever cost in loss of life. All means, whether armed struggle or political struggle, are justified if the aim is independence.

60. The colonial Territories and peoples are to be found mainly in southern Africa, in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia; there are also some small dependent Territories.

61. The situation in southern Africa is particularly alarming. *Apartheid*, which has been tolerated for so long and which became a system of Government, will certainly not bring peace to that part of Africa. The odious repression organized by the disgraceful Vorster régime is a serious matter of concern to my delegation because, with the blessing of some Powers, the practice of *apartheid* continues to hold up despite all the measures that have been taken by our Organization against it. The delegation of Chad hopes that, given the new measures just taken by the Security Council on this matter, we have finally reached a phase in which *apartheid* can be made to beat a retreat. For this to happen, however, the States principally concerned must respect the letter and the spirit of those measures. But unfortunately the measures being taken against Vorster come very late in the day, because *apartheid* has already taken so many victims in southern Africa. The list of the crimes and victims of *apartheid* is too long to read out here.

62. My Government, through our Minister for Foreign Affairs in the general debate in the Assembly [25th meeting], has condemned the practice of *apartheid* and its consequences. My delegation reaffirms its support for the people of Azania, which has been struggling to recover its rights.

63. The delegation of my country cannot tolerate a situation in which South Africa is deliberately extending its *apartheid* policy to Namibia and even amputating a part of that Territory. The bantustanization in South Africa cannot be extended to Namibia, which must accede to independence as speedily as possible. The creation of fictitious States in South Africa is inadmissible in the view of my delegation. The international community must react vigorously to this series of provocations, which are incompatible with the responsibility once entrusted to South Africa. Once again my delegation reaffirms its support for the liberation movements in Namibia, and we hope they will be able to achieve the objectives proclaimed in the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

64. What is happening in southern Africa causes my delegation much concern. For 13 years Ian Smith has

deliberately been an outlaw, defying the administering Power and the international community. Ian Smith has consistently defied the whole world. This defiance on the part of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia reflects the support it receives. The international community must do some soul-searching about the justification for that assistance that is so detrimental to the fundamental principle of the right of peoples to self-determination.

65. Even though it is very fragile, the Anglo-American plan has some merits, although it may not represent the definitive solution of the Rhodesian problem. My delegation feels that the black majority must come to power. The objective of Ian Smith and his acolytes is to bury the problem in fictitious considerations. The most eloquent example of this is the notion of "one man, one vote". All these manoeuvres are of course but attempts to evade the problem and to gain time. Ian Smith will remain in power and will, under the tutelage of Vorster, apply the policy the latter dictates.

66. The time for mere verbal condemnations of that régime has passed. Concrete measures must be taken to destroy the Ian Smith régime. If he did not receive the support that has been so well described by a petitioner at a hearing before the Fourth Committee, Ian Smith would have been swept away long since. My delegation reaffirms its support for the liberation movements struggling to achieve the independence of Zimbabwe.

67. The granting of independence to the peoples of southern Africa can be achieved only with the effective support of the international community. It was thus that resolution 31/145 of 17 December 1976 enabled the United Nations, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, to hold the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe.

68. It was also with that same objective that the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held in Lagos in August under the auspices of the United Nations, took place and severely condemned the *apartheid* régime in southern Africa.

69. The desire to perpetuate the *apartheid* régime and to support the Ian Smith régime in Rhodesia is in conflict with the very times through which we are living. That is why my delegation feels it is in the true interests of certain States to take into account the great principles of freedom, justice and peace which have been defended, in other circumstances at different times, by those same States at the cost of considerable sacrifice, so that the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe can exercise the right to self-determination and independence.

70. Faced with daily provocations and acts of aggression, our Organization must react firmly.

71. My delegation is convinced that, if all States scrupulously respected the measures that have been adopted, there would certainly be no need for our Assembly to have on its agenda this distressing item, which is the source of so much concern to us.

72. The problem of the small Territories is also a matter of concern for my delegation. It is a fact that the small

Territories also must accede to independence. The independence of a Territory is not to be measured by its size. The administering Powers concerned will understand that throughout the world there are small independent States that are perfectly viable.

73. My delegation supports those peoples engaged in political struggles to attain independence.

74. I would not wish to end this statement without expressing my delegation's sincere congratulations to the Special Committee, which, under the enlightened chairmanship of Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, Ambassador of the United Republic of Tanzania, has given us the excellent report that is now before us [A/32/23/Rev.1].

75. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Ever since the revolutionary triumph of 1959 Cuba has lent its most determined co-operation to international efforts to eliminate colonialism in all its forms and manifestations everywhere in the world. In 1960 my delegation fully endorsed resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and ever since the inception of the Special Committee it has encouraged that Committee to fulfil its mandate with regard to all peoples still under foreign subjugation.

76. In those days, it fell to our then Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Comrade Mario García Incháustegui, to defend the internationalist principles of the Cuban Revolution with the dignity, devotion and competence that always characterized his brilliant diplomatic career. That career came to a tragic end a few days ago when Comrade García Incháustegui and his wife, together with all the other passengers and the crew, were killed in the unfortunate disaster that befell an aircraft of Malaysian Airlines. An exemplary revolutionary diplomat, the spirit of García Incháustegui will live on in those who, like him, perform their duties with the passionate and unswerving dedication of the true fighter.

77. Ever since the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), the movement for the liberation of colonial countries and peoples has been gathering momentum. It has scored numerous victories and has brought nearer the time of the final collapse of colonialism throughout the world.

78. In these circumstances, international reactionary forces, led by United States imperialism, are trying to group together and to halt the liberating process that is unfolding in colonial Territories. They are endeavouring to divide the anti-imperialist front and to break its international solidarity with the national liberation movements. Day after day, we note how the imperialists are trying to arrest the inevitable process of decolonization. We see this in the continual Western actions on behalf of South Africa in the Security Council. We see it in the successive Western manoeuvres aimed at frustrating the true, complete and immediate liberation of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia. We see it in the pressures that the United States Government is bringing to bear on the international community in order to prevent the adoption of effective measures to end its colonial domination in Puerto Rico, Guam and other Pacific Territories. We see it in the constant propaganda in the media in the service of

imperialism, which tries to sow confusion and to reduce the effectiveness of international action against colonialism.

79. Now that through the determined struggle of the liberation movements and the firm solidarity of all revolutionary forces, the peoples have scored important victories in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe, the imperialists are hurriedly resorting to manoeuvre after manoeuvre to preserve the colonialist-racist oppression in southern Africa.

80. Using all the means of hypocrisy and demagoguery, their spokesmen do not blush as they dare to present themselves as the advocates of imaginary peaceful solutions to the problems of the southern tip of Africa. They wrongly believe that through verbal acrobatics they can hoodwink those who have known the long, onerous and shameful burden of the colonial experience. By Sunday-school pronouncements, pharasaical behaviour or sermons, they think that they can make us forget that it was they, the North American imperialists and their allies, who equipped Portuguese fascism and supported it politically, militarily and financially during the entire period of the colonial war, until the very last minute. Nor can anyone be ignorant of the fact that their monopolies were and are the first to benefit from the racist exploitation of the workers in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

81. The fact is that none of them would have been concerned over the question of Namibia or of Zimbabwe while Angola and Mozambique were controlled by the Portuguese colonialists. If now they turn their attention to southern Africa it is not in order to speed up its complete liberation but to try to save the racists and colonialists—and not because they are interested in peace but rather because they are concerned about their investments. They do not seek to advance the cause of freedom but rather to perpetuate slavery, poverty and exploitation.

82. While the imperialists juggle their so-called negotiation formulas and try to gain time for their racist partners, the regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury are intensifying their repression against the African majority and persisting in an aggressive and provocative policy against the neighbouring States which is a constant threat to international peace and security.

83. In recent days, Rhodesian troops have launched extremely serious attacks against the territory of Mozambique and have murdered hundreds of refugees and civilians and brought about the destruction of much Mozambican property. Cuba believes that the international community cannot remain indifferent to the atrocious crimes that the Smith clique commits daily against the young State of Mozambique. All States and progressive forces must act with urgency and offer Mozambique the necessary assistance to put an end to the acts of aggression committed against it.

84. In the struggle against colonialism, the Special Committee has a relevant role which it must play consistently. In order that it may play this role, we must face up to the pressures and manoeuvres of imperialism and of those who attempt to destroy the character of the Committee as an instrument in the service of the subjected peoples.

85. The action by the enemies of decolonization has at times prevented the Special Committee from carrying out its responsibilities and fulfilling its mandate. We find an example of this in its hesitation firmly to condemn and demand the withdrawal of North American military bases from the Territory of Guam. Another eloquent example of this is the fact that this year it was unable to adopt the draft resolution submitted by my delegation reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to independence and self-determination [*see A/32/23/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 61*].

86. We are convinced that in both cases the colonialists will fail in their plans to prevent international action based on consistent solidarity. The peoples of Puerto Rico and Guam, as well as all other peoples subjected to colonial oppression, have an inalienable right to independence and freedom and deserve the broadest and firmest solidarity of the international community until such time as they attain that right.

87. Cuba will continue in the future, as it has done in the past, to exert its best efforts in the Special Committee to see to it that that body assumes its full responsibility concerning the peoples of those two Territories. Our attitude concerning decolonization will continue to be governed by the internationalist principles of our Revolution and by our deep conviction that the struggle against colonialism is one and indivisible, that it demands the united action of all anti-imperialist forces and the pooling of all efforts to bring about the complete elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations wherever it may exist.

Mr. Asensio-Wunderlich (Guatemala), Vice-President, took the Chair.

88. Mr. AL-SAID (Oman): It is now 17 years since the General Assembly took the historic and enlightened step of proclaiming the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Those 17 years have been marked by extensive progress; every year new nations attain their independence and join us here as full Members of this noble international Organization. The walls of these chambers are literally having to be pushed out to accommodate the now almost universal membership of the United Nations.

89. We cannot help but take a certain amount of pride in these great achievements of the United Nations, as the fundamental principles of these achievements were set out in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Who could have foreseen 17 years ago that the good intentions and great efforts that went into that Declaration would be crowned with success? One cannot help but keep in mind that many of the States which are now Members of the United Nations and of various other international and regional bodies and which are the leaders and creative prime movers in some of the most vital and pressing causes and developments of this age were still struggling 17 years ago against colonial oppression. One cannot help but express gratitude to and commend all those States, persons and organizations that made this possible, including the President's own country, Yugoslavia, which not only played a significant role in the

drafting of the Declaration, but also has continued its efforts in the context of the Special Committee.

90. Despite our successes so far and our justifiable pride in those successes, my delegation must agree with what was said the day before yesterday by Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania [*92nd meeting*]. Mr. Salim, who has wisely and devotedly chaired the Special Committee for six years, said that we cannot afford to be complacent at this stage. There are still a number of very serious and dangerous issues ahead of us, particularly in southern Africa. We must persevere in our efforts to ensure immediate majority rule in Zimbabwe and the end of exploitation and domination by the illegal Smith régime, as well as its repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring States. We must persevere in our efforts in the cause of the Namibian people, and we must continue to urge, and to take, all necessary practical measures to put an end to the defiance of the Pretoria régime in its policy of imposing *apartheid* and establishing bantustans, and in its continued exploitation and domination of the human and natural resources of the Namibian people.

91. In this regard my delegation must once again express its agreement with Mr. Salim when he said that at this stage we must pursue our efforts in all United Nations and other forums, and made special reference to the Security Council. My delegation has long held that vested commercial and even strategic interests cannot be held to be adequate justification for obstructing United Nations efforts in the cause of peace, justice and freedom, racial equality and self-determination in southern Africa or elsewhere.

