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CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 21: Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity: report of the Secretary-General	1297
Agenda item 23: Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (<i>continued</i>)	1306

**President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).**

In the absence of the President, Mr. Datcu (Romania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 21

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

1. Mr. HUSSEIN (Somalia): In speaking not only on behalf of the Somali Democratic Republic but also on behalf of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], whose current Chairman is the leader of my country, General Mohammed Siad Barre, I must express the great satisfaction felt by all African States that co-operation between the United Nations and OAU is steadily increasing.

2. The Secretary-General's detailed and comprehensive report [A/9734] shows the extent of this co-operation and its importance for the achievement of the major goals of both the world and regional organizations. This is particularly true with regard to the international effort to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor countries and with regard to the international campaign against racism and colonialism in southern Africa.

3. The personal influence of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, on the development of co-operation between the two bodies is well known and deeply appreciated by African States. Both in his promotion of these efforts at United Nations Headquarters and on his visits to Africa he has shown his understanding of these problems and aspirations which African people share and we are grateful for his clearly demonstrated concern and interest.

4. United Nations co-operation with OAU on questions related to the situation in southern Africa is

particularly appropriate because the elimination of colonialism and racism is not just an African goal; it constitutes a solemn commitment on the part of the international community. The mutually supportive roles of the United Nations and of OAU in southern African questions are backed up by numerous General Assembly resolutions and by resolutions of other organs of the United Nations system. In this context, my delegation welcomes the emphasis that has been placed, by the Economic and Social Council, in its resolution 1892 (LVII), on co-operation between the United Nations and OAU in the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

5. We welcome also the fact that the Special Committee on *Apartheid* continues its fruitful consultations with OAU representatives—consultations which have recently included such significant questions as associating the leaders of South African liberation movements with the work of the Committee.

6. My delegation is glad to see that this kind of co-operation is equally evident in the work 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 and in the work of the Commission on Human Rights and its sub-committees.

7. It is pertinent to mention here that the General Assembly can make a most valuable contribution to the liberation movements if it will take appropriate action to remove the difficulties they experience in having to apply each year and on every occasion for permission to participate in those debates of the General Assembly which concern them, and in relevant international conferences. My delegation would strongly support the adoption by the General Assembly of a standing resolution entitling liberation movements approved by OAU to participate in debates of the General Assembly and its committees, and in international conferences, whenever matters concerning their struggle are discussed.

8. I note that the attention of the Security Council has been drawn to paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 3066 (XXVIII) concerning the need for the Council to associate OAU regularly with all its work concerning Africa, including the activities of its committee on sanctions.¹ My delegation looks forward to a positive response from the Security Council and, in particular, from its committee on sanctions, to this request of the General Assembly. Because of the ongoing nature of the work of the committee it could well follow the lead of other committees on southern African questions and work closely with OAU in the achievement of their mutual goals of ending the illegal and racist régime in Southern Rhodesia.

9. My Government has always considered that the United Nations Educational and Training Programme

for Southern Africa is a most important adjunct to the international campaign against colonial and racist domination, since it is essential that a cadre of trained people should be available when former colonial territories arrive at their goals of self-determination and independence. We particularly appreciate the close contact maintained by the Programme with the OAU Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees.

10. The joint efforts of the world Organization and OAU are particularly focused at the present time on aid to liberation movements and to the victims of colonial and racist oppression. It is a most welcome development that in consultations between representatives of the two organizations held in Paris and Geneva this year, it was decided that the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa should serve as the channel to be utilized by United Nations agencies on all questions relating to assistance to the national liberation movements.

11. A most noteworthy and substantial effort in aid of oppressed colonial peoples is that of the World Food Programme [WFP] which has already expended nearly \$9 million in supplying food to over 125,000 refugees in the course of emergency operations and settlement projects for refugees in Botswana, Senegal, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia. WFP has also decided to extend its programmes to the peoples of the liberated areas of colonial territories and to liberation movements. Welcome recognition of the role of OAU in the channelling of such aid has been given by WFP in its decision to consult with appropriate officials of OAU in the modalities of the latest phase of its assistance programme.

12. My Government looks forward also to the implementation of the Economic Commission for Africa [ECA] draft programme of assistance for colonial peoples in Africa, which will come before the ECA conference in February next year.

13. My final observation on co-operation between the United Nations and OAU in southern African questions relates to the area of information and publicity. My delegation believes that this area, which represents the long-term aspect of the campaign against colonialism and racism, is one of fundamental importance for its lasting success. Helping to change attitudes and informing people so that they can join in efforts to eradicate these evils is an essential task. It gives my delegation great satisfaction to see the evidence that the United Nations information centres and services are giving high priority in their information programmes to the joint involvement of the world Organization and OAU in the struggle for justice in southern Africa.

14. Economic and social development are, of course, the major internal concerns of African States. However, the international community has long recognized that closing the gap between the rich and the poor countries is an essential part of the work of the United Nations to promote peace, justice and progress. The central role of OAU in co-ordinating the policies of the developing African countries, in so far as their common economic and social objectives are concerned, makes it important that the regional organization should be closely involved with United Nations efforts for African economic and social development,

and it is gratifying to see that there is indeed a great deal of close co-operation between the world body and regional bodies on questions of development.

15. My delegation welcomes the progress that has been made towards the financing of OAU-supported projects by UNDP. The specific proposals now being considered, which include the training of OAU staff, financing of regional and subregional projects and financing of projects, mostly educational, for victims of colonialism and racism, are all the kind of broadly based plans that can be initiated most suitably by OAU. We fully share the hope of many members of the Governing Council of UNDP that it will be able to work with OAU on ways of giving adequate and urgent assistance to liberation movements.

16. Because ECA has a wide over-view of the African economic and social situation, co-operation between this agency and OAU is of the greatest importance.

17. My delegation commends ECA for the effort it has made to consult with OAU on co-ordinating their activities, but we hope that these efforts will be redoubled and extended to cover as wide a range of economic activities as possible. For example, there is room for expansion of ECA assistance to African countries, in co-operation with OAU, to deal with the implications of the world energy situation.

18. A factor of major importance for the growth of African economic self-sufficiency is the process of industrialization, which can be assisted in the many African countries by the use of natural and other resources for development. My delegation, therefore, commends and looks forward to further developments from the ECA Declaration on Industrialization in Africa,² which provides a basis for international negotiations by African countries and which will be submitted to the Second General Conference of UNIDO next March. The close association of the Conference of African Ministers of Industry with the development of the guidelines for industrial co-operation and development in Africa will ensure their validity and their relevance to existing conditions.

19. Other questions which are, happily, the subject of close co-operation between ECA and OAU are those of the development of the petroleum industry in Africa and the creation of an African Mineral Development Council. Obviously, these are projects of vital importance for the goal of industrialization. My Government hopes that the Mineral Development Council, which is still in the preparatory stage, will be able to start its activities in 1975, as projected, and we are prepared to do all we can to make the work of this Council a success.

20. The pressing nature and the magnitude of the task of providing significant industrial projects in African countries cannot be over-emphasized. In this context, my delegation hopes that the close contact that exists between OAU and UNIDO on the problems of industrialization will be maintained and strengthened.

21. The task of developing new intra-African relations in all spheres is one of the major concerns of OAU. Speaking about this problem in the general debate, General Mohamed Siad Barre said:

“As a first step towards greater integration, the water-tight compartments into which African coun-

tries are placed in respect of telecommunication networks, airlines, postal services, banking, highways and sea transport have to be dismantled. We see an urgent need for quick and fruitful action in this direction." [2262nd meeting, para. 113.]

22. The co-operation being extended to OAU by United Nations agencies such as ECA in fulfilling these goals is of inestimable value. My Government particularly welcomes the co-operation of ECA in the implementation of the Pan-African telecommunication network, the proposed African common market and the Trans-African Highway.

23. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development is the international body with the widest over-view of the problems of the developing countries, and it is under this umbrella that such fundamental projects as the finalizing of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States is carried out. The representation of OAU in UNCTAD meetings and in conferences continues to be essential for the co-ordination of African economic strategy in an international context.

24. The word "representation" leads to another topic of vital importance to the consolidation of the existing cordial relations between the two organs.

25. In a new context, I must emphasize the need for an equitable representation of Africa in the recruitment of United Nations personnel, particularly in the decision-making positions. The Council of Ministers of OAU, in its meeting at Mogadiscio during June of this year, adopted resolution CM/RES.351 (XXIII), in which it requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations—and I quote from paragraph 4 of the resolution—"to take into consideration the preoccupations of the African States Members of OAU to be adequately represented on the decision-making bodies of the United Nations".

26. The universality of the United Nations is not limited, in our opinion, only to the assumption of membership seats by countries in the Organization and its specialized agencies. We believe that every country has a valuable contribution to make towards the realization of the ideals and goals of the United Nations through its forums and in its daily operations. It is, therefore, of immediate importance that United Nations personnel at all levels, especially at the higher echelons, be recruited in a manner that reflects precisely the universality of the Organization. My delegation, while appreciating the good will shown by the Secretary-General in this direction, cannot help but take note of the fact that Africa is not, so far, equitably represented in the United Nations establishment. It is high time that this imbalance is redressed, and my delegation is confident that the Secretary-General will take note of this observation. We are aware of the genuine efforts being made to affect equitable geographical distribution, but we think that the speed with which this is being carried out could be increased; and we trust that the Secretary-General will look into this question as a matter of urgency.

27. The framers of the Charter showed great foresight in making provision for the development of a close relationship between the world Organization and regional agencies whose principles and purposes would be consistent with those of the Charter. The

Charter of OAU closely reflects that of the world body, and the record of our regional organization in the promotion of friendly relations between independent African States is one in which it can reasonably take pride.

28. Both the world Organization and the regional organizations are well served by their collaboration, which is now firmly established as an essential factor in the implementation of their mutual goals.

29. I should now like to introduce, on behalf of the African States Members of this Organization, draft resolution A/L.746/Rev.1.