92. This year another meeting was convened to pursue the efforts of the international community in the cause of Zimbabwe and Namibia. This was the historic Maputo Conference. My delegation salutes that Conference and wishes to express its satisfaction and compliance with the historic Declaration and Programme of Action that resulted from the Conference.

93. Before concluding this statement I should like to address on behalf of my delegation a special word of gratitude and commendation to our Secretary-General for the devoted efforts that he has directed to these causes. We know that he will continue those efforts and we wish him all possible success.

94. Mr. KANE (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): This year, as in every previous year since 1960, the General Assembly, in considering the agenda item now under discussion, wished to show that the problems of decolonization have been and remain among its immediate concerns. Consideration of the item throughout these years, while it enables our Assembly to strike a balance between the efforts deployed and the progress achieved in the field of decolonization since 1960, also leads the community of nations represented by our Organization to seek the most appropriate means of completing the task of advancing the peoples which it has already undertaken.

95. There is no doubt that immense and valuable progress has been made since 14 December 1960 in certain parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where peoples formerly under foreign domination have recovered their indepen-

dence and freedom thanks to the liberation struggle authorized by resolution 1514 (XV) and also to the material and moral support of the international community.

96. In proclaiming, at the 947th plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 14 December 1960, its faith in basic human rights and in the dignity of the human person, and in authorizing in eloquent terms the struggle of the peoples for their freedom, the United Nations undoubtedly opened a new era in international relations.

97. That act of faith by our Organization, which was reflected in resolution 1514 (XV)—rightly called by some the “charter of freedom”—delimited the area of application of the principles of the Charter, which were directed primarily to making the idea of the equality of all nations and all peoples living on our planet into a reality.

98. Thus, since 14 December 1960, that memorable date in the annals of our Organization, there has been increased awareness on the international scene of the relations among nations and of the destiny of peoples, and its decisive and salutary impact has shattered the centuries-old psychological barriers between colonizers and colonized and established new, fruitful and objective relations based on equality and mutual respect.

99. For the developing countries newly independent at that time, and for the countries still under domination, the unequivocal stand taken by the United Nations on 14 December 1960 signified, and still signifies, that the unjust system to which the majority of the peoples had been subjected and which some still try to perpetuate today, is outworn and condemned to disappear.

100. For the colonizing countries which supported this United Nations Declaration the new and courageous position they adopted meant that they had decided, without any reservations, to turn one of the most difficult but also most instructive pages in the history of international relations.

101. Thus 17 years have elapsed since the United Nations took that historic decision, and profound qualitative changes have since occurred in the world. Through armed struggle or through agreements between the colonial and colonized countries hundreds of millions of human beings have achieved dignity and freedom. In Asia, in Africa, in Latin America and elsewhere in the world nations have emerged and have created States which today enjoy full sovereignty. Such an important change would have been very hard, perhaps impossible, to achieve in such a short time if the determination of the oppressed peoples had not been reinforced by active support in all fields by some of the countries that love peace and justice and by the international community as a whole. But even though this gigantic and generally beneficial work has been accomplished, the mission entrusted to this Organization has not been completely fulfilled. Today men still continue to struggle and to die in the name of their legitimate right to freedom; peoples reject arbitrary rule, subjugation and the completely unjust situation in which they are kept; they continue to make enormous sacrifices and endure cruel suffering. Colonial wars of unprecedented ferocity continue

to be waged in many parts of the world, bringing in their train suffering, mourning and misery.

102. Although some of the present struggles now ravaging the world are the direct result of colonization and of its heritage, some go back no further than the founding of this Organization, and have been attributed, rightly or wrongly, to a lack of firmness on the part of the United Nations. In this deplorable picture, Africa unfortunately occupies a central place.

103. In Rhodesia—to begin with that Territory—a paradoxical political situation, skilfully maintained, still affronts the world conscience. A handful of white racists, armed and supported by certain Members of this Organization, have for nearly 12 years imposed a cruel oppression on millions of black people. Ever since the Rhodesian question first came before this Assembly, my delegation has repeatedly expressed its views and clarified its position concerning the future of that Territory. But it is relevant, in the light of recent developments in that part of Africa, for my delegation to make the following statement.

104. We have already had occasion to say, but believe today more than ever, that victory for the people of Zimbabwe lies in the unity of all its sons. We therefore welcomed the creation of the Patriotic Front, which was one of the most important moves in organizing the resistance against the oppression of the Rhodesian colonialists. This unity of thought and of action has irritated Ian Smith, who sees his authority diminishing every day and the area of territory he controls shrinking. It is the setbacks in all spheres suffered by the Rhodesian whites that prompts them to attempt to sow division among the patriots of Zimbabwe and to undertake punitive action against Mozambique and against the neighbouring countries. The last incursion of the Rhodesian rebels into Mozambique caused, according to information in the world press, more than 1,200 deaths to be added to the tragic list of the many killed by Ian Smith and his Rhodesian acolytes. But despite these actions contrary to law and morality, resulting from the growing isolation of the rebel Salisbury régime, the victory of the Zimbabwe people is assured because, like others we have seen elsewhere in the world, it is part of an irreversible historical process.

105. In Namibia the political situation has not changed for more than a quarter of a century. In this international Territory—as in Zimbabwe, whose situation I have already described—the similarity of oppressive measures is very evident because the same philosophy underlies the policy of the illegal Smith régime and the racist administration of Pretoria. In Namibia, as in Zimbabwe, in addition to torture, arbitrary arrests and daily sentences without trial and without appeal, it is the aim of the two racist régimes to divide the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and thus to perpetuate domination by the whites and the exploitation of the black population, the logical result of any foreign domination.

106. The situation in Zimbabwe is mainly due to a rebellion which, in the final analysis, has been tolerated for obvious reasons, but the occupation of Namibia is in fact a rebellion by the South African régime against the United Nations, which had temporarily en-

trusted the administration of that Territory to the Pretoria régime. In Namibia the situation is all the more intolerable because the oppression of the Namibian people is due to a direct defiance of our Organization, which was and still is responsible for leading that Territory to independence. This paradox is a source of unending amazement and concern to the international community, because the United Nations, whose role it is to bring about a world of justice, has itself become an almost helpless victim of the recolonization of Namibia by South Africa.

107. Too many things have been said and reiterated for over 25 years. South Africa has been repeatedly condemned by the General Assembly and by other international institutions, but it still occupies Namibia and a reign of terror still prevails there.

108. The General Assembly has on several occasions invited the Security Council to take measures in accordance with the Charter, but the Council maintains an attitude that could only be regarded as one of complicity. We declare today without reservation that Security Council vetoes will not save South Africa from catastrophe. The many chances offered by the Security Council to South Africa should have brought the Vorster administration to understand that the time has now come to make amends. I would recall the last meeting of the Security Council on southern Africa, at which an important step was taken by the adoption of resolution 418 (1977) imposing an embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa. Even though this is a limited measure, the fact that such a sanction was accepted by the whole of the membership of the Security Council indicates that there is already some irritation among those countries which have traditionally supported South Africa. Such an attitude on the part of the Council should have given the Pretoria administration food for thought, but unfortunately the latest elections held in South Africa and the hardening of the policies of Vorster after those elections show once again that the United Nations can now only envisage the full application of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. So long as the United Nations will merely voice ineffectual condemnations, it will not be in a position to prevent the situation in South Africa from degenerating into a conflict that could have serious consequences for international peace and security.

109. After having spoken on these two questions, which of course constitute immediate threats to Africa and to the international community, I should now like to say a few words about another question, also within the competence of this Organization, and which is also a threat to international equilibrium.

110. The question of Palestine—for this is the question—is a cause of concern to this Organization and has been so for a whole generation. In that part of the world a whole people was evicted from its homeland, dispossessed, and left prey to hunger, disease and poverty. It is beyond reason why our Organization took upon itself the responsibility for such an act, delivering Arab Palestine to the occupation of foreign settlers. Here, as in Namibia, we are confronted with a colonial situation going hand in hand with an expansionism which is a real insult to law and morality. In Palestine and in Namibia two régimes that are still Members of this Organization are engaging in practices that in every

way negate those sacred principles which constitute the very foundation of the United Nations. In both those cases the United Nations was powerless, not because almost the entire membership did not wish to seek lawful solutions, but because the United Nations is paralysed by the exceptional broad powers which a minority has arrogated to itself. Both in Palestine and in Namibia, the exercise of the right of veto has acted as an oxygen cylinder maintaining the life of two systems that have been condemned by the international community as a whole. But no matter how active the Zionists are, no matter what they say in their propaganda, no permanent solution will be found to the Middle East problem which does not *a priori* take account of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people.

111. These aspirations were, and still are, the return of the Palestinian people to its usurped homeland, and the recognition of that people's right to Arab Palestine. In recognizing the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, our Organization took a very important step towards the restoration of justice and legality in Palestine.

112. I should have liked to extend my statement to cover other questions which are part of our present discussions and which rightly preoccupy the United Nations and the international community. I have confined myself to addressing only some of the problems now before us, not because my delegation has less interest in the others, but simply because our Organization, for more than a quarter of a century now, has been dealing with two of the questions of which I have spoken.

113. Moreover, the report submitted by the Chairman of the Special Committee, our brother Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim with his well-known eloquence and level-headedness, deals with all aspects of the issues before us. My delegation, in congratulating the members of the Committee on decolonization and its Chairman, justly feels that the proposals in that report have several positive aspects which deserve the unanimous support of this Assembly.

114. Our Assembly, by resolutely committing itself in recent years to the struggle against colonialism and domination, wanted to show the world that it was high time to call an irrevocable halt to all forms of foreign domination. The Maputo and Lagos Conferences, and the dynamic initiatives of the Secretary-General to unjam the Middle East situation, are irrefutable proof of this Organization's determination.

115. Come what may, the process that has already begun in all fields by the liberation movements to ensure the freedom of their countries and peoples is now irreversible. In southern Africa, as in the Middle East and in other parts of the world, there is the same determination, the same struggle and the same surge of solidarity and generosity from a world which more and more craves justice, peace and freedom.

116. Despite the attempts of those who want to divide Africa, the Arab world, Latin America and Asia, the trend towards unity will remain irreversible; unity and solidarity will one day triumph. Everywhere, we see the same struggle

for freedom, the same aspirations to dignity, the same desire to create a world based on justice and brotherhood.

117. The Assembly, the most appropriate organ for the achievement of these aspirations, will not fail to contribute its support and assistance to the attainment of a world from which domination, exploitation and racial or colour-motivated discrimination shall forever be banished.

118. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, I should like to pay a tribute to the valuable efforts of the Special Committee on the Situation regarding the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples for its valuable report in documents [A/32/23/Rev.1], regarding the events in those countries which continue to suffer under the yoke of colonialism and foreign domination.

119. My country attaches prime and direct importance to colonization-related issues, not only out of solidarity with the oppressed peoples but also because of our commitment to the cause of peace and justice in the world. The elimination of colonialism in all its forms is a paramount task of the United Nations, because the continuation and perpetuation of colonialism constitutes an obstacle to the restoration of peace and security in the world, as well as a denial of the right of peoples to realize their legitimate aspirations to self-determination and independence. There are still a number of peoples in territories in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East that are struggling to attain their freedom and liberation from the yoke of colonialism and to achieve independence, as well as sovereignty over their resources. Those peoples place their hopes in the United Nations, and this Organization must not shirk its responsibility towards those Territories; indeed, it must secure the implementation of the provisions of Article 73 of the Charter, which sets forth the commitments of administering Powers, especially with regard to the political aspect of the decolonization process.

120. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) constitutes the basis, as well as a sound avenue, for realizing independence and the elimination of foreign and colonialist domination, and for fostering a propitious atmosphere for co-operation among peoples. That historic resolution was, in fact, the juridical instrument which enshrined the basic principles guaranteeing the right of peoples to self-determination and to sovereignty over their natural resources and the preservation of basic human rights.

121. The practice of the policy of *apartheid* and the imposition of all forms of racial discrimination continue in bastions that have not yet been destroyed in South Africa and Rhodesia, because colonialism, injustice and foreign domination still obstruct the implementation of the legitimate rights, self-determination and national sovereignty of those peoples, which endure daily all forms of torture and subjugation.

122. Among the areas occupying the close attention of the General Assembly are those of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, where millions of human beings are daily exposed to repression, torture and the policy of racial discrimination. Indeed, this abhorrent policy has already been denounced by the international community at large as

a crime against humanity. The international community can only repeat its strong denunciation of all barbaric acts perpetrated against African citizens, from the Sharpeville massacre to the murder of the national hero Steven Biko by the butchers of South Africa.

123. The two racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia continue to defy world public opinion and blatantly to scorn all resolutions adopted by our international Organization. They pursue their inhuman designs aimed at dominating the peoples of the area through terrorism, genocide and the imposition of the policy of bantustanization, the latest manifestation of which was the establishment of the Bophuthatswana bantustan. *The New York Times* commented yesterday that that bantustan would be no more fortunate than its predecessor, the Transkei, and that it would not obtain any more recognition than the Transkei. In this connexion, we would urge all countries to refrain from recognizing that fraudulent independence in any manner and to withhold all co-operation with any authority that may be set up on the basis of the racist régime and policy already condemned by the United Nations, or based on efforts to repress the original inhabitants. In view of their intransigence in defying the international will, we call for further practical and effective measures, especially on the part of Western countries, to exert pressure and tighten the noose around those two racist régimes, and to force them to recognize the right of the peoples suffering under their oppression to self-determination on their own land. Restrictions must also be placed on the countries which extend to those two régimes any form of support, including economic and military assistance, through the sale of lethal weapons and military equipment, which make financial investments that allow the exploitation of the natural resources of their countries or which supply nuclear technology and equipment. That constitutes a serious menace to the peoples of southern Africa and the United Nations and a threat to world peace and security. Increasing assistance, both material and moral, must therefore be given to the liberation movements in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania so as to help them in confronting that abhorrent racist challenge.

124. With regard to the Territory of Namibia, we believe it is incumbent that the United Nations assume its entire responsibility to support the people of Namibia so that they may exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Although, since 1966, the international community has called, and still calls, for South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia and continues to denounce its continued unlawful occupation of the area—an occupation that constitutes a threat to peace and security in the African continent, the racist régime in South Africa continues to occupy that Territory by force, practises a policy of racial discrimination, detains the inhabitants of the region, throws them into dark dungeons and subjects them to torture and murder for their resistance to South Africa's occupation, of Namibia.

125. The military mobilization undertaken by South Africa in Namibia, as well as its increasing recourse to force so as to maintain its illegal domination over the region, and its rejection of and refusal to comply with General Assembly resolutions concerning the colony—the last of which were resolutions 31/143 and 31/145—and Security

Council resolution 385 (1976) make it incumbent upon the United Nations, and especially the Security Council, to take all appropriate measures provided for in the Charter, including those provided for in its Chapter VII, to secure compliance by the South African Government with United Nations resolutions as soon as possible.

126. With regard to the war being waged by the Pretoria Government in the region and the Salisbury Government against neighbouring countries, that constitutes a menace to peace and security in the world.

127. The Maputo Declaration and the Lagos Declaration for Action against *Apartheid*² have called the attention of the international community to the danger that is jeopardizing international peace in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, and constitutes a violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and is a direct flouting of human rights. We must not therefore restrict ourselves to mere condemnations and denunciations of racial discrimination; rather, we should combine our efforts and take specific measures to eliminate the two illegal régimes and the policy of racial discrimination practised by Rhodesia and South Africa that has victimized the peoples of the region.

128. The peoples which continue to suffer under the colonial yoke—especially in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia—are fighting to reaffirm their identity, an identity that they have been able to maintain throughout history. It is the legitimate right of those peoples to struggle under the leadership of national liberation movements to attain their independence and organize their life according to their traditions and their own understanding of their interests. Those people will continue to fight for so long as that remains necessary, because they have, thanks to their sacrifices and courage, established the legitimacy of their cause and have forced the recognition of their rights. They must be granted the necessary support and assistance by the international community to enhance their struggle, for the time is long past when the colonial Powers can continue to stifle the voices of their victims.

129. My delegation would like to avail itself of this opportunity to express its profound appreciation of the tireless efforts exerted by the United Nations to mobilize world public opinion with regard to the Organization's role in the task of the elimination of colonialism and the creation of a world where freedom, equality and justice will prevail. My country would also like to reaffirm its full and firm support of the peoples suffering under the yoke of colonialism and foreign domination and to reject all forms of tutelage over those peoples. It is now high time for the peoples of the world to rid themselves of such domination by all possible methods advocated by the United Nations to attain the right to self-determination, freedom and independence.

130. Mr. GHAFORZAI (Afghanistan): Seventeen years have elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and

Peoples. During that period the international community has witnessed great changes in the decolonization of the Territories under alien domination and foreign occupation.

131. By arousing world public opinion and promoting practical action for the speedy eradication of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations the Declaration and the programme of action for its full implementation [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*] have played and are continuing to play an important role in assisting the peoples under colonial and alien domination in their just struggle for freedom and independence.

132. During this year a number of small Territories have been able to exercise their right to self-determination; some of them have reached complete internal self-government and have therefore come to the threshold of independence. Djibouti became an independent State and joined the membership of this world body. That is, in fact, another achievement of this Organization in the field of decolonization since we last considered this item. During the year 1977 important events took place and decisions were taken aimed at further paving the way for the speedy implementation of the Declaration, especially in the cases of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

133. The adoption by the Security Council of resolution 409 (1977) of 27 May by which the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, decided that all States Members and non-members of the Organization should prohibit the use or transfer of any funds in their territories by the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia is a decision in the right direction. Further, the Security Council, noting the military build-up in South Africa and the persistent acts of aggression by that country against the neighbouring African States, again acted under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter and adopted resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977, imposing a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. Those decisions are, in our view, a major and effective contribution to the endeavours of this Organization for the full implementation of the Declaration.

134. The International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held at Maputo, and the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held this year in Lagos, the decisions of which will have a tremendous impact on the action of Governments, were major positive events during the year designed to facilitate the implementation of the Declaration.

135. However, it is with dismay we state that, despite those positive developments, the situation in southern Africa does not represent a positive change.

136. In South Africa the racist régime of Pretoria continues to deny the undeniable rights of millions of Africans and to exert all possible pressure upon the black nationalists with the aim of further exploiting the human and natural resources of the country in favour of the white minority. Despite the fact that the principle of racial non-discrimination has been formally endorsed by the United Nations, and through it by the world society, while at the same time practical measures have been taken to reduce and eliminate discrimination, in one corner of the African continent this promising trend is still being reversed

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

and the nefarious doctrine of *apartheid* and racial discrimination still prevails.

137. We believe that *apartheid* in Namibia means not only racial discrimination, segregation in "homelands" and slave labour, but also the fragmentation and brutalization of Namibians in order to prevent them from attaining an awareness of their community interests as well as the education and self-reliance that would enable them to govern themselves as a free and sovereign nation. In Namibia the racist régime continues to perpetuate its occupation and illegal exploitation and therefore the tragic and grave situation still prevails. In Southern Rhodesia the situation is worse. The joint attempts of the United Kingdom and the United States to pave the way towards a negotiated settlement based on majority rule in Zimbabwe, which culminated at the convening at Geneva on 28 October 1976 of the Conference on Southern Rhodesia, have produced no fruitful results. Briefly, all reasonable and meaningful proposals which would have secured such a settlement have been totally rejected by the racist régime of Ian Smith and, more disappointing, the rebel régime, contrary to Article 2, paragraph 5, of the Charter, still enjoys economic, political and military relations with other States.

138. The Afghan Government wishes to express, once again, its deep concern with regard to the situation resulting from the delay in the implementation of the Declaration in the cases of Namibia and Zimbabwe, which has produced an explosive situation in southern Africa in general and in Zimbabwe and Namibia in particular. This state of affairs, especially the militarization of the Territories and their use as a base for armed attacks upon the African front-line States, in our view, constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security.

139. The Afghan Government considers the further continuance of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations in southern Africa and other Territories still under colonial rule to be a crime which constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration and the principles of international law. In the light of these considerations, we believe that Member States should, under the Charter of the United Nations, do their utmost to preserve international peace and security, to ensure fundamental human rights, and to promote social progress and a better standard of living in larger freedom through the implementation of the Declaration.

140. We are convinced that, in the achievement of these noble objectives, the following steps will constitute important factors.

141. Sanctions against the illegal régime of Salisbury must be expanded and extended to South Africa, thereby closing all the existing loop-holes through which the sanctions continue to be violated.

142. Effective measures must be taken for the international supervision of the already imposed arms embargo against South Africa.

143. The activities and practices of foreign economic, financial and other interests operating in colonial Terri-

tories for the benefit and on behalf of the colonial Powers, which constitute a major obstacle to the achievement of the goals set forth in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), must be terminated through a sustained and a world-wide campaign by Member States and by the taking of appropriate and effective measures.

144. The efforts of the international community must be intensified to oppose the collaboration between the Salisbury and Pretoria régimes. These two racist régimes must be completely isolated.

145. Appropriate and effective measures must be taken to bring about the release of political prisoners and, until they are released, to ensure the treatment of all freedom fighters under detention in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Geneva Conventions of 1949.

146. The widest possible publicity must be given by the mass media to the objectives and achievements of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, especially those of the Maputo and Lagos Conferences, and their decisions aimed at creating public awareness of the situation in southern Africa, and especially of the need for active support to the liberation movements.

147. The heroic struggles of the national liberation movements must be supported and assisted. Equally important, support must be given to the Governments of the front-line African States resisting aggression by the colonialist and racist régimes.

148. The administering Powers are obliged, under Article 73 *e* of the Charter, to co-operate with the United Nations in transmitting information concerning the situation in the Territories under their administration and in ensuring access for United Nations visiting missions to those Territories in order to secure first-hand information and to ascertain the wishes and aspirations of the people. We attach great importance to the dispatch of visiting missions to the colonial Territories and express the hope that access for United Nations missions to those Territories which it has not so far been possible to visit will be ensured in the coming year. We also attach importance to co-operation with the Special Committee by the administering Powers concerned.

149. In this connexion, we take note of the co-operative attitude shown to the Special Committee by the French Government in the consideration of the situation in the Territory of the New Hebrides.

150. The people and the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan have always supported the legitimate struggle of the peoples under colonial and alien domination. We will continue to support this struggle until all the remnants of colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination are liquidated. This position, which is one of the corner-stones of my Government's foreign policy, is based on our genuine faith in and loyalty to the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

151. Mr. STEPHANIDES (Cyprus): May I at the outset highly commend the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Salim A. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, for

the outstanding leadership he provides to that Committee. Through him, I wish also to commend the Rapporteur of the Special Committee, Mr. Glayel, of the Syrian Arab Republic, for his elaborate and eloquent outline [92nd meeting] of the work of the Special Committee during the past year. My delegation is particularly happy to note also the constructive spirit demonstrated during the deliberations of the Committee by all its members.

152. We have studied very carefully the statements made by the Chairman of the Special Committee and its Rapporteur and we wish to offer some comments on the work of the Committee.

153. One could not fail to credit the Special Committee for being instrumental in the convening of the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held at Maputo this year. A major achievement of that Conference was the unanimous adoption of the political Declaration and Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

154. I need not elaborate on the significance of that Declaration, which signalled the intensification of the international action in support of the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia. Cyprus, having participated in the Maputo Conference, stands firmly for the implementation of that important Declaration.