30. The provisions of this draft resolution are clear. They reflect the principles and practices that have developed from the fruitful co-operation between the United Nations and OAU and point out the directions in which these principles can be further extended.

31. In regard to the preamble to the draft resolution, the General Assembly would take note of the important resolutions adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU dealing with political, social and economic questions. The practical results of the co-operation between the United Nations and OAU can be seen in the fact that the contents of these OAU resolutions have already found expression in many decisions taken by the current session of the General Assembly and in some questions that have come before the Security Council.

32. Reference is also made in the preamble to the important address made to the General Assembly by General Mohamed Siad Barre [2262nd meeting]. The practice in recent years of inviting leaders of liberation movements to participate in the General Assembly debates relating to their countries represents the universally accepted tenet of justice that when the interests of a person, organization or people are at stake there must be representation of those interests. The General Assembly not only has recognized the desirability of the presence of leaders of the liberation movements but also has agreed to defray the expenses of their participation. It is in extension of that fact that operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution makes provision for such representation to take place on a regular basis, not only at sessions of the General Assembly and meetings of its subsidiary bodies but also at conferences and seminars held under the auspices of the United Nations, where the interests of their countries are concerned.

33. While co-operation between the United Nations and OAU on questions of colonialism and racial discrimination is highly significant, those are not, of course, the only fields. Co-operation in the fulfilment of African development goals, for example, is taking place on a large and steadily increasing scale.

34. The establishment of OAU offices in New York and Geneva has proved invaluable because of the great number of United Nations activities in which OAU has a particular interest. By the same token, we believe that the Secretary-General should make adequate arrangements to be represented, at the senior level, at OAU conferences and those of its subsidiary bodies where matters of common concern are to be discussed.

35. My delegation hopes that this draft resolution, which clearly reflects the achievements and goals of co-operation between the United Nations and OAU, will receive the unanimous support of the General Assembly.

36. Before concluding, I should like, with the permission of the sponsors of the draft resolution—and I am sorry that I have not had time to contact all of them—to read out a paragraph which we wish to add to the draft resolution as the second paragraph of the preamble:

“Taking note of the resolutions adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its eleventh ordinary session, held at Mogadiscio from 12 to 15 June 1974, concerning the question of which the General Assembly is seized.”

I hope that that addition will meet with the approval of the sponsors of the draft resolution I have just introduced.

37. Mr. YAGUIBOU (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of 42 African States members of OAU, I have the honour to submit the draft resolution in document A/L.746/Rev.1 relating to the item entitled “Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity”.

38. To be convinced of the importance which the African States attach to this item we need only recall the important statement made to the General Assembly on 9 October 1974 by the current Chairman of our regional organization, General Mohamed Siad Barre, head of State of Somalia [2262nd meeting].

39. For his part, the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU, Mr. William Eteki Mboumoua, has made two important statements at this session within the framework of co-operation between the United Nations and the OAU: the first, on 1 October 1974 in the Fourth Committee;³ and the second, on 7 October 1974 in the Special Political Committee.⁴

40. This is the seventh time that this item has been inscribed on the agenda of the General Assembly. That means that for us Africans, as the Secretary-General of OAU said in the Special Political Committee on 7 October last:

“The Organization of African Unity retains its confidence in the United Nations despite the latter’s internal contradictions and its lack of enforcement power . . . The United Nations is the best forum from which international opinion and the conscience of the world can be alerted when the natural and inalienable rights of man are threatened. It was because of that faith in the moral strength of the United Nations that the OAU made its Charter complementary to the United Nations Charter and signed an agreement on co-operation with the United Nations.”⁴

41. It is in an effort to maintain and strengthen that co-operation between the United Nations and OAU, particularly in the struggle against colonialism and *apartheid*, that the African States have submitted draft resolution A/L.746/Rev.1, which I have the honour to present to the Assembly on their behalf.

42. The fifth preambular paragraph, the importance of which will escape no one, refers to the positive results

achieved in the work of the United Nations bodies concerned as a direct consequence of the participation of representatives of the national liberation movements recognized by OAU in the relevant proceedings of those bodies in an observer capacity.

43. The last preambular paragraph recalls the urgent need to give increased assistance to the victims of colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* resulting from political and criminal acts of repression by the Government of South Africa and the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. It will be noted that the policy of the new Portuguese Government towards the Territories still under its domination has resulted in the omission of Portugal from the list of repressive régimes in this paragraph.

44. Turning now to the operative part of the draft resolution, in paragraph 2, which relates to the main field of co-operation between the two organizations, the General Assembly would reiterate the firm intention of the United Nations, in co-operation with OAU, to intensify its efforts to find a solution to the present grave situation in southern Africa. In operative paragraph 3, the Assembly would request the Secretary-General to continue to take the necessary measures to strengthen co-operation between the United Nations and OAU in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, particularly with regard to the provision of assistance to the victims of colonialism and *apartheid* in southern Africa. The sponsors of the draft resolution would like that assistance to be provided through the Assistance Fund for the Struggle against Colonialism and *Apartheid* established by OAU.

45. Operative paragraph 6 is of particular importance to the sponsors and constitutes the real new element in the draft resolution. In that paragraph the General Assembly would decide to invite as observers, on a regular basis and in accordance with earlier practice, representatives of national liberation movements recognized by OAU to participate in the relevant work of the Main Committees of the General Assembly and its subsidiary organs concerned, as well as in conferences, seminars and other meetings held under the auspices of the United Nations which concern their countries, and would request the Secretary-General, in consultation with OAU, to ensure that the necessary arrangements were made for their effective participation, including the requisite financial provisions. The provisions of operative paragraph 6 stem from the contents of the fifth preambular paragraph, where mention is made of the positive contribution of national liberation movements to the work of interested United Nations bodies. Furthermore, the Assembly has always affirmed that the liberation movements recognized by OAU are the authentic representatives of the aspirations of the peoples of their countries. To the authors of the draft resolution it is therefore only just and logical that those movements should be invited to participate as observers on a regular basis in the proceedings of the United Nations bodies concerned.

46. In operative paragraph 7, the Assembly would recommend to the other United Nations organs concerned to ensure, in consultation with OAU, that the necessary arrangements were made to facilitate the

effective participation of those national liberation movements in their relevant proceedings.

47. It will be noted that the draft resolution does not differ greatly from the one adopted by the General Assembly last year [resolution 3066 (XXVIII)], with the exception of the fifth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 6, both of which relate to participation of national liberation movements in the work of the relevant United Nations bodies. As I have said, such provision seems logical and just, because of the undeniable positive contribution of those movements to the work of the United Nations and of conferences, seminars and other meetings organized under the auspices of the United Nations, particularly because of their status as the authentic representatives of the aspirations of their people.

48. We wanted this draft resolution to be realistic and moderate, to avoid polemics and controversies. Last year only Portugal and South Africa—for obvious reasons—opposed the adoption of a similar text. This year the fascist, colonialist Government of Portugal and the racist minority Government of South Africa, both victims of their own stubborn blindness, are no longer sitting among us. The former has been replaced by a new régime whose anti-colonialist programme has been welcomed by all; the latter is in quarantine because of its crime of *apartheid*.

49. I need only express the sincere wish of the sponsors to see this draft resolution unanimously adopted.

50. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): After the illuminating statements made by my two brothers, the representative of Somalia and the representative of the Upper Volta, speaking on behalf of the African group, there is very little for my delegation to add. I should only like, as Chairman of the African group for the month of November, to voice my strongest support, in particular, of the statement made by the representative of the country that is Chairman of OAU for the current year. I think the importance and the significance that the African States attach to the co-operation between the United Nations and OAU have been made quite clear. Thus, in real and in symbolic terms, OAU has sought to demonstrate the importance that we attach to the role of the United Nations as an instrument designed for the preservation of international peace and security and the promotion of the economic and social development of all countries. It is also in that context that OAU, both through its Chairman and through the administrative head of the organization, has never faltered in ensuring the maximum participation of that organization in the work of the United Nations.

51. I should like in particular to place on record that, at the 2262nd meeting, we all had the privilege of listening to an important statement by the current Chairman of the organization and President of Somalia, General Mohamed Siad Barre, who spoke on behalf of Africa and whose contribution, I am sure, members of this Assembly will agree was important not only in helping members to understand the problems that face the continent but also in terms of projecting Africa's position on international issues.

52. The draft resolution that is before the Assembly and which has been eloquently introduced by the Chairman of the African group for this month speaks

for itself. All I would like to emphasize is that, as my colleague from the Upper Volta has rightly said, this is a non-controversial draft resolution, and we hope that it will not give rise to any controversy. It does not differ much from the resolution that we adopted last year, because we are trying to get the maximum support of the Members of this Organization. That support is important from our point of view, not only because we feel that co-operation between the United Nations and OAU is vital for both organizations, but also because we believe that members of this Assembly by their positions in previous years have clearly come to demonstrate their acceptance of that view and their recognition of the important role played by OAU in the promotion of the objectives for which the United Nations stands.

53. However, I should like to highlight one particular aspect of this draft resolution. I refer to the fifth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution and operative paragraphs 6 and 7, which, as representatives will see, relate to the participation of the liberation movements in the work of the Main Committees of the Assembly and its subsidiary organs, as well as in conferences, seminars and other meetings held under the auspices of the United Nations and also in other meetings organized by other United Nations organs.

54. We feel that the participation of the liberation movements in those meetings and conferences is of vital importance, not only because they are the authentic representatives of their peoples, but also because we believe that their contribution serves to bring to the attention of the international community the actual situations of their respective territories so that the former will be in a position to take decisions that are really in keeping with those situations.

55. Furthermore, the experience of our Organization during the past two years has demonstrated that the participation of the liberation movements has been of extreme importance in reaching solutions and decisions that are in the best interests of all concerned. When I say "all concerned", I refer, of course, first and foremost, to the peoples of the countries which the liberation movements represent and, secondly, to the international community, whose primary purpose is to ensure that the best interests of the peoples of the territories are protected and provided for.

56. Therefore, I believe that what we are now doing is simply formalizing in a more systematic manner the decisions that the General Assembly and its various committees have been taking, year in year out, and particularly since 1972, on this particular question. We are doing no more than that. The type of status that we are requesting for the liberation movements is what they already have, say, for example in the Fourth Committee when that body considers issues related to the liberation movements, and in the Special Committee on decolonization, when it undertakes similar discussions. But the sponsors of the draft resolution believe that, so as to avoid undue procedural discussions during each session of the General Assembly and at every session of the Committee, it would be better to handle this matter in a more systematic manner. That is why the draft resolution, in its operative paragraphs 6 and 7, seeks to regularize and formalize the already existing arrangements.

Mr. Aké (Ivory Coast), Vice-President, took the Chair.

57. Having said that, I should like once again to emphasize the importance which we, the African States, attach to co-operation between the United Nations and OAU, and also to underscore the fact that it is through that co-operation that we have witnessed growing changes, particularly in the context of southern Africa. For, as has been amply emphasized, the role of the international community in support of the legitimate aspirations of people under colonial and racist domination has been of crucial importance, in view of some of the changes that have taken place and are taking place in southern Africa today. We believe that this role needs to be revitalized. We also believe that the specialized agencies have an important role to play, that they should strengthen the type of assistance and the type of co-operation they give to OAU in support of the liberation movements.

58. It is with those considerations in mind that my delegation hopes—and in fact launches an appeal—that our draft resolution should be adopted, if possible unanimously.

59. Mr. VLASCEANU (Romania): It is an honour and privilege for my delegation to support draft resolution A/L.746/Rev.1.

60. I do not wish to repeat the arguments which already so clearly plead in favour of the draft resolution—introduced so eloquently by the Permanent Representative of Somalia, Mr. Hussein, and by the Permanent Representative of the Upper Volta, Mr. Yağuibou—and the proposed addition to it. My delegation fully endorses those arguments. Yet allow me to point out that, during its existence, OAU has proved itself to be not only a symbol of the aspirations to freedom, independence and unity of the African peoples and a framework for their common action, but at the same time one of the keenest supporters of the United Nations in all its efforts to build a better and more just world, in which each people can freely and independently decide its own destiny. This was further stressed in the report of the Secretary-General, which deserves our full attention and appreciation, when it states:

“... that over the past 11 years the links between the United Nations and OAU had steadily gained in strength and that the close relationship of the two organizations had become an essential part of the international effort to translate the ideals of the United Nations Charter into positive reality.”
[A/9734, para. 3.]

61. My delegation is pleased to note that this co-operation between both organizations is dedicated to the ideals of the United Nations Charter and contributes to the implementation of mankind's aspirations to peace, justice and dignity. In this connexion, we highly appreciate the assistance to the United Nations by OAU and the important role played by the African States in the democratization of international life, the elimination of the imperialist policy of domination and *diktat*, the abolition of all vestiges of colonialism and neo-colonialism, independent economic and social development, and the search for peace and international co-operation.

62. It is also very important to point out that our decision to strengthen co-operation between these two organizations takes place when the peoples' will to build and consolidate a climate of *détente*, co-operation and security, to eliminate the hotbeds of tension and war, and to ensure the solving of contemporary political problems in the interests of all nations through the participation of all States in the world on an equal footing, is ever more strongly asserting itself in international life. Romania considers that today, more than ever before, it is imperative to intensify and rally the efforts of democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces for the promotion of the new and unanimously recognized principles of inter-State relations, based on fully equal rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, refraining from the use of force or threat of force, and ensuring the right of each people to develop freely, without any outside interference.

63. The co-operation between the United Nations and OAU serves these purposes. In our opinion, OAU has made and continues to make an important contribution to the recognition and unfailing implementation of those principles in relations among all States of the world, to the abolition of the imperialist policy of force, *diktat* and aggression, and to the establishment of an atmosphere of peace, understanding and co-operation among peoples:

64. Fully supporting further co-operation between the United Nations and OAU, my delegation believes that the draft resolution will receive the widest support of Member States, united by the same feelings of concern regarding the role of our Organization.

65. Mr. CAMPBELL (Australia): The Australian delegation takes this opportunity, very briefly I regret, to reaffirm its interest in and the importance of continued co-operation between the United Nations and OAU. We supported resolution 3066 (XXVIII) at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Since then my delegation has had the opportunity to expand its contacts and its own co-operation with OAU, both within the United Nations and through our diplomatic activities in Africa itself, including the sending of an accredited ambassadorial observer to this year's Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU at Mogadiscio.

66. Here at United Nations Headquarters, as a member of the Special Committee on decolonization, my delegation appreciates the valuable contribution to the United Nations work on decolonization made by the representatives of OAU, and in particular by our friend Mr. Ouattara, Executive Secretary of OAU to the United Nations, by their frequent participation in and assistance to the Special Committee. We have had recent occasion also to observe and, indeed, to respond to the co-operation extended by OAU to the Security Council.

67. Our bilateral co-operation with OAU is illustrated by the decision of my Government to allocate a sum of \$US200,000 in the current financial year for humanitarian aid to African liberation movements recognized by OAU, a further \$US75,000 being provided for specific southern African funds. Preference will be given to aid in kind, such as medical and educational

materials for peaceful purposes, and appropriate channels are being considered in consultation with OAU.

68. For over a decade the links between the United Nations and OAU have been developing steadily. The standing liaison arrangements between the Secretary-General and the relevant Secretariat units, on the one hand, and the Executive Secretary of OAU here at Headquarters, on the other hand, both contribute to and demonstrate this important development. As the Secretary-General points out in his report this year [A/9734], the co-operation between the two organizations has become an essential part of the international effort to translate the ideals of the United Nations Charter into positive reality [see para. 60 above].

69. It is precisely this great contribution to the ideals of human dignity and freedom, and to a world that will be free of colonialism and racism, that my Government prizes so highly in Africa's role in this Organization. We support the continuing priority which is sought for finding urgent solutions to the problems of southern Africa in particular.

70. Even if we do sometimes place a different emphasis on the means, there is no difference between Australian and African delegations as to the end in working for the ultimate freedom of their continent.

71. As one delegation to many, but as one continent to another, we warmly support the co-operation between the African delegations joined in OAU and the United Nations, and we commend the undertakings on both sides to make this closer still in the service of our Charter.

72. Mr. QUARTIN SANTOS (Portugal): The Portuguese delegation would very much like to avail itself of this particular moment to salute OAU and thus renew the tribute already paid by our Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mário Soares, in his address to the General Assembly on 23 September 1974:

"In [the African] continent, where we follow so attentively the co-ordination of interests and efforts through that great regional organization—the Organization of African Unity—there live Portuguese-speaking peoples, who populate new and important countries that can benefit from the maintenance of close ties of co-operation among themselves." [2239th meeting, para. 132.]

73. The efforts carried through by OAU since its very inception in 1963 highly deserve the appreciation of all countries and peoples who struggle for freedom and independence, not only in Africa but also in the whole world.

74. Few organizations in history can be proud of so invaluable and successful a role as OAU. Indeed, much is due to it in the domain of independence and true unity and understanding of African peoples and countries. The noble ideals of the United Nations concerning the implementation of the rights of peoples to independence and self-determination could hardly be enforced without the persistent and enlightened work of OAU.

75. In the specific field of decolonization I want to stress that, pursuant to and in enforcement of the principles guiding the policy of the new Government of Portugal, particular consideration is being given not

only to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and relevant resolutions of its bodies, but also to the will of OAU. Namely, article 6 of the agreement concluded in Algiers on 26 August 1974 between the Portuguese Government and the Partido Africano da Independência de Guiné e Cabo Verde [PAIGC] provides:

"The Portuguese Government reaffirms the right of the people of Cape Verde to self-determination and independence and ensures the implementation of that right, in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, taking also into account the expressed will of the Organization of African Unity."

76. In the light of the concrete steps undertaken by the Portuguese Government in this matter—opening up a new era in the relations with the African continent based on mutual friendship, bilateral understanding and fruitful co-operation—we fervently hope that the same spirit will inform relations between OAU and Portugal.

77. Concerning this subject and referring to the statement made to the General Assembly on 3 December 1974 by the Portuguese Minister for Interterritorial Co-ordination [2305th meeting], in which the latest developments concerning the process of decolonization of the Territories under Portuguese administration were set forth, Mr. Dramane Ouattara, Executive Secretary of OAU to the United Nations, said at the special meeting of the Special Committee held on the same day, and I quote:

"The data provided this morning are so important that they have to be described as historic, and I am sure that the Organization of African Unity, during its next session, will not fail to direct itself to all the aspects and implications of this information and to draw the appropriate conclusions from them. Also, it is a particular pleasure for me, on behalf of the Secretary-General of OAU, to say how happy we are in OAU to see that the new Portuguese Government has decided to bring the process of decolonization to a proper end and to do so as soon as possible.

"We have taken note of the desire expressed by the Portuguese Government to have established, between the Portuguese Government and all the African countries without exception, new relations of fruitful co-operation and mutual understanding. It will, of course, be our pleasant duty to transmit those wishes to the leaders of our organization, and it is our hope that the competent authorities of our organization will not fail to consider them with all the required attention."⁵

78. My delegation is therefore particularly happy to endorse draft resolution A/L.746/Rev.1 and the addendum just introduced by the representative of Somalia regarding co-operation between the United Nations and OAU, bearing in mind especially the most beneficial results that can be derived, in the future as in the past, from that co-operation for the just cause of the self-determination and independence of the whole African continent.

79. Mr. LESSING (German Democratic Republic): On behalf of the group of Socialist Eastern European States, as well as in the name of Cuba and Mongolia,

I should like to express the support of these countries for the draft resolution on co-operation between the United Nations and OAU [A/L.746/Rev.1].

80. As OAU has proved for many years, both within and outside the United Nations, the important achievements in uniting the countries of the African continent and in supporting the liberation movements of countries that have not yet attained their independence, there is no need for me, in addition to statements made by several representatives, to stress the importance of that Organization.