155. The recent adoption of special measures under Chapter VII of the Charter against South Africa is a welcome first cause for optimism.

156. It is our hope that the present sanctions against Rhodesia will be expanded in order to include all enforcement measures provided for in Article 41 of the Charter.

157. We firmly believe that as a matter of principle such measures as are warranted by the situation should also be readily applied in analogous cases of aggression and of a recalcitrant refusal by oppressive régimes to comply with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council—especially if they happen to have been adopted unanimously, as in the case of Cyprus. A whole series of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on Cyprus remain totally unimplemented; yet the Security Council has so far continued to be inactive, failing to take the long-overdue implementation action against the guilty party.

158. My delegation finds itself in full agreement with the suggestion of the Chairman of the Special Committee that the balance remaining from the voluntary contributions made by Member States to cover the expenses of the Maputo Conference should be utilized partly to help the oppressed peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, through appropriate United Nations channels, and partly to publicize the deliberations of the Maputo Conference.

159. Relying on the active solidarity and support of the international community in order successfully to pursue our struggle to free ourselves from the oppressive presence of the occupation forces, we wish to add a word of emphasis regarding the need to strengthen the international community's bonds of solidarity with and support for the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, until their long struggle

for liberation and independence is crowned by success. For it is our firm conviction that no Power on earth is in a position to suppress for ever the national aspirations of peoples to self-determination, liberation and independence.

160. Faithful to its commitment to support the struggles against colonialism and oppression, the Cyprus delegation has become a sponsor of draft resolutions A/32/L.35 and Add.1, A/32/L.36 and Add.1 and A/32/L.37 and Add.1. It is our hope that these draft resolutions will command the widest possible support of this Assembly.

161. My delegation has already had occasion to welcome the presence among us of the delegation of the State of Djibouti, which has finally achieved its independence, after a rather protracted process of decolonization.

162. Regarding the small colonial Territories, my delegation wishes to reiterate its position of principle that there can be no acceptable compromising of the inalienable right of the peoples of those Territories to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as contained in the landmark General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

163. We are happy to note in this respect, from Ambassador Salim's statement, that "... the Special Committee, in its consideration and examination of the conditions in those small Territories, has now received the co-operation of all the administering Powers concerned. This co-operation has been very important in enabling the Committee to discharge properly the responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly." [92nd meeting, para. 37.] In this respect, we look forward to the exercise of the right of self-determination by the peoples of the Solomon Islands, the Gilbert Islands, Tuvalu and New Hebrides.

164. We endorse the view that the dispatch of fact-finding missions to such Territories, or other Territories under foreign occupation, constitutes

"... an essential and indispensable means for the United Nations to secure adequate and first-hand information regarding ... conditions in those Territories ...". [Ibid., para. 44.]

We therefore welcome the fact that the Special Committee was able to dispatch, with the co-operation of the administering Powers concerned, two visiting missions to colonial Territories during the past year.

165. In conclusion, I wish to express on behalf of my delegation the earnest hope that genuine decolonization, through the application of the relevant provisions of the Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), will at last be achieved, thus removing a stigma that has afflicted mankind and an obstacle that has hindered international co-operation and understanding on the basis of sovereign equality.

166. Mr. CLARK (Nigeria): My delegation is participating in this debate on agenda item 24 for two reasons: first, to highlight the values of freedom, independence and justice for all men everywhere; and secondly, to underline our

distress and disappointment at the fact that, two decades after the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), on 14 December 1960, several countries in the world have yet to attain full independence and statehood. Our sorrow is compounded by the fact that in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa peoples are still being denied their elementary right to self-determination and are being subjected to the worst forms of colonial domination and economic exploitation. Patriots in those countries are daily being subjected to mass arrest, detention, imprisonment and even hanging for demanding elementary liberties and their inalienable right to have a say in the *modus operandi* of any administration under which they are governed.

167. My delegation is highly appreciative of the efforts of the members of the Special Committee, under the very able leadership of our friend and brother Ambassador Salim of Tanzania, for their helpful and comprehensive report in document A/32/23/Rev.1. We should like to place on record our profound admiration of the Committee's unswerving devotion and dedication to the pursuit of the goal of self-determination by all peoples of the world. The task of the Committee over the years has not been easy. While some administering Powers have drastically overhauled their policies and brought them closer to the requirements of the provisions of Article 73 of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, others have been decidedly negative—as in the case of the racist régime in South Africa, which not only has refused to terminate its illegal stranglehold over Namibia following the revocation of its Mandate over that Territory, but, in addition, has intensified its policies of brutal repression and racism.

168. South Africa, we would recall, was a founding Member of the United Nations, but today South Africa is considered unfit to take its place among us. That is the true test of how much progress we have made and should continue to make in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

169. The past year has not been without some success, of which our Organization can justly be proud. In this connexion, my delegation seizes this opportunity once again to salute the Republic of Djibouti, which has this year been able to take its deserved place in the community of nations. We warmly welcome the new State in our midst and look forward to fruitful co-operation with it in the uncompleted task of bringing others still under colonial bondage to freedom and independence.

170. Furthermore, there was the epoch-making International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia in Maputo last May, which adopted a programme of action which constitutes a giant step in the international drive further to isolate the racist settler minority régimes in Salisbury and Pretoria. The Maputo Declaration, which was endorsed by all 96 participating member States, stipulated the development of armed struggle, the isolation of the minority régime and international support for the national liberation movements as potent factors which could create conditions for majority rule and genuine independence for Zimbabwe and Namibia.

171. Then followed the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, which was held in my own country, at

Lagos, from 22 to 26 August 1977. For its part, the Lagos Declaration for Action against *Apartheid* reaffirmed, among other things, the international community's support for, and solidarity with, the oppressed peoples of southern Africa and their national liberation movements and the commitment of the Governments and peoples of the world to taking action to contribute towards the eradication of *apartheid*, which has often been described as a form of institutionalized slavery or, at best, a form of colonialism.

172. During the debate on the policies of *apartheid* in South Africa at the current session of the General Assembly [item 27], my delegation made it clear that the mandatory economic sanctions imposed on Rhodesia will never succeed until they have been extended to include South Africa as well. Largely through shameless manoeuvres and thanks to the craze for profits of the major oil companies and the active collaboration of the South African Government, oil continues to flow freely into Rhodesia. Until all the permanent members of the Security Council confront the fact that the oil leaks in the sanctions measures must be plugged and that South Africa's bluff must be called by extending sanctions to it, those mandatory sanctions, in force from 1966 up to now, will be futile and ineffective.

173. Oil is absolutely vital to the economic and military survival of the Smith régime. The same South African oil supplies have consistently been utilized to power the mechanized military columns and vehicles of the notorious Smith army, which over the years has crossed the borders of the neighbouring States of Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia in fulfilment of the rebel leader's criminal aggressive designs on those Territories, leaving behind them, on withdrawal, large areas of human desolation. In their criminal incursions they have invariably picked women and children, particularly in refugee camps, as their targets, in order to intimidate the freedom-fighters and to compromise the support of the front-line States for the liberation movements.

174. Some Western countries involved in the current negotiations to resolve the continuing crisis in Namibia and Zimbabwe have argued that the racist Government in Pretoria should not be pushed too hard by the imposition of more effective sanctions, such as an oil embargo, in order not to upset what they have termed the delicate negotiations going on in Namibia and Zimbabwe. But what have we got in return? In the immediate aftermath of the cold-blooded murder of Steven Biko and other patriots by the South African police, the racist leader last month called a snap election on the basis of a restricted white franchise primarily to trumpet his defiance to the world. Since that sham election, the racist leader seems to have made good his promise to impose harsher and more repressive measures on the defenceless majority African population of that country.

175. Nor is the picture in Zimbabwe any different. Barely 24 hours afterwards, Smith ordered his troops into Mozambique, where they murdered some 1,200 defenceless women and children in cold blood. The rebel leader offered to explore the possibility of a so-called internal solution on the basis of "one man, one vote". The truth, of course, is that Smith has no intention of relinquishing power, unless he is compelled to do so by forces beyond his control. By

his so-called "internal settlement" proposals to the Zimbabwean leaders inside the country, Smith hopes to drive a wedge between the freedom fighters inside Rhodesia and those outside it. In the interim, Smith hopes to obtain a much-needed respite to undertake fresh acts of aggression against neighbouring countries and to carry on his defiance of the international community. Now that it seems that Smith himself has publicly denounced the Anglo-American proposals, all counsel and arguments in favour of stalling or delaying any action against the rebel Government no longer apply.

176. That is why my delegation has consistently proposed that the mandatory sanctions of the Security Council should also be extended to cover South Africa as well, since that is the only way they can be made effective and thus mercifully bring to a halt the unending sequence of human suffering and hardship in that unhappy country.

177. All countries, particularly the Western countries, must take appropriate steps to invoke legislation in their respective countries which would make their own oil companies operating in South Africa liable for the continued violation by their subsidiary companies of the mandatory sanctions on the issue of oil supplies to Rhodesia. If sanctions against Rhodesia are ever to have any effect, the South African loop-hole through which their full impact has been neutralized in the past will have to be sealed by the Security Council. My delegation therefore hopes that the Western members of the Security Council will take up the challenge posed by South Africa's defiance and satisfy the yearnings of millions suffering in that unhappy region by taking appropriate actions. The West must realize, in the words of Mr. Rivers, the British economist, who addressed the Fourth Committee on the mechanics of oil inflow into Rhodesia, that:

"At stake was not only the question of whether the minority white régime was to be forced to give up its illegal political and military power; at stake also was the whole future credibility of firm non-military action by the Security Council acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter."³

178. The Nigerian Government, for its part, is undertaking a serious study of this matter with a view to identifying those companies that are operating a lucrative business in Nigeria, while at the same time serving as instruments of oppression and exploitation in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Thus their activity will increasingly be taken into account by the Nigerian Government in the formulation of its attitude towards them. We gave a warning that those companies must desist from operating in South Africa and we repeat that warning. In any case, time seems to be running out for them, as they may have to choose very soon between their economic interests in Africa and those in southern Africa.

179. If the main thrust of my statement has been centred on the situation in southern Africa, this should not in any way be construed as reflecting an insensitivity to the

aspirations of peoples in other small Territories in Africa, in the Caribbean and in the rest of the world, where the inhabitants have yet to exercise their rights to self-determination, freedom and independence. On the contrary, we support all peoples, wherever they may be, who are struggling for a status that will enable them freely to determine their own future and to take their rightful places in our midst as sovereign, independent States, in fulfilment of the true purposes of the United Nations Charter. In this connexion, we wish to place on record our firm support for the people of Mayotte in their struggle to rejoin their kith and kin in the Republic of the Comoros. We hope that the administering Powers will take the necessary steps to enable the peoples in those Territories to attain independence at the earliest possible time and that they will continue to co-operate with the Special Committee in the supreme interest of attaining this noble objective.

180. Finally, I should like to place on record my delegation's profound appreciation of the contribution of some Member States—particularly the east European and Nordic countries—for their continued material and humanitarian support for the victims of colonial oppression all over the world, particularly those in southern Africa. We believe that such modest efforts have gone a long way towards alleviating the sufferings of the victims of oppression, as well as easing the inexorable march of the freedom-lovers in those Territories towards full nationhood. We reserve similar encomiums for all non-governmental organizations, churches, various anti-apartheid movements, international organizations, the specialized agencies of the United Nations and individuals which, by their activities either as individuals or as groups, have helped to accelerate the pace towards self-determination and full sovereignty in those Territories. I am confident that the torch of freedom that was lit several decades ago with the advent of several countries, particularly in Africa, to full sovereign status will be kept alive by all lovers of freedom all over the world who cherish the innate qualities of individual liberty and human dignity. In the spirit of the Maputo and Lagos Declarations, I also hope that the States Members of this noble Organization will pool their resources in one supreme effort to eliminate the remaining vestiges of colonialism, oppression, exploitation and apartheid from the entire surface of this planet.