81. Those countries on whose behalf I have the honour to make these remarks have for many years had close ties with OAU and have been able to assist in its important work of aiding the liberation movements.

82. They have also welcomed the positive results in the work of the United Nations through the participation of representatives of the national liberation movements recognized by OAU, and of that organization itself, in the proceedings at the United Nations in an observer capacity.

83. We therefore welcome this draft resolution because it very clearly states the success of such co-operation between the United Nations and OAU. We also support the operative part of draft resolution A/L.746/Rev.1 because it points out more precisely the exact forms such co-operation should take in the future. We would specifically like to underline the importance of operative paragraphs 3, 4 and 6. The countries on whose behalf I am speaking therefore gladly support this draft resolution.

84. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Somalia to introduce the addendum to draft resolution A/L.746/Rev.1.

85. Mr. HUSSEIN (Somalia): As I said before I concluded my statement, I am very sorry that I had no opportunity to contact all the sponsors of this draft resolution. I have studied the draft resolution very carefully, and I think it might be appropriate to include the addendum that I have proposed in document A/L.746/Rev.1/Add.1, after the first preambular paragraph of the draft resolution.

86. What I am suggesting is the mention, in the preamble of the draft resolution, of the resolution adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU at their summit meeting in Mogadiscio, on the item before us. I think it would be improper not to mention that resolution in the preamble to this draft resolution.

87. Mr. ADJIBADÉ (Dahomey) (*interpretation from French*): I apologize for taking the floor at this stage of the debate, but as a sponsor of draft resolution A/L.746/Rev.1, I wished to say that my delegation was not informed about the proposed addendum that has been distributed. We regret the way it was introduced. As a sponsor, we think that when there is an addendum we should be so notified and be able to discuss it. That was not done. If a majority of the sponsors accept the addendum, we cannot but agree; but we should like to say that the way the addendum was introduced was not to our liking, and we hope that this will not recur.

88. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I take it that the Assembly and the sponsors of the draft resolution have taken note of that comment.

89. I call on the representative of Tunisia on a point of order.

90. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): I propose that this draft resolution, which has to some extent been revised, be adopted by consensus, without explanations of vote.

91. Mr. YAGUIBOU (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): I support the proposal made by the representative of Tunisia.

92. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): May I propose to the Assembly that it adopt this draft resolution without a vote?

93. Mr. von UTHMANN (Federal Republic of Germany): My delegation would go along with the consensus but would like nevertheless to explain its position.

94. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): My proposal is quite clear. What I proposed was that we should adopt the draft resolution by consensus and without explanations of vote—without reservations, that is to say. If any delegation wishes to enter reservations, then I should prefer a recorded vote on the draft resolution.

95. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): If I may make a slight modification of the proposal made by the representative of Tunisia, which I hope will be acceptable to members of the Assembly, I propose that we adopt the draft resolution without a vote. Those who wish to explain their votes may do so after its adoption by consensus. This process would not, I think, deny anyone an opportunity to explain his delegation's position, and would be in line with the spirit of the proposal made by the representative of Tunisia.

96. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): If there are no objections, I propose that the Assembly adopt draft resolution A/L.746/Rev.1 and Add.1 by consensus. I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the report of the Fifth Committee [A/9929], which contains the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted by consensus (resolution 3280 (XXIX)).

97. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on representatives who have asked to speak in explanation of vote after the vote.

98. I call on the representative of Tunisia on a point of order.

99. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): We have not had a vote. How can we explain our vote if there has been no vote?

100. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to appeal to the representative of Tunisia. In a spirit of co-operation, we could allow those who have inscribed their names on the list to speak in explanation of vote after the vote to do so, because the adoption of this resolution without a vote was after all a vote.

101. Mr. von UTHMANN (Federal Republic of Germany): My delegation went along with the consensus on the draft resolution, because it has always welcomed the close co-operation between the United Nations and OAU. If the draft resolution had been put

to a vote, however, my delegation would have felt compelled to abstain. The reason for this is that we have serious reservations with regard to the observer status granted in operative paragraph 6 to the liberation movements recognized by OAU. Despite the palliative formulation "in accordance with earlier practice", the status given to the liberation movements by this resolution extends far beyond earlier practice. Together with the draft resolution in document A/C.4/L.1081 [see A/9942, paras. 8-10], concerning the specialized agencies, which was adopted by the Fourth Committee a few days ago, it accords to the liberation movements almost full observer status in the United Nations.

102. The Federal Republic of Germany does not fail to appreciate the importance of the liberation movements for the decolonization of the still dependent Territories, which it desires as much as all the other Governments represented here. However, it is of the opinion that the liberation movements cannot be granted any rights beyond those to which they are entitled under international law. We should not forget that our Organization, in its main structure, is an organization of States. Its Members are States, and it should in principle deal with States or other organizations or associations of States—that is, with intergovernmental organizations. The institution of observer, which is not foreseen by the Charter of the United Nations, is a practical means of bringing closer to the world Organization States which have not yet become members of the United Nations.

103. We are aware of the fact that it may be appropriate to bring certain organizations which are not intergovernmental organizations into closer contact with activities normally reserved to States. International conferences on specific topics of a more technical character provide examples where participation of representatives of such organizations may prove useful to a certain extent.

104. We are of the opinion, however, that movements such as the liberation movements recognized by OAU should be associated with the work of government representatives only in exceptional cases and, in principle, on an *ad hoc* basis, as in the past. With regard to international conferences, and in particular those under the auspices of the United Nations, we believe that the question of participation should be decided in each individual case.

105. Mr. DAUNT (United Kingdom): My delegation was content to join in the consensus just adopted. My Government welcomes co-operation between the United Nations and regional organizations, and we hope there will continue to be constructive results from co-operation between the United Nations and OAU. I must, however, record that my delegation has reservations about certain points in the draft resolution just adopted.

106. With regard to operative paragraph 3, the remarks made by my delegation in explanation of its vote on the same paragraph of resolution 3066 (XXVIII) still apply.⁶ My delegation remains firmly in favour of close co-operation with OAU in the work of the Security Council committee on sanctions. Such co-operation has been undertaken in accordance with the constitution and the normal practice of the Security Council and the committee. We assume that action

under operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution will continue to be taken on the same basis.

107. As regards the new elements in the draft resolution, contained in operative paragraphs 6 and 7, the views of my delegation have already been put on record when the question of participation by the various movements in the work of the Special Political Committee and the Fourth Committee was discussed. My Government welcomes the presence of relevant representatives as contributing to a more knowledgeable discussion in those Committees of the Territories in question. This is without prejudice to my delegation's views on the status and character of the various movements in the individual Territories concerned.

108. Mr. TALLARIGO (Italy): We intended to vote in favour if there had been a vote on draft resolution A/L.746/Rev.1 and Add.1. We are therefore happy to have been able to join in the consensus.

109. We fully share the view that it is very important indeed that co-operation between the United Nations and OAU should be further developed and intensified in accordance with relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

110. We trust in the regional organization of the African countries as a factor of political and economic co-ordination with a role to play both in the internal African sphere and in the field of the external projection of the African States, with all of which Italy has friendly and fruitful bilateral relations.

111. We should like here to explain also our position with regard to operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution, which refers to liberation movements recognized by OAU. Our policy with regard to the liberation movements and their relations with the United Nations is very clear, and on previous occasions we have already had the opportunity to state it in plenary meeting. Our position is dictated by our conviction that this Organization is an organization of States, but indeed we feel that whenever it appears that the presence of a specific liberation movement may be helpful to a particular debate we should welcome its participation as an observer.

112. In the case of liberation movements recognized by OAU, we feel that their presence may be useful in the work of the Main Committees and in other forums whenever the matter under discussion is relevant, in accordance with earlier practice and with a view to obtaining their positive co-operation for the implementation of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

113. Mr. GUILHEM de LATAILLADE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Wishing to respond to the appeal of the Tunisian representative, we should like to explain not our vote but rather our position.

114. The Assembly will remember that at the twenty-eighth session the delegation of France voted in favour of the resolution on co-operation between the United Nations and OAU [resolution 3066 (XXVIII)]. We confined ourselves to indicating that our vote on that resolution did not mean that we agreed to any changes in the normal rules of procedure governing relations between the General Assembly and the various United Nations bodies and other organizations.⁷ If this draft resolution had been the same as the one we voted on

last year, we could have again voted in favour, while again offering our interpretation of the resolution. But this year's draft resolution contains some important changes, in operative paragraphs 6 and 7, concerning the participation of liberation movements in the work of the Main Committees of the General Assembly and in conferences, seminars and other meetings. We are not unaware that such participation may in certain cases represent a useful contribution to our work. However, since it is a question of institutionalizing a *de facto* situation about which we have always had reservations, if there had been a vote on the draft resolution we should have abstained.

115. Mr. TAKASUGI (Japan): My delegation agreed to the adoption by consensus of draft resolution A/L.746/Rev.1 and Add.1 on the understanding that operative paragraph 6 would not be construed as approval of a wider representation of the national liberation movements than what is in accordance with the present practice, as explained by the representatives of Somalia and the United Republic of Tanzania.

116. My delegation believes that the participation of the national liberation movements as observers in the relevant work of the Main Committees and the subsidiary organs of the General Assembly, as well as in international conferences held under the auspices of the United Nations, when the questions are related to their respective territories, will facilitate the work of those committees and conferences. On the aforesaid understanding, my delegation welcomes their participation.

117. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): When I asked that the Assembly take a decision by consensus and without explanations of vote, I wanted to avoid having delegations that have explained their position doing so again, because that position as expressed here is anachronistic and cannot be described as sympathetic towards OAU.

118. A few years ago an effort was made to prevent Amílcar Cabral from speaking; today Guinea-Bissau is a Member of our Organization with full rights. Today reservations are being made, but I think the spirit is the same and it is precisely this spirit that should give way to one of greater comprehension. These delegations or these countries should understand that the world is changing, and that it is far better for our cooperation, that these attitudes should change too, for the participation of liberation movements is not directed against anyone. When I tried to prevent too great an exposure of the positions of delegations, my only desire was to preserve this spirit of cooperation.

119. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I suppose the representative of Tunisia spoke on behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution; but as President I could not prevent those who wished to make statements after the vote from doing so. It is better to have positions stated so that there is no misunderstanding.

AGENDA ITEM 23

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

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

120. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): First I should like to pay a tribute to you, Mr. President. You have presided over our work with a great deal of tact.

121. In contrast to its consideration of the item in previous years, the General Assembly is today considering the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [A/9623/Rev.1] in a new spirit, which reflects certain fortunate changes in the situation in Territories still under colonial domination. The tension that prevailed at previous sessions has given way to a slightly more relaxed atmosphere.

122. The process of decolonization in the year 1974 has been marked by a series of victories, which undoubtedly are ushering in a new era, namely, that of respect for the right of all peoples of the world to self-determination and independence. The new situation now prevailing in southern Africa strikingly confirms the justice of our struggle and the wisdom of the action undertaken by peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples to banish colonialism forever. However, as long as all Territories have not acceded to complete and permanent independence, the United Nations still has an important role to play in this field.

123. The changes, which we are happy to note, necessitate an adaptation of our strategy with regard to the problems of decolonization, an adaptation that is the consequence of the dynamic process in evidence in decolonization in Africa.

124. On 25 April 1974, the entire world learned with relief of the advent of a new régime in Portugal. The elimination of the old reactionary Government of Caetano and the establishment in Lisbon of a new Government enjoying the support of the Portuguese people enabled Portugal to turn its back on a tragic and bloody past. The new Portuguese Government, in resolutely committing itself to an irreversible process of decolonization, has given proof of its courage and good faith. It is sufficient to refer to the general debate of this session to realize how justly the international community has appreciated the high ideals and political courage of the Portuguese leaders in giving a new direction to the policy of their country.

125. Tunisia was one of the first to believe in and subscribe to that policy. My Government, taking account of the fact that the new régime repudiates the senseless policy of its predecessor and has committed itself clear-sightedly and with realism to decolonization, did not hesitate to re-establish diplomatic relations with Portugal. Our attitude was both a proof of confidence and an act of encouragement. We are happy to state today that Portugal has to a very large extent respected its commitments.

126. The noteworthy achievements recorded up to now would have been impossible without the friendly and frank collaboration of the parties concerned. I am pleased to pay tribute to the political maturity

* Resumed from the 2310th meeting.

and the acumen of the liberation movements, which have been able to engage in frank and fruitful dialogue with their new Portuguese friends. Tunisia, which has always supported the legitimate struggle of our African brothers and has never missed an opportunity to advocate dialogue and negotiation, welcomes this new development.

127. Today, Guinea-Bissau has acceded to independence. In Mozambique, a provisional Government is preparing the country for accession to independence on 25 June 1975. In Sao Tome and Principe, an agreement has just been signed envisaging accession of this Territory to independence on 12 July 1975. As regards the Cape Verde Islands, talks are under way between PAIGC and the Portuguese Government. My delegation expresses the hope that the two parties will, in the very near future, manage to reach a final solution in accordance with the principles of resolution 1514 (XV). In Angola, the process of decolonization has made distinct progress. A cease-fire has been decreed throughout the territory. Intensive negotiations are taking place between the liberation movements and the Portuguese Government.

128. My delegation is happy that the meeting which took place at Tunis a few weeks ago between Mr. Soares, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal, and Mr. Eduardo, the officer responsible for external relations in the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola [FNLA], has begun to produce results.

129. My delegation notes the recent statement of Mr. de Almeida Santos, Minister of Interterritorial Co-ordination of Portugal [2305th meeting], to the effect that the next stage will be that of the constitution of a provisional government which will permit the accession of Angola to independence in the course of 1975.

130. At the beginning of my statement I was at pains to highlight the role of our Organization in the field of decolonization. I also stated that our strategy needed to be readapted to suit the recent developments in this process. In applying its new policy, Portugal has stepped back into line with the principles of our Charter. Tunisia believes that it is the duty of the international community to support the Portuguese Government in its new policy. As the process of decolonization is at a very advanced stage, it is recommended that all international organizations, particularly the specialized agencies, should as of now accord the necessary aid and assistance to the newly independent countries for the implementation of their economic, social and cultural programmes of reconstruction and development. It was with this aim that the Tunisian delegation participated in the drafting of the two draft resolutions adopted in the Second Committee on this subject [see A/9886/Add.1].

131. Furthermore, the Tunisian delegation believes that it has become anachronistic to continue to impose on the new Portugal the sanctions that were imposed on the old Portuguese régime. Already, in the debate in the Fourth Committee, Tunisia has asked that the embargo and other sanctions against Portugal should be lifted. The decision to refuse to allow Portugal to collaborate with the specialized agencies of the United Nations is in our view completely out of date. We make an appeal for the unanimous adoption of the recommendation of the Special Committee contained in

paragraph 7 of the draft resolution in document A/AC.109/471.

132. Almost a decade has elapsed since the tragic day when the white minority of Southern Rhodesia usurped power in order to continue its oppression of the African population and to profit from the shameful exploitation of its wealth. Since then, various United Nations bodies have condemned this pseudo-independence. The General Assembly and the Security Council have affirmed, on several occasions, the right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination, freedom and independence. The liberation movements of Zimbabwe are recognized as being the sole authentic representatives of the people of this brother country. The Security Council, furthermore, decided on sanctions against the illegal racist régime of Ian Smith. Throughout this process, Tunisia has made it its duty to support the legitimate claims of the people of Zimbabwe. This attitude stems from our dedication to the principles of the Charter and our total support for the peoples which are striving for independence and for respect for human dignity.

133. Today, we are witnessing a rapid evolution in the situation in Southern Rhodesia. The interdependence of events in southern Africa is such that the independence of the former Portuguese colonies must of necessity have an impact on the situation in Southern Rhodesia and elsewhere. It is undeniable that the lightening of the colonial burden in Mozambique and in Angola will for that very reason intensify the pressure on the illegal régime of Ian Smith. In this respect, we welcome the recent agreement signed at Lusaka between the three liberation movements of Zimbabwe. The unity of those three movements, formally recognized a few days ago, ushers in a new era in Zimbabwe. We sincerely congratulate the leaders of the Zimbabwe African National Union [ZANU], the Zimbabwe African People's Union [ZAPU] and the African National Congress [ANC] on the historic task they have just accomplished in working for the liberation of their country and, at the same time, we pay tribute to the heads of neighbouring States who promoted this understanding. Despite the suffering endured by the people of Zimbabwe, despite the senseless and reprehensible policy of the régime of Ian Smith, we believe that, as was the case in the former Portuguese colonies, a peaceful solution is still possible in Zimbabwe.

134. We note with satisfaction that, in accordance with the Lusaka agreement, the liberation movements are prepared to participate in a constitutional conference which will ensure the transfer of power to the African majority of the Territory. The United Kingdom, as administering Power, certainly has a special responsibility to bear and an important role to play in this field.

135. The Tunisian delegation expresses the hope that the white minority of Southern Rhodesia will finally heed the voice of reason and respond without delaying tactics to the legitimate aspirations of our brother people of Zimbabwe.

136. As regards Namibia, the international community is witnessing a rapid deterioration in the situation in that Territory. Since the General Assembly terminated the mandate of South Africa, the United Nations has been unable to implement the decisions

that it has adopted to support and to put into effect the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, nor has it been able to put an end to the illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia.

137. The report of the Special Committee indicates that South Africa is pursuing racist policies in Namibia in defiance of all the principles of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. The creation of "homelands", the stepping-up of mass arrests and the repression of the Namibian people call for energetic action on the part of our Organization. In the light of these developments and of the flagrant contempt that South Africa still manifests towards the United Nations, the Special Committee has expressed the hope that the Security Council will urgently envisage the adoption of effective measures compelling South Africa to withdraw immediately from the Territory. Once again, we appeal to the Security Council to examine the situation in Namibia once more, and to take any measures that could put an end to colonial domination exercised by South Africa in Namibia.

138. I should like at this time to pay a tribute to the Namibian people, and particularly to the militants of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], for their courageous attitude in the face of the brutal repression by the racists of Africa, and for the heroic struggle they are waging for the liberation of their country. I reaffirm the total support of the Government and peoples of Tunisia in their fight for the complete independence of Namibia.

139. The Territories of southern Africa to which I have just referred are not the only ones still suffering from colonialism. A large number of Territories that are more or less important, in terms either of size or of population, are still under the yoke of colonialism. The international community should give them all the necessary attention. We believe that the principles of self-determination and independence are applicable to all peoples, irrespective of the size of their Territory or the number of inhabitants. We appeal to all the administering Powers to accelerate the process of decolonization in these Territories and to help the peoples there to accede rapidly to independence. In this connexion, my delegation would like to congratulate the Governments of Australia and New Zealand particularly on their sustained efforts to facilitate the accession to independence of the Territories they are administering.

140. Before concluding, I should like to pay a tribute to the Special Committee for the work it has done in a year marked by felicitous developments in decolonization in the world. In 1974 there were some historic events confirming the success of the efforts made by the Organization in the sphere of decolonization. Long before—and, above all, since the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) in 1960—many resolutions were adopted by the General Assembly. They were criticized and ignored by some. The information media neglected these recommendations because of the hostile attitude of the colonizing countries and their allies, which went so far as to cease to participate in the Special Committee, thus encouraging intransigence and the hardening of positions. But these resolutions none the less had an impact and helped to transform the world by unleashing new forces of progress.

141. The action for decolonization, which reached its culmination this year; must be continued relentlessly. After the collapse of the Caetano régime and the liberation of the Portuguese colonies, those who doubted that the world was marching towards freedom must admit that these changes have taken place and must lend their effective and proper co-operation to the liquidation of the last vestiges of colonialism, so that the final pages of the history of colonization can be turned and the era of co-operation can begin—that co-operation for which the United Nations was created.

142. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The debate now taking place confirms once again the legitimacy of the concern felt by the overwhelming majority of Member States regarding the development of the process of decolonization and the persistence of the colonial system in southern Africa and other parts of the world.

143. In the same context, I should like to express the concerns of the Romanian people and of my Government, which, in the spirit of their own traditions of struggling for freedom and for national and social justice, have resolutely supported the struggle of peoples for freedom and independence and have come out firmly against colonialism and neo-colonialism, against all forms of domination and *diktat*.

144. Romania has firmly supported and continues firmly to support the right of peoples to self-determination and independence, to a free existence without any external interference. The Romanian people are giving active, multilateral support to the liberation movements, to the peoples committed to the struggle to attain and strengthen their national independence.

145. Romania's activities in this field have taken practical form in the unprecedented intensification of Romania's relations of militant solidarity with the national liberation movements, and in the firm support given to the legitimate struggle waged by those movements. In recent years, Romania has been visited by 28 delegations of national liberation movements, with which it has drawn up important documents marking the recognition, for the first time, of these movements as the legitimate representatives of their peoples.

146. The Romanian people will continue—in accordance with the programme of the Romanian Communist Party recently adopted by the Eleventh Congress of the Party—firmly to promote this policy of support of and active solidarity with the struggle of peoples for freedom and independence, for the final elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism.

147. We have noted with satisfaction the important changes that have taken place recently in the process of the final elimination of the vestiges of the colonial system. Together with other peoples, the people of Romania have warmly greeted the first independent Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the creation of the transitional Government prior to the complete independence of Mozambique, led by the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO], the progress achieved in the negotiations now going on between Portugal and the national liberation movements of Sao Tome and Principe, of Angola and of the Cape Verde Islands. My colleague, the represen-

tative of Tunisia, has already spoken on this subject, and I therefore need not expatiate on it myself.

148. From the very outset Romania has demonstrated its solidarity with the victory of the revolutionary people's forces and the armed forces of Portugal which overthrew the fascist dictatorship, and has expressed the hope that, in the democratic development of the country, particular attention will be paid to the final elimination of the colonialist policy, to ensuring that the peoples of the colonies will have the right to develop independently and to establishing new relations with those countries, relations based on equality, mutual respect and democratic co-operation. That is why we hailed the statements of the new Government of Portugal renouncing the colonialist policy of the former Governments and indicating that it would co-operate with the United Nations with a view to discharging its obligations under the Charter.

149. The Romanian delegation very much appreciates the outstanding historical successes won by the national liberation movements of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and the other Territories under Portuguese administration, opening the way to the political, economic, social and cultural prosperity of their peoples.

150. As the President of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, stated recently:

“The national liberation movements of Africa have recently scored major successes in the achievement of their independence. These victories are the result of the long struggle waged by these movements, to which Romania has always given active, multilateral, political and diplomatic support. The victory was also made possible by the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship of Portugal and by the establishment in that country of a democratic government, which has committed itself to a comprehensive settlement of the colonial problem.”

151. Such successes clearly prove the irreversible nature of the struggle for freedom and independence. Our debates and the report of the Special Committee bring out another aspect of the evolution in the sphere of decolonization. The maintenance by force and *diktat* of the colonial system in certain Territories, in our time the modern era, with its adverse effects both on the peoples of the colonies and on international relations, is an anachronism which can no longer be tolerated by the international community. The forcible deprivation of the colonial peoples of their right to self-determination and independence is highly damaging to international peace and security and profoundly affects the interests of all peoples.

152. Side by side with the accelerating process of decolonization supported by the United Nations, we are witnessing an intensification of colonial structures in Namibia and Zimbabwe, including the extension to those Territories of the policies of *apartheid*, their territorial division into “bantustans”, and the strengthening of the military presence and the administration of the illegal Pretoria régime in Namibia.

153. The Pretoria minority régime refuses to withdraw its illegal presence from Namibia, and its policy towards that Territory is directed against the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, with, of course, annexationist ambitions. At the same time, South Africa is giving the illegal minority régime of

Salisbury substantial military support in order to suppress the national liberation struggle of the Zimbabwe people.

154. The Romanian delegation is of the view that the United Nations must adopt new measures that can eradicate without delay the vestiges of colonialism, so that the peoples of these Territories may become masters of their own destiny and devote themselves to the peaceful reconstruction of their countries. My delegation appreciates the important role that the United Nations continues to play in supporting this struggle for freedom and independence of peoples, and its close co-operation with OAU in this noble undertaking.

155. The activities of the Special Committee and of the United Nations Council for Namibia, of which my country is also a member, in carrying out the work entrusted to them by the General Assembly, deserve the appreciation and support of the General Assembly, in the future also.

156. We believe that the United Nations must go beyond the stage of condemning the illegal seizure of power by the Salisbury régime, and take firm measures to bring about the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the whole administration and all the armed forces of South Africa from Namibia, the expulsion of the South African troops from Southern Rhodesia, and compliance with the sanctions imposed on those minority racist régimes. It is in this direction, we believe, that the efforts of States in the United Nations should be directed. At the same time, we believe that the specialized agencies must refrain from giving any economic, financial or technical support to the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury, as long as those régimes continue to oppose the independence of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe.

157. In various Assembly committees, the representatives of the national liberation movements who have taken part as observers have resolutely urged the adoption of energetic measures to secure support for the respect of the rights of peoples to freedom. They have stressed this year also that the major obstacles to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV), on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, are foreign economic and other interests that still exploit the national riches of those Territories, and also the support that the racist régimes receive from certain Member States. Here, too, we feel that the United Nations and the international community must play a more active role.

158. Romania considers that in order to attain the objective of the complete elimination of the phenomenon of colonialism, it is particularly important and urgent that efforts be redoubled to secure broad international recognition of the national liberation movements, to ensure the participation of their representatives in all United Nations activities in which these movements indicate interest, to extend their status as observers, and to give them appropriate permanent status in the United Nations.

159. We share the view, stated here, that there is need for a further appeal to the specialized agencies to show themselves more flexible in interpreting their statutes and rules of procedure, so as to allow representatives of national liberation movements recognized

by OAU to take part as observers in debates on problems of concern to them.

160. The Romanian delegation feels that such measures are fully in keeping with the principles and rules of contemporary international law to the effect that peoples under colonial rule have the right to decide their destiny themselves; and they are also entitled to receive political, material and humanitarian support from States and international organizations in their national independence struggle. We reaffirm the truth that it is inadmissible to discuss the future of a people without the direct participation of its legitimate representatives in such discussions.

161. Peoples under colonial rule, as well as peoples recently liberated, are entitled to more resolute support from the United Nations and the specialized agencies. These agencies must be called on to prepare specific programmes for economic, medical, cultural, training and other assistance, and to implement these programmes for the benefit of the peoples and the liberation movements of southern Africa.

162. I should like to conclude by reaffirming our solidarity with peoples fighting for national liberation and unity and for their social emancipation. Romania strongly urges the strict and urgent implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*], and all United Nations resolutions on decolonization. Romania supports the adoption of new measures to enhance the role and effectiveness of the United Nations in this area of our concern.

163. Mr. SIDIK (Indonesia): This year marks the fourteenth anniversary of the General Assembly's adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. As such, it seems an appropriate time to reflect upon the role the United Nations has played in the global decolonization process during this period, and to consider the implications of its successes and its setbacks for the future.

164. Since the Assembly last examined this question, considerable progress in the fight against colonialism has been achieved on many fronts throughout the world. Perhaps the most notable of these successes has been the progress towards decolonization that has recently been made in the Portuguese Territories. A year ago, at this time, the General Assembly found it necessary in its resolution 3113 (XXVIII), paragraph 3, to condemn "the intensified armed repression by Portugal of the peoples of the Territories under its domination". Today, however, we have seated among us the representatives of one of those former Territories, the independent State of Guinea-Bissau, and at the 2305th meeting of the Assembly we heard the Portuguese Minister of Interterritorial Co-ordination, Mr. de Almeida Santos, declare that Portugal was fully committed to decolonization of the remaining Territories in accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter and the various relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

165. Much of the credit for that gratifying reversal of events must, of course, go to the gallant forces of the liberation movements within each of the Territories

in question and to those democratic ones within Portugal itself. In addition, however; it must also be acknowledged that the United Nations itself has played an important role in promoting the advance of the Portuguese Territories and other dependent Territories to the point at which they have been or soon will be able to exercise their right of self-determination. This contribution by the United Nations has been made on many fronts, but two in particular have been of importance in advancing the decolonization process.

166. The first of those contributions is to be found in the way in which the various resolutions adopted by the United Nations, particularly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), established the framework of principles within which the decolonization process could best take place throughout the world. The twelve principles contained in the annex to resolution 1541 (XV) have served both as a guide to administering Powers as to their duties and as a gauge by which the progress towards self-determination of the Territories under their administration could be judged, both by their indigenous inhabitants and by the international community at large. The General Assembly, particularly through the work of the Special Committee and that of the Fourth Committee, has kept a careful watch on the progress of the various Territories towards the exercise of their inalienable right, and has frequently been able to contribute to their well-being through its suggestions.

167. In addition to performing that function of guidance, the United Nations has also been able to assist the dependent peoples by disseminating information throughout the world concerning the conditions in which they live and their development—or lack of it—towards full-fledged membership in the international community. That policy of the dissemination of information concerning the Territories has contributed to the well-being of their inhabitants, first by arousing the interest of the world's peoples in their plight and, later, by encouraging the support of other nations for their efforts to exercise the rights guaranteed to them by the Charter. The success of the United Nations in disseminating such information has been greatly enhanced by the co-operation it has received from the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, as well as from other international governmental and non-governmental agencies that also seek to eradicate colonialism and racialism.

168. The promotion of peace and justice in every Territory has been an essential part of United Nations efforts in the field of decolonization, as envisaged in resolution 1514 (XV). Unfortunately, it must be admitted that there are still areas in which the dominant Powers refuse to recognize that fact. In South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia, for example, the failure of the white minority régimes to act in accordance with the principles enunciated in the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations has gravely endangered international peace and security and even threatened to engulf the continent in war. The refusal of those régimes to surrender control of Namibia to the United Nations, in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice,⁸ is, as we all know, but one of many refusals

to comply with the will of the international community. The continuing imposition of the odious practice of *apartheid* upon the black majorities in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa has equally led to serious repression in those areas.

169. We may hope, however, that recent developments in the neighbouring Portuguese Territories of Angola and Mozambique will convince the leaders of the white minority régimes of the futility of continuing on their present course of action. As the Secretary-General has noted in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, these changes have thrown into sharp relief [A/9601/Add.1, sect. IX, p. 6] the whole problem of *apartheid* and the continuance of the régimes which support it.

170. Realizing this, the leaders of those societies may well be induced to abandon those practices which have earned them the condemnation of the international community. Indeed, recent news reports suggest that negotiations may already be under way to achieve a peaceful solution acceptable to the parties concerned. Though tangible results may not be achieved at the first contact, the fact that communication has been established among the parties concerned represents, in the view of my delegation, a significant step. It is our fervent hope that sustained communication among them to explore ways and means of arriving at a mutually acceptable solution will, in the not-too-distant future, lead to the desired objective.

171. The struggle of Guinea-Bissau to attain independence is an excellent example of the process by which a determined people, led by a valiant force of freedom-fighters, can establish an independent State in accordance with the principles of justice and equality. Owing to the attitude of the Portuguese Government of the time, recognition was won only at the cost of armed struggle. Although the late Mr. Amílcar Cabral, the leader of PAIGC, was prepared to seek a solution through peaceful means, his overtures were rejected and the people of Guinea-Bissau were forced to pursue a long and costly armed struggle before they finally attained their independence. In the view of my delegation, the initial attempt by PAIGC to achieve a peaceful solution to the problem was a laudable one, for although we do not shy away from the use of all available means in order to exercise the right of self-determination and independence, as our own struggle for independence amply demonstrated, we feel that every peaceful avenue should be explored before recourse is had to armed struggle in such cases. In that way, as much human suffering and bloodshed as possible may be spared and a people may speedily devote itself to its primary task of constructing a just and peaceful society in its independent State.

172. The other Portuguese Territories are now well on the way to exercising their right of self-determination. In many cases the date for independence has already been set. My delegation is convinced that, with the promised close co-operation of the Portuguese Government, the emergence of an independent Angola, Sao Tome and Principe, and Cape Verde, in accordance with the wishes of their peoples, will shortly be an accomplished fact.

173. That is indeed a gratifying development, but it must not blind us to the fact that the newly indepen-

dent nations will require the aid of the international community as they continue to build their new societies. In his statement at the 989th meeting of the Special Committee, Mr. de Almeida Santos elaborated those needs, particularly as they concerned Mozambique and Cape Verde. As independent States each will require considerable assistance in the near future. For its part, Indonesia stands ready to provide all such aid as may lie within its capacity to these countries.

174. As the Chairman of the Special Committee observed in his address at the 2305th meeting of the General Assembly, the United Nations itself has played a significant role in the events which now promise to make self-determination a reality in all the former Portuguese Territories. The extension of United Nations assistance to the peoples of the Territories has been important, as have the actions of the specialized agencies and other governmental and non-governmental international agencies in rallying international public opinion to the side of the liberation forces.

175. The past year has also seen progress made in advancing decolonization in the small colonial Territories, most of which are outside southern Africa. Both Niue and Papua New Guinea, under the administration of New Zealand and Australia, respectively, have made most significant progress towards self-determination. Indeed, the people of Niue have formally exercised that right during the past year, while the people of Papua New Guinea expect to achieve full independence in the near future. The co-operation of the two administering Powers with the United Nations in those cases indeed deserves the commendation of the international community. By their co-operation, the progress of the two Territories towards self-determination was certainly accelerated.

176. The decision of the United Kingdom to resume its participation in the work of the Special Committee is also a source of satisfaction to my delegation. We hope that the demonstrated fruits of this policy of co-operation between the United Nations and various administering Powers will convince those Powers which still do not co-operate with the Special Committee that the sole interest of the United Nations in these matters is to ensure the well-being of the people in these Territories. In that light, there surely can be no impediment to full co-operation between all administering Powers and our Organization.

177. One of the most fruitful forms that such co-operation can take is that of an invitation for a United Nations visiting mission to inspect first-hand the progress made by a given Territory towards self-determination. In past years, visiting missions have on many occasions had the opportunity to demonstrate their usefulness both to the inhabitants of the Territories and to the administering Powers. Visiting missions to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, to Niue and to the Cocos (Keeling) Islands—on which latter mission Indonesia had the honour of serving—have contributed to the results achieved in those Territories during the past year.

178. It would seem justified to conclude that the past year has seen the achievement of substantial accomplishments in the field of decolonization, both in southern Africa and throughout the world. This

should not, however, be a cause for self-congratulation or complacency, but rather should serve as a spur to even greater effort in the coming year on the part of the United Nations and all the members of the international community. In the face of such a united effort, the last bastions of colonialism and racialism, already weakened, will surely give way, and we will finally be able to look upon a world from which both have been eradicated.

179. Mr. MARTYNEKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The discussion of this question is now taking place under new conditions, markedly different from conditions of a year ago at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. In this respect, my delegation takes satisfaction in associating itself with the remarks by the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Salim, when he said that 1974 would go down in history as the most important milestone on the road to decolonization. Events of great importance have taken place during the past year, as a result of which yet another step has been taken towards the final liquidation of the imperialist system of colonialism.

180. Under the leadership of the patriotic, revolutionary democratic organizations—FRELIMO, PAIGC and FNLA—that are marching in the vanguard of the liberation struggle of the peoples of the colonies, the African patriots of those countries struck severe blows at Portuguese colonialism. On 25 April 1974, the fascist régime in Portugal fell, and with it the centuries-old Portuguese colonial empire.

181. This important victory was realized, thanks both to the growth of the anti-imperialist movement in Portugal and to the heroic anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, armed struggle of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies, as well as to the powerful movement of solidarity with that struggle on the part of all progressive forces of the world and of independent Africa.

182. As a result of the successes of the national liberation struggle of peoples in Africa against imperialism and colonialism and also in view of Portugal's recognition of the right of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola to independence, favourable conditions are taking shape for the final liberation of the peoples of those countries from colonialism. The development of those favourable conditions is being speeded by the widening and deepening process of international *détente* and the assumption of relations of mutually advantageous co-operation between countries with different social systems.

183. The easing of international tension is opening up new prospects to the United Nations also for the complete implementation of its decision on the elimination of the remnants of colonialism.

184. An important external factor in ensuring the success of the national liberation movements has been the continuous support for the anti-colonial struggle of the African peoples given by the socialist countries, in particular the Soviet Union, which initiated the adoption by the United Nations of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

185. That historic Declaration, adopted 14 years ago, has played a tremendous role in bringing freedom to

many colonial peoples. During all those years, the overwhelming majority of the United Nations membership has struggled tirelessly for the final liquidation of colonialism and for the full implementation of the Declaration which is the charter of the freedom and independence of peoples.

186. We are pleased with the successes achieved by the liberated peoples. Their anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist activities are in the interests of all those who are fighting against colonialism and racism and for the exercise by all of the inalienable right to freedom and independence. The national liberation forces are now among the principal elements of worldwide anti-imperialist movements.

187. However, we are not able to overlook the fact that the process of decolonization has not yet been concluded and that the colonialists and their protectors, as in the past, do not wish to yield their positions and are attempting in every manner to block the process of final liquidation of the shameful system of colonialism. At present the imperialist circles have not given up hope of establishing artificial barriers to decolonization and have selected as their instrument the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

188. The racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury remain the principal bulwark of imperialism and colonialism in Africa. The illegal régime of the white minority in Southern Rhodesia, in strengthening its ties with the racists of South Africa, and relying upon the direct or indirect support of certain Western Powers, continues to deny to the indigenous inhabitants their right to self-determination, and is continuing to exercise further repression against the people of Zimbabwe. But the people of Zimbabwe, in spite of all the repression, murder and intimidation, is firmly resolved to acquire its freedom and independence, and the duty of the United Nations is to assist this people in achieving the freedom that it has long suffered for.

189. The General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted a rather large number of resolutions and decisions aimed at solving the Southern Rhodesian problem. Of great importance is the decision of the Security Council concerning the application of sanctions [*resolution 253 (1968)*] in regard to the illegal régime of Ian Smith. However, support on the part of certain Western Powers and, in the first instance, on the part of the leading members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*], hampers the ultimate liquidation of colonialism and racism and makes difficult the implementation of the relevant recommendations of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

190. The Western Powers continue to utilize the colonial Territories for the deployment of military bases and for other military and political purposes. In their plans, the Portuguese colonies, for example, have always been given the role of springboard for the struggle against independent Africa and against the national liberation movements, not only in southern Africa but in the continent as a whole. There is no doubt whatsoever that such actions on the part of the NATO countries run counter to the interests of the peoples in the colonies and constitute a threat to peace

and security on the African continent and in other parts of the world.

191. We have frequently emphasized and continue to emphasize the lawful nature of the struggle of the people of Namibia against the illegal occupation of their territory by South Africa. The Pretoria régime is obdurate in its attempts at all costs to maintain racial and colonial systems in Namibia and is continuing to extend upon that Territory the criminal policy of *apartheid*, which has been condemned by all of progressive mankind. And it is with a feeling of profound indignation that we once again have to observe that in this respect South Africa is receiving assistance and economic and military support from the monopolistic circles of the NATO countries. As a result of that support, South Africa is not complying with the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, is continuing to flout the will of the people of Namibia, and is continuing a practice of intimidation and military interference in the internal affairs of the young African States.

192. Today, discussing the question concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we cannot but voice our decisive condemnation of the military actions on the part of the racist régimes against the national liberation movements and against the young independent States, which are assisting the peoples of colonial Territories fighting for their freedom and independence.