181. Mr. MONDJO (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): Once again, the General Assembly of the United Nations is called upon to examine the weighty records of decolonization. This is, however, a question that has been under extensive and detailed investigation for many years. This is a task which the United Nations undertook early on and which, while distinguished over these past 10 years by unquestionable successes, is now being held up by the resolve of the conservative forces to contain any movement leading towards the liberation of peoples and the realization of their legitimate aspirations to freedom and independence. This is why the obstacles that stand in the way of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples must today more than ever be carefully analysed, assessed and questioned. We must ask ourselves with whom and for whom the last representatives of colonialism in Africa and in other parts of the world are working to stifle the inalienable rights of the colonial peoples to independence.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Fourth Committee, 27th meeting, para. 101, and ibid., Fourth Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.*

With whom and for what reason do old and new colonialists turn their backs on the new ideas which, since the 1960s, have opened for all peoples on our planet the prospect of a revolutionary outcome in their confident march towards a universe of freedom, independence and peace?

182. Those who still believe that the rising up of the masses in their just anger directed against colonialist oppression is only a movement of the so-called "primitive" forces—that is, like the confusion of a herd of sheep stirred up by skilful agitators—are greatly mistaken, and we cannot but be amazed at the tolerance, the prudishness and, I would even go so far as to say, the complicity of some Powers which, by their silence, their words or their actions, encourage the criminal acts of the Rhodesian and South African colonialists in Zimbabwe and Namibia. But—and I say this unequivocally—all those colonial regimes are irreparably doomed; the hour is near when they will explode irretrievably into bits and pieces.

183. At the time that this important debate is taking place on the subject of decolonization, the peoples that are still labouring under the colonialist yoke are waging a merciless fight against their oppressors, because, faced with the criminal blindness of the colonialists, the national liberation struggle is, and continues to be, the foremost means of advancing towards the liberation of peoples. This fact is very encouraging indeed. The armed liberation struggle is the only valid response to the colonialist challenge. The greater the challenge, the greater the stimulus day after day. The peoples engaged in the struggle against colonialism and its guardian angel—I refer to imperialism—know that without a directing organization the energy of the popular masses would dissipate as uncontained steam disappears. By their determined struggle the national liberation movements are year after year cutting off decaying parts of the crumbling structure of colonialism.

184. We must, however, stress that, to defend the colonialist and racist mythology of our times, there are only some nostalgic witnesses of an obsolete glory, specimens of a species now, fortunately, on the way to oblivion. In fact, this enterprise has become a morally shameful exercise in political gymnastics. In our view, colonialism appears as the concentrated expression of an intrinsic gangsterism, which goes hand in hand with a certain number of things that are hypocritically described as "Christian civilization", the "free world". The fact that the "free world", the herald of colonialism and imperialism, is practically a title of nobility is a paradox that never ceases to amaze us. How can we admit that some States can guarantee their existence only if they dominate and exploit other peoples, cynically taking away their freedom which, nevertheless, the colonialist States demand for themselves?

185. Africa, which is at the heart of the storm and which wages a just battle against the last bastions of colonialism, knows that it can count on the United Nations as an important centre of support for the efforts which all the African peoples exert each day to clear our continent of the blemishes of colonialism and racism. Engaged in three cruel conflicts, three lands dear to the hearts of all Africans are still subjected to the full rigour of colonial law.

186. Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa are at a decisive turning-point in their history, a history written in

the blood of thousands of martyrs. The minority colonialist and racist régimes which subject the African peoples to an ignoble and criminal fate have become intolerable for the masses in southern Africa. Those masses, having awakened from their long sleep and having broken down the fences which separate them from the political arena, are determined to destroy the age-old institutions which daily humiliate them and deny them their most elementary rights.

187. The massacre of civilians carried out in recent days by Ian Smith in the independent State of Mozambique has been reported in the mass media in the West as a banal occurrence. Imagine for one moment that such acts, which bear the mark of the consistent savagery of the Salisbury régime, had been committed in a so-called "civilized" country of the world. Would there not have been the noisy outcry in the press and public opinion, whose credulity is constantly being put to the test? The West has preferred to ignore this monstrous crime once again committed by Ian Smith which paralyzes all effective action against that illegal régime by inhibiting the action of our Organization. Nevertheless, tragic events of that nature and the cowardly acts of aggression committed by adventurers outlawed by the international community against States Members of the United Nations should at least suffice to set in motion firm action within the framework of our Organization aimed at safeguarding its own ideals. It is this apathy on the part of some Powers that is a source of comfort to the criminals, Vorster and Ian Smith, in their mad enterprise, and convinces us that those accomplice Powers are effectively the main sources of support and stimulus for those two régimes. The problem of decolonization is frequently approached from different angles. In the view of the Congolese delegation, this problem increasingly appears to be linked to the problem of the security of States which make a specific contribution to the struggle of the peoples under the leadership of the national liberation movements. Instead of being praised for their loyalty to the principles of the United Nations, the countries which have chosen to give effective assistance to other peoples struggling for freedom seem to have become the target of the hostility of the imperialist Powers, which attempt to exploit them by all possible means, economic, military and political, even including the physical elimination of leaders who refuse to be enslaved. It is no less scandalous to note that no security mechanism has been devised by the international community to discourage such acts of aggression.

188. Our impatience, the impatience of peoples who have emerged from an interminable colonial night, is understandable. If we frequently strongly criticize the principal economic and military partners of the South African and Rhodesian régimes, and urge and invite them to work with the other Member States for the effective implementation of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council, and in particular the decisive sanction of an embargo on oil products, it is because we have proof and unimpeachable evidence of the bond which has been forged between those Powers and the shameful régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury. We must say that those struggles from another age are vain and doomed to be less and less effective.

189. On a purely formal level, we should note that in our view the Maputo Conference seemed to be a decisive

turning-point in the history of the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia. The Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted at that time laid down the tasks which each of us could undertake, even those States which felt they must enter reservations concerning procedure at that historic meeting. Those States, no doubt in good faith, believed that the possibilities of negotiation with Ian Smith and Vorster on the basis of the Anglo-American plan should be kept open. To us, such a measure already seemed inconceivable, convinced as we are of the perfidious and hypocritical nature of those two Nazi racists. Given the deterioration of the situation which has occurred recently, should we not reflect more seriously on the behaviour we should adopt with regard to Vorster and his acolyte, Ian Smith, both of whom are specialists in deviousness and who always cleverly take advantage of the understanding and sympathy of international opinion and of the badge of respectability which has been freely given to them by their allies, who wish at all costs to prevent the adoption of the only measures capable of leading their two protegés to a settlement?

190. The internal prospects in South Africa hardly give rise to optimism. The racist Power is ready to organize a travesty of a plebiscite in order to ensure the permanency of its régime. That manoeuvre in itself should bring home once and for all to any who still hesitate the true nature of the Pretoria régime. There is no sign on the horizon of encouraging changes. No one will know the executioners who assassinated Steven Biko and so many other anonymous patriots.

191. Comrade Joachim Yhombi Opango, the President of the People's Republic of the Congo, stated on 16 June 1977 during an interview given to the West German press agency, Deutsche Press Agentur:

“Africa today needs to free itself completely from colonialism, neo-colonialism, and all forms of exploitation. Following the overwhelming victories we have had in Angola with the MPLA,⁴ in Mozambique with FRELIMO,⁵ in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde with PAIGC,⁶ etc., . . . everything leads us to believe that the last outposts of Fascist and colonialist resistance in southern Africa will be conquered; the political system in South Africa represents a challenge to the whole of Africa, not only to the authentic sons of Africa, but to mankind as a whole. Therefore the European countries should more than ever join their efforts to those of the independent countries of Africa so that together they may destroy that system which is akin to Hitlerian fascism.”

192. The United Nations is at a cross-roads. Should we continue to hide the spectacle of these barbaric manoeuvres behind unreal structures which ill-conceal the unrest in international relations and lend a deaf ear to the cries of distress which come out of the South African hell? On the contrary, after this interminable hibernation, should not all Member States finally come to a realization of the bare facts of our times and pool their efforts to the final point

where law, peace and friendship come together in southern Africa? This is the task at hand for our Organization.

193. Mr. TRAORE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): Speaking last year on the question which is at present before the Assembly,⁷ my delegation stressed the irreversibility of the process of decolonization.

194. Djibouti's recent accession to independence, the relaunching of combat by nationalist movements, the constant and increased support of the international community for the cause of national liberation attest to the unavoidable final victory over the absurd colonial system.

195. It is therefore with well justified pride that my delegation extends its brotherly congratulations to the delegation of Djibouti. We are convinced that that delegation will contribute in the same patient and pleasant manner that the people of that country were able to regain their independence with both fervour and unity.

196. The United Nations Charter was intended to maximize and support the struggle against oppression. It was generous in its objectives and therefore it had obviously to include clear and mandatory provisions regarding the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

197. The sacred mission of leading non-self-governing populations to a free choice of their political future was not granted to the colonial Powers alone. It was granted to all of us. We explicitly assumed that duty when we entered the Organization as Members.

198. If we had to wait for the fifteenth anniversary of the signing of the Charter to adopt the well-known resolution 1514 (XV), it is no less sad to note that countries which bore the burden of the bloody struggle against nazism are still called upon to sacrifice the very flower of their youth to achieve their own liberation.

199. The right of peoples to national sovereignty is inalienable and we shall never cease to affirm this. The battle joined against the many forms of colonial domination derives from the very provisions of the Charter, and we would be betraying the Charter were we not to help these victories to become certain, or were we to allow them to be incomplete.

200. More than 30 Territories still appear on the list of countries⁸ to which the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) undoubtedly applies, since it deals with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and some of them are very often called the small Territories. But this semantic convention can in no way impair their sovereign right to national existence because it is up to them, and to them alone, to decide upon the type of administration or government that best fulfils their national values. Their geographic configuration, the present level of their economic and social

⁴ Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.

⁵ Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

⁶ Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 104th meeting, paras. 93-130.

⁸ See *Decolonization: a publication of the United Nations Department of Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization*, vol. II, No. 6 (December 1975), table VII.

development, their demographic situation, often given as a pretext by the colonial Powers to delay or prevent their self-determination or independence, are not the fault of the Territories themselves. They bear the mark of a colonial system bent on dividing and exploiting.

201. It is now up to the international Organization to help them to ensure that their national rights will prevail, since they believe that the mission of the United Nations is to secure freedom for all. Therefore the General Assembly must renew its support for those Territories and, as the outcome of this debate, adopt measures that will allow them to continue their political, economic and social development. To that end, the United Nations must stress the need to send visiting missions to those countries, because the reports from those missions will be indispensable in clarifying the situation in territories where problems, however complex, can be solved if we have enough imagination and decisiveness.

202. All the delegations which have taken part in the general debate of the present session of the General Assembly have greeted the birth of a new international order based upon the aims and principles of the Charter. The period of grave tension which characterized relations among States at the end of the Second World War seems to be giving way to an era of understanding and co-operation. The threat or the use of force in international relations does not solve international disputes. On the contrary, it exacerbates them.

203. Contempt for human dignity, racism and its different manifestations are therefore constant threats to international peace and security. It was this that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Mali, Colonel Charles Samba Cissokho, pointed out when he told the Assembly on 13 October:

“The southern part of Africa constitutes one of the most virulent hotbeds of tension in the world because of the colonialists and white racists who have usurped power there. War is already raging there and insecurity is rife. That racial confrontation is liable to set fire to the whole region.” [33rd meeting, para. 99.]