193. One of the important obstacles in the way of colonial Territories moving towards freedom and national independence is the activity of foreign monopolies in the colonies. Many of them are closely cooperating with colonial and racist régimes. Foreign monopolies, which have set themselves up in southern Africa, are extracting fabulous profits as a result of the cruel exploitation of the indigenous population of that region. The report of the Special Committee [A/9623/Rev.1], on the basis of enormous factual material, has clearly and convincingly demonstrated the criminal nature of the activities of foreign economic and other circles, which, as has been justly emphasized in the report, are aimed at the repression of the national liberation movements and are being carried out to the detriment of the interests of the peoples of colonial Territories. In this connexion, as is pointed out in that same report:

“... Namibia can be considered as the ‘most exploited Territory in history’, because at least one third of its gross national product is exported as profits by foreign mining companies.” [*Ibid.*, chap. IV, annex, appendix IV, para. 7.]

And of course the principal exploiters of the people of Namibia, apart from South Africa, are the foreign monopolies. Perhaps that is why three permanent members of the Security Council have come forward in support of the racist régime of South Africa during the recent discussion in the Security Council on the question of the credentials of that régime.

194. In spite of the extensive successes achieved in the ultimate liquidation of colonialism, there are still scores of colonial territories in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans, as well as the Caribbean region. In those territories there is cruel exploitation and

oppression of the indigenous population. We frequently hear statements by representatives of the Administering Authority that those territories allegedly are small in their size and in their population, that they are economically underdeveloped and that therefore they cannot yet embark upon the course of self-managing and independent development. None of those arguments can serve as obstacles to the granting to those peoples of the right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration on decolonization.

195. Given the continuing easing in international tension, there are fewer possibilities for imperialist circles to exert their influence upon current events in the interests of reaction. The balance of forces in the international arena is constantly moving towards those of peace and progress and the consolidation of these forces, of the unified front of the national liberation forces with all progressive forces in the world, is a firm guarantee of the triumph of the ideals of freedom, independence and social progress, for which the peoples of colonial Territories are fighting.

196. The Ukrainian SSR, together with the other socialist countries, is conducting an active and consistent policy of all-round support to the peoples who are fighting against colonialism, racial oppression and *apartheid*. We have always been and shall continue to be strongly in favour of the granting of freedom and independence to all colonial countries and peoples, in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the historic Declaration, without any qualifications or reservations. In this connexion, we proceed also from the need for a total implementation of the decisions of the United Nations concerning the liquidation of the remaining colonial régimes, and on the general condemnation and boycotting of the manifestations of racism and *apartheid*.

197. The Ukrainian SSR has systematically and steadfastly been, and will continue to be, in the United Nations and outside it, a supporter of the just demands of the peoples of the colonies concerning the guaranteeing of their rights to independence and self-determination. We are ready to support any effective measures aimed at the liquidation of the remnants of colonialism, which continue to serve as the focal points of new international conflicts, and we are in favour of providing assistance in the liberation of peoples from the domination of imperialism, colonialism and monopolies.

198. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): Let me at the outset salute the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, and his dedicated team for their tireless efforts in discharging the duties conferred upon them by the General Assembly.

199. The process of decolonization witnessed a fundamental change with the collapse of the fascist régime in Lisbon. Though the downfall of the fascists had been expected, the speed and the manner in which that régime collapsed took us by surprise. The independence of Guinea-Bissau marked a milestone in the process of decolonization in 1974. The new régime in Lisbon has already pledged its support for the independence of Mozambique in the near future.

200. I must note that there are three factors whose collaboration brought down the old repressive régime of Portugal. First and foremost, the sacrifice and the dauntless will of the peoples under Portuguese colonialism for self-determination and independence. Their struggle to achieve that end was the major contribution to their emancipation. They fought bravely, with tenacious insistence on their rights. They did not flinch when sacrifice was needed. They did not stint in their determination to offer profusely in blood and in kind. Many of them fell on the battlefield. Many of them languished in gaols and in misery. Yet they persisted in keeping the banner of fighting aloft, regardless of the amount of sacrifice. Without their daring struggle independence might have come late. Secondly, the struggle of the African peoples for independence was intertwined with the struggle of the Portuguese people to rid itself of the oppressive fascist régime. The former inspired the latter. The Portuguese people owes much to the liberation movements in Africa for their contribution in freeing them from the dictatorship of the previous régime. There were enlightened elements in Portugal who were sympathetic to the cause of Africa, and who were effective in their opposition to the fascists in Lisbon. We must pay a tribute to the intellectuals and thinkers, to the armed forces of Portugal for their resistance and success in smashing the oppressive structure despite its brutal repression.

201. Thirdly, we must recognize the role of the international community in bringing pressure to bear on old Lisbon. The role of the Special Committee, the Fourth Committee, and the United Nations in general was important in isolating Portugal diplomatically and in unveiling its pernicious policies. The publicity which the United Nations initiated through the competent organs was of vital importance in familiarizing the world with what was going on the colonial territories. It was through the United Nations that Portugal was boycotted and shunned like someone with a contagious disease. Thus it is necessary to mobilize more international support for the peoples who still languish under the yoke of foreign rule. Efforts towards that end should be further concentrated so as to acquaint the world with the plight of the oppressed.

202. The question of Southern Rhodesia is a case in point. The majority still suffers from the denial of its primordial rights by the rebellious minority. No hope for an acceptable solution is shimmering on the horizon. The rebels are still obdurate in their refusal to grant the majority its universally acknowledged rights. The role of the United Nations in this context requires the observance of three basic factors.

203. First, the continuation of the isolation of the rebels internationally, and the denunciation of any attempt to confer on the rebels any semblance of recognition. It is the duty of every one of us to see to it that the rebels live as a rejected bandit, unworthy of accommodation. In this respect the role of the United Nations is exceedingly vital, for had it not been for the United Nations some countries would have granted at least some form of *de facto* recognition to the rebels in Salisbury. We should maintain vigilance in this respect for the world is still full of wolves and opportunists.

204. Secondly, the intensification of the struggle of the liberation movements as represented in ZAPU and ZANU. We are duty-bound to render assistance to these freedom-fighters who sacrifice their lives in the cause of man. The triumph of the majority in Zimbabwe is a triumph for the Charter and for the world at large. We differ with those who think that the emancipation of man can be achieved by peaceful means. It is a rare instance. The normal route is forceful resistance. Colonialists never offer independence on a golden platter to the oppressed. It is only by the roar of cannons and the rumblings of guns that independence is achieved. Rarely have peoples attained their goals by confabulations or talks. Therefore, the intensification of the resistance of the freedom-fighters is a prerequisite for a speedy emancipation from foreign subjugation.

205. Thirdly, the strict observance of the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council in resolution 253 (1968). No excuse will be accepted; no subterfuge as to the applicability of these sanctions will be tolerated. We call upon all States to observe scrupulously the provisions of the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Despite some misgivings on the part of my delegation about the effectiveness of these sanctions, their respect by all Member States is essential. We know that sanctions are violated. We also know that sanctions have not stifled the rebels, but we equally know that their application has deprived the minority of perceptible affluence. Hence, we believe in them and urge Member States to respect them.

206. The people of Namibia still languish under the tentacles of tyranny. The Organization conferred on the United Nations Council for Namibia the authority to administer the region. The International Court of Justice declared that South Africa had no right to occupy the area. It called upon the administering Power to terminate its mandate; yet South Africa ignored that decision and embarked upon a policy of creating "bantustans" in defiance of the will of the people and in disregard of the injunctions of the United Nations. There is no alternative but to intensify the struggle of the freedom-fighters. There is no other option but to lend whole-hearted support to the people that fights for its elemental right to freedom and independence. Similarly, we call upon the States that maintain good relations with South Africa to desist from assisting it in its feverish designs to fragment Namibia. It is no secret that some Western countries invest in Namibia. It is no secret that, using the excuse of free enterprise, many corporations of Western countries have already invested a huge amount of money without due regard to the prescriptions of the United Nations to the contrary. It is fortuitous to remind these countries, which saw fit to lecture the majority, to abide by the decisions of the United Nations and to respect the will of the indigenous people for freedom and independence instead of bolstering the recalcitrant administering Power which was repudiated by the International Court of Justice.

207. The process of decolonization will never be complete as long as there is a people that suffers from deprivation and oppression. Indeed, the world will not see peace so long as there is a single man on this earth whose right is denied and who is robbed of the inalienable requirements for a decent life.

208. The people of Palestine will not be daunted by the forces of darkness that insist on liquidating them. Their right to self-determination was denied, but their determination far exceeds the capacity of those forces. Peace will be evasive as long as the right of a single Palestinian is not recognized. Peace is indivisible. Africa cannot enjoy peace while the turbulence in the Middle East goes on. Europe will be neither stable nor prosperous with the continuation of war waged in the Middle East, Africa and Asia. America has already understood the myth of isolation. All of us should strive for the supremacy of peace in all parts of the world. The alternative is chaos and tribulation. Let the Charter of the United Nations be our yardstick in this endeavour.

209. My delegation would like to pay a sincere tribute to the Governments of Australia and New Zealand for their exemplary co-operation with the Special Committee and for their efforts to promote self-determination and independence in the two areas under their benign administration. My delegation, furthermore, endorses all the recommendations of the Special Committee on decolonization and finds its recommendations reasonable and realizable. With goodwill

and determination the world will cleanse itself of the stigma of colonialism.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.

NOTES

¹ Security Council committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia.

² Adopted at the Second Conference of African Ministers of Industry, held in December 1973. See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 10 (E/5657 and Corr.1 and 2)*, vol. I, paras. 47-56.

³ For a summary of this statement, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Fourth Committee, 2080th meeting*, paras. 12-37.

⁴ *Idem*, Special Political Committee, 908th meeting, paras. 2-6.

⁵ A/AC.109/PV.989, p. 12.

⁶ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2167th meeting*, paras. 55-59.

⁷ *Ibid.*, para. 71.

⁸ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971*, p. 16.