Unfortunately, that prediction to a large extent has come true, as seen in the mass invasion of Mozambique by the Rhodesian military. In fact, the savage attacks on the region of Tembwe and the town of Chimoio in Mozambique by the combined Southern Rhodesian forces have given a new dimension to the madness of Ian Smith in trying to keep Zimbabwe in slavery.

204. The repeated and decisive victories of the nationalists fighting in that Territory against the illegal régime of Ian Smith, the support of the international community for those freedom fighters, the precarious economic situation of the British colony, the refusal of part of the white population of the country to associate itself with the course chosen by Ian Smith, have already forced the latter last year to knock at the gates of the Geneva Conference in search of a peaceful settlement to the Rhodesian question.

Mr. Mojsov (Yugoslavia) resumed the Chair.

205. Its *volte-face* on the subject of the Conference would not have been recalled did it not bespeak a tragedy that might at any moment plunge us into an international conflagration.

206. After rejecting the Anglo-American proposals for a settlement of the Rhodesian crisis, Ian Smith, a past master at the art of political play-acting, has recently implied that he had been converted to the principle of democratic elections. But we know full well that he trudged off to Geneva on the orders of his masters in Pretoria in return for their military and financial support.

207. Until we find out the new motives that led the leader of the white rebels in Southern Rhodesia to adopt his recent political position, my delegation, for its part, considers it as nothing more or less than an additional tactic to gain time and to diversify and increase the repressive measures against the black majority in Zimbabwe. Indeed, there can be no other explanation for keeping that dispossessed majority out of power, that is the reason for the reinforcement of the repressive, discriminatory measures against it.

208. In order to attain the goal they set for themselves, which is nothing less than the establishment of a racist régime in Southern Rhodesia, the Salisbury régime have now solicited the assistance of international mercenaries. Among this band of armed murderers who have sold their souls for a few pieces of silver, the Selous Scouts are apparently the deadly heroes. These men are recruited from among States Members of our Organization, which, as the Special Committee in its report has pointed out, have adopted legislative measures prohibiting their nationals from serving in foreign armed forces [see A/32/23/Rev.1, chap. V, annex I, paras. 8-12].

209. The international Organization once again faces another paradoxical situation of which, unfortunately, the black populations of southern Africa suffer the consequences.

210. The Ian Smith régime has left the people of Zimbabwe no alternative in order to regain its freedom but armed struggle, under the inspiration and leadership of the Patriotic Front. Ian Smith has left the international community no alternative but to support that freedom struggle by adopting concrete measures commensurate with the challenge launched by Salisbury. If the Zimbabwe people does not regain its national rights, there will be thousands of Chimoios and Tembwees in Africa, to the great danger of international peace and security. However, manoeuvres aimed at stealing independence from the Zimbabwean people will fail, because a great people will neither bow nor perish.

211. As in Southern Rhodesia, the situation in Namibia is another grave and direct threat to international peace and security, for Pretoria and Salisbury draw grim satisfaction from their ignominious contempt for our Organization.

212. This situation is sufficiently well known for my delegation not to need to dwell on it. We did have occasion to refer to it in our statement in the General Assembly on 21 October during the discussion of agenda item 91 entitled

“Question of Namibia” [42nd meeting]. However, it bears repeating that Namibia is an international Territory under the direct administration of our Organization; that Namibia has still to be decolonized and its territorial integrity has to remain intact pursuant to the terms of resolution 1514 (XV); that its human and natural resources have been left at the mercy of the insatiable appetite of large international capital; and that the Territory has become a spring-board for aggression against neighbouring States.

213. The travesties of constitutional referendums organized in that country by Pretoria, the dispatch of a so-called Administrator-General who is nothing but the executor of its base political designs, and Vorster's conduct of the talks he held with certain Security Council members on the political future of Namibia actually show the desire of the loathsome *apartheid* régime to gain time in order, with the support of its friends, to perpetuate its domination over the Territory.

214. But the trail to the true decolonization of Namibia has already been blazed. There must necessarily be prior recognition of the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence, respect for its territorial integrity, the liberation of all political prisoners, the withdrawal of the South African administration and racist troops, the recognition of the South West Africa People's Organization as the legitimate representative of its people and the holding of free elections under international control. The Namibian people, true to their history, have not taken any other road, as demonstrated by the fact that they have taken up arms against the invader and exposed the absurdity of the so-called Turnhalle Constitutional Conference.

215. In order totally to free Zimbabwe and Namibia from the grip of régimes that have adopted force as the sole means of solving international disputes, the United Nations is in duty bound to reply with determination by maintaining the economic and military sanctions it has adopted against them and by strengthening those sanctions further on the basis of the relevant provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

216. The General Assembly has a series of proposals before it designed to assist the Assembly in the noble mission entrusted to it, namely to enable all peoples to exercise free choice regarding their political future. Those proposals are complementary, whether they come from the Special Committee on decolonization, from the Declaration and Programmes of Action adopted by the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo, from the Lagos World Conference for Action Against *Apartheid*, or from various trade-union seminars. They all attest to the active solidarity of those we represent with all who, as a result of the vicissitudes of history, are still deprived of the opportunity fully to assert their national values. These proposals all offer a clear choice of methods to be used so that all peoples of the world, at peace with themselves and one another, can at last, without discrimination of any sort, rejoice at the advent of universal peace.

217. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): As stated in document A/32/353, which is before this Assembly, Norway is

retiring from the Special Committee at the end of this year. We are doing so in accordance with the established practice of rotation among the Nordic countries on that Committee. In this connexion I should like, with the indulgence of everybody, to make a few brief remarks.

218. Although Norway is leaving the Committee, this does not mean in any way that we shall not also pay the closest attention to matters of decolonization in the time to come.

219. As the Special Committee enters its sixteenth year of work next year, we see that much has been achieved, but some crucial and highly pressing matters of decolonization still exist. We believe that the coming year will be especially important with regard to decolonization in southern Africa. The continued oppression of the majority of peoples of both Zimbabwe and Namibia is becoming increasingly intolerable. The various bodies of our Organization, including the Security Council, must therefore intensify their efforts with a view to putting an end to those forms of illegal rule in southern Africa. Peace and independence in that part of the world will not materialize unless an internationally acceptable solution is found.

220. While the record of the United Nations is outstanding in terms of concrete achievements in the field of decolonization, the very purpose of the United Nations Charter tells us that it remains the duty of our world Organization to continue its systematic and thorough work so that all peoples one day shall enjoy the inalienable right of self-determination. We are pleased to note that the administering Powers are co-operating with the United Nations in that regard in accordance with their obligations under the relevant provisions of the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

221. The support for the principle of self-determination by all Members of the United Nations is unqualified and unquestioned. Through our participation in the Special Committee we have found broad agreement on the need to take into account the size, geographical location, population and relevant resources in the various Territories when making our recommendations. I believe we will have to look increasingly for solutions that must be specifically suited to the needs of each individual Territory. It is, therefore, imperative that our support for the principle of self-determination does not preclude any of the options available.

222. Before closing I wish to express the deepest gratitude of my Government and my delegation to Mr. Salim, the Chairman of the Special Committee, for his dynamic leadership of that Committee and his talented efforts and total devotion to the objectives of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. I would also like to thank Mr. Salim for the very generous and kind words he expressed with regard to Norway in his eloquent review of the recent principal developments in the field of decolonization on 5 December before this Assembly. Mr. Salim's untiring efforts as the Chairman and the foremost representative of the Special Committee command the respect not only of the members of that particular Committee; his outstanding qualities have also greatly enhanced respect for and an understanding of the United Nations involvement in decolonization matters generally.

223. We would also like to thank all other members of the Committee for their co-operation and assistance during the two years we have had the honour to serve on the Committee.

224. Norway has been much honoured to serve on the Special Committee. We shall continue to support the important work done by that Committee in whatever way we can until the chapter on decolonization one day is closed—once and for all.

225. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on agenda item 24. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote on draft resolutions A/32/L.35 and Add.1, A/32/L.36 and Add.1 and A/32/L.37 and Add.1. As I announced at the previous meeting, draft resolution A/32/L.41 will not be put to the vote.

226. Mr. McCARTHY (United Kingdom): My Government has made its policies on the question of decolonization very clear. We have been applying these policies for 30 years. We are committed to the principle of self-determination in accordance with the wishes of the peoples in the Territories under my Government's administration. We have given every encouragement and support to those Territories seeking independence. Our record in bringing colonial Territories to independence speaks for itself. On the other hand, we do not force independence on those who do not seek it, and we do not intend to do so in the future.

227. In its statement in the debate on small territories in the Fourth Committee,⁹ my delegation said that my Government intended to conclude our residual colonial responsibilities in the Pacific area by or during 1980. To that I should add the commitment of my Government, as repeated by Mr. Richard in the Fourth Committee on 30 November,¹⁰ to a peaceful settlement leading to independence on the basis of majority rule for Zimbabwe in 1978.

228. My Government attended the International Conferences at Maputo and Lagos this year and joined the rest of the world community in condemning the South African Government's policies of *apartheid* and the occupation of Namibia by South Africa. However, my Government made certain reservations at both Maputo and Lagos because of our commitment to peaceful solutions to the problems of southern Rhodesia and Namibia. In voting for draft resolution A/32/L.35, my Government therefore has to recall that its support of the Declarations of Maputo and Lagos was not unconditional.

229. For reasons which have frequently been explained, my Government will not be able to support draft resolution A/32/L.36, although it contains much with which we agree.

230. Mr. KAUFMANN (Netherlands): In view of the highly critical situation in southern Africa, the Netherlands

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Fourth Committee*, 12th meeting, paras. 12-21, and *ibid.*, *Fourth Committee, Sessional Fascicle*, corrigendum

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *Fourth Committee*, 27th meeting, paras. 4-39, and *ibid.*, *Fourth Committee, Scssional Fascicle*, corrigendum.

Government has decided to authorize its delegation to vote in favour of draft resolution A/32/L.36. My delegation feels that at this juncture the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is of the greatest importance. However, notwithstanding its support for draft resolution A/32/L.36, my delegation wishes to place on record the following reservations.

231. Although my Government has given its general approval to the report of the Special Committee [*A/32/23/Rev.1*], that does not imply that we endorse all the considerations and recommendations mentioned in that report.

232. At the Maputo Conference the representative of the United Kingdom, who spoke on behalf of the members of the European Community taking part in the Conference, made certain reservations with regard to the Declaration adopted at Maputo. In the view of the Netherlands Government those reservations are still valid.

233. My delegation realizes that the exercise of the right to self-determination has in most cases led to the independence of colonial territories. Independence is, however, not the only possible outcome of the exercise of the right to self-determination. If a territory in a truly free and democratic decision chooses to exercise its right to self-determination by opting for a solution other than independence, that decision should be respected.

234. Although the Netherlands Government rejects the inhuman and immoral policy of *apartheid*, it does not regard the situation in South Africa as a colonial one. We do not believe that a solution to the problem of *apartheid* should be approached within the framework of resolution 1514 (XV).

235. With regard to the condemnation expressed in draft resolution A/32/L.36 of co-operation with South Africa in the field of nuclear technology, the Netherlands Government understands this condemnation to refer to co-operation in the development of military nuclear technology and co-operation in such other nuclear technology as is not fully safeguarded against diversion for non-peaceful uses.

236. The Netherlands Government can endorse the request made by this draft resolution to all States—directly and through their action in the specialized agencies—to withhold assistance of any kind from the Government of South Africa, in so far as the South African Government, in applying for assistance from specialized agencies, does so on behalf of Namibia, which it cannot legally represent.

237. Mr. BREITENSTEIN (Finland): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the delegations of Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Finland.

238. The Nordic Governments have consistently and actively supported the process of decolonization. They have contributed to the efforts of the United Nations to eradicate colonialism and help colonial peoples under colonial oppression to achieve their inalienable right to self-determination. They have given and they will continue to give moral and material support to the authentic

representatives of colonial peoples in order to help them to fulfil their aspirations for self-determination and independence. The Nordic countries recognize the special responsibility of the United Nations for the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and they will vote in favour of draft resolution A/32/L.36 because they share its main objectives.

239. The Nordic countries have, however, reservations concerning some of the paragraphs contained in that draft resolution. We want to point out that operative paragraph 4 contains elements which are contrary to the principles upheld by the Nordic countries and contrary to the responsibility of the United Nations to seek peaceful solutions. With regard to the seventh preambular paragraph and operative paragraphs 9 and 10, it is our understanding that these paragraphs do not constitute a deviation from the principle of universality, which our countries continue to uphold. We also have reservations concerning certain other paragraphs, but these reservations are well known and have been put on record in the Assembly on earlier occasions. I shall therefore not go into them in detail now.

240. Mr. WHALEN (United States of America): We regret the inclusion in several paragraphs of draft resolution A/32/L.36 of language which is inappropriate and in no way helpful to the solution of the problems which the draft resolution addresses. We have in the past voted against similar draft resolutions and would do so today were it not for the importance which the United States attaches to its policy of assisting in the development of internationally acceptable solutions for the problems of southern Africa. For this reason, we shall abstain.

241. The record of the United States on decolonization and self-determination is clear. We have long worked to secure for all peoples the free exercise of the right to self-determination without outside interference. We intend to continue these active efforts in co-operation with the interested parties.

242. I wish to recall for the record that we consider the right to self-determination to be exactly what the words imply—the right of a people to determine for themselves what status they should have. We have no preconceived notion as to what status a given Non-Self-Governing Territory should achieve, except that such status should correspond to the freely expressed wishes of the local people.

243. Operative paragraph 4 does not adequately convey my Government's view that self-determination should be sought through peaceful means wherever possible.

244. The report of the Special Committee on the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV), which is approved by operative paragraph 5, contains references to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and Puerto Rico. It is the view of the United States that these references are inappropriate, as neither the Trust Territory nor Puerto Rico falls within the jurisdiction of the General Assembly or the Special Committee.

245. It is the view of the United States that the description of colonialism, its forms and manifestations,

contained in operative paragraph 2 is so broad and imprecise as to make no contribution to the settlement of the problems of colonialism.

246. Various operative paragraphs, including operative paragraphs 7, 10 and 12, urge the politicization of the specialized agencies within the United Nations system. The United States has long believed that this would be unwise and it favours the limitation of the activities of the specialized agencies to the technical areas under their respective jurisdictions.

247. With regard to operative paragraph 8, the United States shares the view that those foreign economic activities which impede the free exercise of the right to self-determination should be condemned. We do not believe that all non-indigenous economic activity in Non-Self-Governing Territories can be characterized in this manner.

248. We object also to operative paragraph 9, which could be interpreted as condemning all contacts, including even diplomatic relations, with the Government of South Africa. The United States is on record in opposition to military co-operation with the Government of South Africa. We supported Security Council resolution 418 (1977) imposing a mandatory arms embargo, and we have adhered strictly to the voluntary arms embargo since its introduction in 1963. However, we cannot support the language of this paragraph calling for an end to peaceful, safeguarded nuclear co-operation with South Africa. The United States wishes to promote prompt South African adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the acceptance of international safeguards for all its nuclear facilities. A decision to cut off all nuclear co-operation would mean abandoning this policy.

249. Our views regarding operative paragraph 11 are also well known. We believe that the actual circumstances of the individual cases should be examined and that it is not possible to generalize without regard to specific situations. 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.

250. I wish also to express my delegation's reservations regarding operative paragraph 6 of draft resolution A/32/L.36 and of operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/32/L.35. While the United States supports the over-all aim of the Maputo Conference and the thrust of draft resolution A/32/L.35, it expressed reservations at Maputo on certain aspects of the Declaration and the Programme of Action. Those reservations still stand.

251. Mr. SCARANTINO (Italy): Italy will vote in favour of the three draft resolutions which are before the Assembly. We wish, in doing so, to confirm and further emphasize 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. We wish also to reiterate in this way our opposition to the obstacles and resistance that impede the self-determination of colonial peoples, and our appreciation for the work of the Special Committee.

252. Even though we do not agree with every part of the report of the Special Committee for this year, we are none the less convinced that its members deserve to be praised for the commitment and dedication to a cause we all share despite differences of approach. Italy feels that a special tribute should be extended to the Committee for its valuable work in support of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, who still live and die under an odious and barbarous system of colonial oppression. It was in that spirit that Italy participated in the Maputo Conference and, despite some reservations on its part, reflected in the declaration made by the representative of the United Kingdom on behalf of the members of the European Community participating in the Conference, welcomed its historic result as a fundamental contribution to the cause of freedom and independence for the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe.

253. Having said that, I should however like to touch upon some points concerning which the Italian delegation feels compelled to reserve its position in respect of draft resolution A/32/L.36.

254. Our first reservation, reflecting a traditional position consistently taken by my Government over the years, relates to the paragraphs that can be interpreted as support for the use of force, in particular operative paragraph 4. Some speakers in this debate have felt it necessary to remind us that most countries were born through armed struggle. We are certainly aware that a battlefield was, unfortunately, the cradle of many nations—Italy among them. It is not our intention to deny our own history or the common heritage of most of the States represented here. But, in our opinion, the point should be made that violence is indeed a last resort; it should be considered only after all other ways have ultimately failed. And this Organization was created precisely to seek and promote peaceful means for the solution of crises and, thereby, to achieve worldwide political, social and economic progress. Hence we feel that at the present stage of development of international relations the United Nations itself should in no way endorse the use of violence.

255. Despite all difficulties and despite the continued existence of adverse forces that might give rise to comprehensible impatience and even pessimism, we are convinced that self-determination and independence for all peoples still can and should be pursued through negotiations and co-operation and with recourse to international pressure whenever necessary. We have a good example of this in the negotiating efforts currently taking place for the settlement of the questions of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia.

256. My country welcomes and supports the initiative of the five Western members of the Security Council concerning Namibia and the Anglo-American proposals for Southern Rhodesia. We hope that the opportunity so created will be seized by all parties concerned and that the greatest possible number of Member States will take a positive and constructive attitude towards it—if further suffering and bloodshed are to be avoided.

257. In that spirit, my delegation interprets the reference contained in operative paragraph 4 to mean by all “peaceful” means—which accords with the spirit and wording of the Charter.

258. The wording of operative paragraph 2 seems to imply two subconcepts with which my delegation does not identify itself: in the first place, we do not accept the definition of the situation in South Africa as a colonial one; in the second place, we certainly do not see the vestiges of colonialism in various regions of the world presenting the same tragic mask as in Rhodesia or Namibia. Therefore, we find inappropriate the use of the language of Chapter VII with reference to colonialism in general. The situation in Southern Rhodesia has been recognized by the proper body, the Security Council, as constituting a threat to international peace and security; but such is not the case in the situation of many other small Territories still under colonial administration, whether in the Caribbean, the Pacific or other regions of the world. We find therefore inappropriate, I repeat, use of the language of Chapter VII in such a broad context.

259. My delegation has already had the opportunity to clarify its position with regard to foreign economic interests in Non-Self-Governing Territories in the Fourth Committee,¹¹ hence I do not find it necessary to deal at length with that problem here. I should merely like to put on record our reservations on the paragraphs suggesting that all foreign economic interests are necessarily detrimental to the well-being of the populations of Non-Self-Governing Territories and to their progress towards independence.

260. With reference to operative paragraph 10, our reservations derive from our strict adherence to the principle of the universality of this Organization and its specialized agencies.

261. As regards operative paragraph 11, we do not agree with the assumption therein implied that the presence of military bases and installations in Non-Self-Governing Territories necessarily conflicts with the exercise of the right to self-determination. That is certainly not the case in Belize, to name but one example; nor is it the case in Guam, where the presence of an American military base has in no way hampered the free expression of the overwhelming majority of the population, which has voted in a referendum to retain its association with the administering Power.

262. Those reservations have led the Italian delegation to abstain in the vote on a similar draft resolution in the past. Our positive vote today therefore acquires for us a very special meaning. Let me briefly comment on that point.

263. The process of decolonization is entering the culminating phase; the greater part of the world has already attained freedom and independence; vestiges of colonialism remain in several small Territories, and in Zimbabwe and Namibia, where they have taken the form of anachronistic and brutal oppression that my Government has strongly condemned and has never ceased fighting, while assisting, in various forms, the national movements in those regions. Nevertheless it is clear in our minds that the decolonization process, viewed in retrospect and compared to the growth and emancipation of nations in the past, has evolved most rapidly and with great impetus, and has reshaped in just a few years the entire face of the globe. That is a victory for

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Fourth Committee, 9th meeting, paras. 17-22, and *ibid.*, Fourth Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.

mankind as a whole, the greatest credit for which is due to those who fought—each in his own country and in his own way—for those noble goals. But it is also one of the great achievements of our Organization—perhaps the greatest. For this reason Italy looks forward to a wider measure of agreement in the future on the fundamental principles of decolonization above and beyond differences of approach. Our vote today represents a responsible step forward taken in that spirit.

264. We would certainly have preferred the sponsors of the draft resolution to discuss in greater depth with other delegations the wording of such an important document. We hope they will see fit to do so in the future so as to bring the text more closely into line with the reality of present-day relations and to ensure thereby a broader and more effective support from Member States.

265. Mr. CHARPENTIER (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): The United Nations and, in particular, its Special Committee on decolonization, has given important impetus to the progress of colonial countries and peoples towards the exercise of their right to self-determination and, if they so choose, to independence. The success of its efforts is demonstrated by the rapidly increasing membership of the United Nations. Apart from the distressing problems of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, there remain only smaller Territories which for one reason or another—often their modest size, small population or geographical isolation—have not yet exercised their right to self-determination. We note, however, from the report of the Special Committee that within a relatively short period of time, most of these smaller Territories will have done so.

266. Before commenting on the draft resolutions before us, we wish to note in particular our appreciation of the excellence of the leadership which Mr. Salim A. Salim has provided in the work of the United Nations in this important field. Under his able guidance, the Special Committee has found itself able increasingly to elicit the co-operation of administering Powers and to find broadly acceptable solutions to some of the thorniest problems which remain before us.

267. Canada considered the Maputo International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia an extremely important event in the United Nations activities in support of decolonization. For the first time, on two issues of great sensitivity, international opinion was mobilized behind a consensus approach which could not help but make an important impact upon the repressive régimes in southern Africa, which continue to deny to the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe the legitimate exercise of self-determination. The consensus reconciled different approaches and my own delegation expressed reservations on certain aspects of it. We none the less considered these reservations minor in relation to our support for the over-all objectives and the great majority of the provisions of the final Declaration. My delegation has, as a result, joined as a sponsor of draft resolution A/32/L.35 and Add.1 concerning the Maputo Conference.

268. The Canadian delegation will again this year support the omnibus draft resolution on decolonization as contained in document A/32/L.36. In doing so, however, we

must express disappointment, as at previous sessions, with the fact that greater efforts were not made to develop a generally acceptable text which would more faithfully reflect the opinion of Member States and the Special Committee. This text closely resembles its precursors and we must recall the reservations we have about the wording of operative paragraphs 4, 8, 9, 10 and 11. To summarize, we continue to support negotiated settlements where they are possible.

269. Our approval of the report of the Special Committee entails the approval of the great majority of its recommendations but not each and every one. We consider that each foreign investment in Non-Self-Governing Territories must be judged on its merits in each case and that it can be desirable and beneficial. We fully endorse Security Council resolution 418 (1977), which institutes a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa and which requires that States refrain from any co-operation with South Africa with regard to the manufacture or development of nuclear weapons; however, we do not consider that normal political and economic relations with South Africa constitute collaboration.

270. Lastly, we believe that international organizations must operate within their specified mandate.

271. As for operative paragraph 11, we consider that its wording is outdated and not in conformity with the deliberations of the Special Committee. We fully support, however, the approach to this item embodied in the consensus adopted at this session on the question of Guam, namely, that the maintenance of military bases in any Non-Self-Governing Territory should not inhibit the right of the people of that Territory to self-determination [*see resolution 32/28*].

272. Mr. KENNEDY (Ireland): The delegation of Ireland voted in favour of the historic General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) back in 1960 to reaffirm the view of its Government and people that the subjugation of populations to alien domination and exploitation against their wishes constitutes a flagrant denial of basic human rights and of the principles of the Charter. Our support for the three draft resolutions before us today, A/32/L.35, A/32/L.36 and A/32/L.37, is evidence of our unwavering support for the principles of resolution 1514 (XV) and for United Nations work in the field of decolonization. We shall vote for these three draft resolutions this evening.

273. I should, however, like to clarify our position on some of the points contained in draft resolution A/32/L.36.

274. First, with regard to the determination in operative paragraph 2 of that draft resolution, that “the continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations . . . poses a serious threat to international peace and security”, my Government not only has problems with its over-generalized nature and doubts about its accuracy in some of the smaller colonial situations, but also feels that such definitions of threats to international peace and security properly lie within the competence of the Security Council.

275. Secondly, in the case of operative paragraph 4, in which the Assembly would reaffirm “its recognition of the

legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples under colonial and alien domination to exercise their right to self-determination and independence by all the necessary means at their disposal", the Irish Government interprets this as referring to all means which accord with the principles and the purposes of the Charter.

276. Thirdly, with regard to operative paragraph 10, which requests the withholding of "assistance of any kind from the Government of South Africa", we have a reservation in the context of our long-standing attitude that requests such as this properly fall within the area of competence of the Security Council.

277. Fourthly, with regard to operative paragraph 11, my Government wishes to express the view that the presence of military bases in colonial Territories need not in all cases be incompatible with the wishes of the people in the process of decolonization—as evidenced, for instance, by the case of Guam, where the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants last year voted to retain their association with their administering Power—the United States—and with its military base.

278. Before concluding, I should like to say a particular word of well-deserved appreciation for the work of the Special Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, and for the valuable documentation it has placed before this Assembly in its report.

279. The PRESIDENT: There are no more speakers who wish to explain their vote before the vote.

280. The Assembly will now take decisions on draft resolutions A/32/L.35, A/32/L.36 and A/32/L.37 and their respective addenda. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of those draft resolutions is contained in document A/32/413.

281. We turn first to draft resolution A/32/L.35 and Add.1, entitled "International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia". I have been informed that it is the wish of the General Assembly to adopt this draft resolution without a vote. May I therefore take it that the General Assembly adopts draft resolution A/32/L.35 and Add.1?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 32/41).

282. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/32/L.36 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, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic

Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, 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, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, 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: Belgium, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Israel, Malawi, Nicaragua, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 134 votes to none, with 9 abstentions (resolution 32/42).

283. The PRESIDENT: We come now to draft resolution A/32/L.37 and Add.1, entitled "Dissemination of information on decolonization". I have been informed that it is the wish of the General Assembly to adopt this draft resolution without a vote. May I therefore take it that the General Assembly adopts draft resolution A/32/L.37 and Add.1?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 32/43).

284. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to explain their vote after the voting.

285. Mr. VAN COPPENOLLE (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Belgium voted in favour of draft resolution A/32/L.37 and also draft resolution A/32/L.35, by which the General Assembly endorses the conclusions of the Maputo International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

286. While reiterating its firm support for the objectives of the documents adopted at the Maputo Conference—a Conference which will remain a milestone in the history of the struggle of the international community for decolonization—Belgium must remind the Assembly of the reservations it made, at the appropriate time, together with its partners, on certain passages of the Maputo Declaration.

287. On the other hand, Belgium had to abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/32/L.36, although it supports the aims of that draft resolution and a number of its

provisions. We believe that this text has succumbed to the same excesses that characterized the corresponding resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session.

288. I would recall that Belgium, like others, does not regard the situation in South Africa as a typical colonial situation. It does not believe that it is in accordance with the Charter to recommend that "the end justifies the means". In our view, an over-all and summary condemnation of foreign investments is not in the interests of the developing countries. We have already explained that it is our opinion that it is in the interest of all the inhabitants of South Africa not to be cut off from all contacts with the outside world.

289. Finally, certain passages of the operative part of this draft resolution do not take sufficiently into account the views expressed by some of the peoples concerned in the Territories where there are defence installations.

290. Belgium must note with regret that these matters are not always dealt with in a way that is likely to lead to a consensus.

291. Mr. ORTNER (Austria): Austria's position on the questions of decolonization is well known, as it has been underlined on numerous occasions in the past. We continue to attach the greatest importance to the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as one of the fundamental documents of the United Nations.

292. My delegation therefore wholeheartedly agrees with the general thrust of the three draft resolutions just adopted and thus we supported them.

293. In particular, we regard the International Conference in Support of the People of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo in May this year, as a milestone in the difficult struggle for the long-overdue completion of the decolonization process in southern Africa. Furthermore, publicity as an instrument for furthering the aims and purposes of the Declaration plays an important role.

294. Austria also supported draft resolution A/32/L.36, which focuses on the issues of decolonization in general, with special emphasis on the critical situation in southern Africa. We did so in spite of certain reservations we have with respect to some of its provisions. Particularly so far as operative paragraph 4 is concerned, I would say that we interpret this paragraph to imply the use of all peaceful means in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

295. In conclusion, the Austrian delegation would like to express its appreciation for the work performed by the Special Committee this year, under the wise chairmanship of Ambassador Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania.

296. Mr. ONDA (Japan): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/32/L.36, which has just been adopted, because of our firm support for the basic objective set forth in it: a reaffirmation of the inalienable right of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories to self-determination and independence.

297. However, there are some paragraphs which my delegation finds it difficult to support; they are the seventh paragraph of the preamble and operative paragraphs 2, 5, 10, 11 and 13 (b). My delegation does not accept certain implications of the language used in the sixth paragraph of the preamble and in operative paragraphs 3, 4 and 12. With regard to operative paragraph 8, it is my delegation's understanding that this paragraph is not intended to condemn all foreign economic activities.

298. Mr. ESFANDIARY (Iran): I should like briefly to explain the vote of the delegation of Iran on draft resolution A/32/L.36, which has just been adopted.

299. Iran has always strongly adhered to the principles of self-determination and independence enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. This is evidenced by the fact that my Government has always been and continues to be among the fervent supporters of the decolonization process throughout the world. In pursuance of this objective we therefore voted in favour of the resolution on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. However, my delegation wishes to place on record that it has some reservations on certain paragraphs of this resolution.

300. Mr. QUARTIN-SANTOS (Portugal): Portugal willingly voted in favour of draft resolution A/32/L.36 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. I should, however, like to register a reservation concerning operative paragraph 11 of that draft, relating to military bases and installations maintained by administering Powers in Non-Self-Governing Territories. We think that neither the Charter nor the Declaration prohibits the establishment of military installations in any colonial Territory. We believe that what is at stake in the particular case of decolonization is the existence of a real political will on the part of the administering Power to ensure the free exercise of the right to self-determination by the people concerned. Therefore, the simple existence of such a military installation cannot automatically be considered as inhibiting the exercise of that right. What really matters in this connexion, in the opinion of my delegation, is that military installations must not be used in effect as a pretext to deny the abovementioned right or to affect its genuine exercise. Thus the elimination of bases or military installations existing in colonial Territories is not necessarily a pre-condition for the attainment of self-determination by their peoples. We think it is up to the latter to decide whether the bases should be maintained or not.

301. Mr. HARRY (Australia): On several occasions, both in the Special Committee and at this session of the Assembly, we have stated the Australian Government's position on the legitimacy of armed struggle in the achievement of liberation from the racist and colonial régimes that persist in Rhodesia and Namibia.

302. As the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes, there may be recourse to rebellion against tyranny and oppression as the last resort in situations where human rights are persistently denied. But we believe that the international community must continue fully to explore the opportunities that in our view still exist for a peaceful solution in Namibia and Zimbabwe.

303. Consistent with our support for peaceful solutions, we deny to the illegal régime in Zimbabwe and to the South African Government all forms of military equipment and assistance.

304. Draft resolution A/32/L.36, which we have just adopted, which Australia supported, refers in its operative paragraph 11 to the presence of military bases and installations in colonial Territories. As we have stated before, the United Nations Charter recognizes the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence. It remains our firm view that the existence of installations of an administering Power in its dependent Territories may well be justified by obligations relating to the maintenance of international peace and security and the obligation to defend a dependent Territory.

305. Operative paragraph 9 of draft resolution A/32/L.36 refers also to nuclear and military collaboration with South Africa. We would have preferred the resolution to focus specifically on assistance in the development of a nuclear-weapons capability by South Africa rather than to condemn all collaboration in the nuclear field with that country. There is, in our view, no basis for condemning transactions for peaceful purposes under full international safeguards or the development of a safeguarded peaceful nuclear industry.

306. Australia, of course, believes strongly that South Africa should become a party to the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty, and we are equally concerned to ensure that it does not develop a nuclear-weapons capability.

307. Mr. VO ANH TUAN (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Draft resolution A/32/L.36, which our Assembly has just adopted, is fundamentally in keeping with the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the international community because it condemns the persistence of colonialism in all its forms and recognizes the legitimacy of the struggle for liberation being waged by the colonial peoples by all means available to them. It also calls upon the colonial Powers immediately and unconditionally to withdraw their military bases from the colonial Territories.

308. For those reasons my delegation was happy to vote in favour of the draft.

309. Nevertheless, while we pay a well-deserved tribute to the Special Committee for the work it has done and for the

substantial report it submitted to our Assembly, my delegation has serious reservations on paragraph 9 (6) of chapter XXII of document A/32/23/Rev.1, referred to in operative paragraph 5 of draft resolution A/32/L.36. That subparagraph contains a certain recognition of the presence of American military bases in Guam. My delegation would reiterate all the statements it has made on this question in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly during the debate and the vote on the question of Guam.

310. The presence of American military bases in Guam was a rich experience for my people. Nevertheless, before this Assembly, which is devoted to peace and international security, independence and the freedom of the peoples, we should like to make it clear that in denouncing and condemning the policy of maintaining military bases in Guam and in other so-called Non-Self-Governing Territories we are far from thinking of anything relating to bilateral relations between Viet Nam and the United States of America. We have always been inspired by a sacred desire that our experience of patriotic struggle against aggressive imperialism—when we shed blood and tears despite the support of all of progressive mankind—should be put to use in the struggle still being waged by peoples for their independence, freedom and dignity.

311. We believe that in so doing we can to some extent save our brothers in combat some small part of the suffering and bloodshed.

312. The PRESIDENT: There remains a matter concerning agenda item 24 which I should like to bring to the attention of the Assembly. Document A/32/353 contains a letter addressed to the President of the General Assembly regarding the decision of the Government of Norway to withdraw from membership in the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples as of 31 December 1977. I should like to nominate Sweden as a member of the Special Committee with effect from 1 January 1978 to fill the vacancy caused by the withdrawal of Norway. May I take it that the General Assembly confirms that nomination?

It was so decided (decision 32/312).

The meeting rose at 7.10 p.m.