

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTIETH SESSION

Official Records



**2419th
PLENARY MEETING**

Wednesday, 26 November 1975,
at 3.35 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
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>)	1023
Agenda item 87: Question of Namibia: (d) Appointment of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia Report of the Fourth Committee	1040

President: Mr. Gaston THORN
(Luxembourg).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Alarcón (Cuba),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

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*)**

1. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from Spanish*):
Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to
inform the Assembly that since the closure of the list
the representative of Uganda has asked to be included
in the list of speakers in the debate. If I hear no objec-
tion, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to this
request.

It was so decided.

2. Mr. JAIPAL (India): Since India is a member 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, we have had several occasions in that Com-
mittee to offer our observations on the situation in
various Territories. We propose therefore to confine
ourselves now to making some general observations on
the process and pace of decolonization.

3. First of all, we should like to express our apprecia-
tion of the work of the Rapporteur and also to express
our admiration for the dynamism and dedication of the
Chairman, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of
Tanzania, whose devotion to decolonization is known
and gratefully acknowledged in all the Non-Self-
Governing Territories.

4. It is now 15 years since the General Assembly
adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Indepen-
dence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in its resolu-
tion 1514 (XV). During those 15 years there has been
a substantial degree of decolonization, the credit for
which goes largely to the peoples themselves, who
struggled for their national liberation, assisted by the
United Nations and its various organs. Some 40 Terri-
tories have either become independent or become
freely associated with other independent States and
thus won their freedom from colonial rule.

5. This is indeed a remarkable achievement for the
United Nations and a significant contribution to the
growing universality of this Organization. Several
millions of people have become free, and this has been
possible chiefly because of the pressures exerted by
the international community and the positive responses
of the administering Powers. My delegation would like
to commend in particular the enlightened and pragmatic
attitudes of some administering Powers, notably New
Zealand, Australia and the United Kingdom. In recent
years we have seen a welcome change in the policies
of Spain and Portugal, and we are encouraged to think
that their policies will continue to be progressive.

6. We feel that there is room for improvement in the
attitudes of the other administering Powers, partic-
ularly those which refuse to co-operate with the work
of the Special Committee on the legalistic ground that
they no longer administer any colonial areas or Terri-
tories. This may well have tragic consequences in the
future when the peoples of those Territories become
aware of their separate destinies and demand their
right to self-determination. In this connexion my dele-
gation would recall the principles outlined in the annex
to General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV), particularly
principle VI, which stipulates when a Non-Self-
Governing Territory may be said to have reached a full
measure of self-government.

7. Where Territories become fully associated with
independent States, they should nevertheless retain
the freedom to modify their status through democratic
means, as is stated in principle VII. In the case of terri-
tories that become integrated with independent States,
the integration should be the result of the freely
expressed wishes of the peoples acting freely and with
full responsibility and knowledge of the change in their
status, their wishes having been expressed through
informed and democratic processes based on universal
adult suffrage, according to principle IX.

8. We should like the Special Committee to apply
its collective mind to this twilight zone of decoloni-
zation where the images of freedom are blurred by
legalistic quibbles. It should be possible to anticipate
trouble and to neutralize it in advance rather than wait
for trouble to come and then find ways and means of
coping with it.

9. The Special Committee should also pay separate attention to the problem of small island Territories with limited natural resources. The question of bringing the peoples of those Territories to freedom deserves the special assistance of the United Nations system, which is in a position to promote regional co-operation within the broader context of international responsibility for the economic viability of those islands.

10. Among the 40-odd Territories that remain under one form of colonial rule or other, there is a small group that is bedevilled by claims and counter-claims of sovereignty. No two of these cases are alike, and it is not easy to find precedents for dealing with them. It is futile for the General Assembly to ask the claimant countries to enter into negotiations over their competing claims to sovereignty while at the same time reaffirming the right of the peoples to self-determination. This only encourages conflicts between the rights of the peoples and the interests of outside Powers.

11. There should be a more meaningful and practical way of dealing with such problems. Since the United Nations recognizes the principle of paramountcy of the interests of the people in Chapter XI of the Charter, it cannot remain indifferent to external claims of sovereignty; nor should it be left to the claimants themselves to resolve questions of sovereignty.

12. One of the main purposes of the United Nations was to liquidate colonialism in the world—that is, colonialism in all its manifold manifestations. The imposition of colonial rule was unnatural, arbitrary and dictated by the basest of motives, which were to conquer the weak and to plunder their wealth. The United Nations is trying to reverse this colonial process, and in doing so it should take into account a large number of factors and principles. For example, the principle that sovereignty resides in the people; the natural desire of divided peoples to reunite; the economic compulsions of coming closer to neighbours; considerations of security that oblige the small Territories to seek the protection of the larger countries; the aspirations to independence of those that can stand on their own feet; and the peculiar and untenable situations of some small Territories—these constitute the remaining problems before the Special Committee.

13. In our view, the United Nations must take a pragmatic view in the solution of these problems, but always making sure that the solutions are in the larger interests of the people as well as in the interests of peace and security. Forms of popular consultation must necessarily vary according to the requirements of each situation, because a principle is not like a geometrical point without any dimension. Human problems have infinite dimensions, and principles and preconceived notions must be tailored to the actual requirements of each situation without doing harm to reason and natural justice. In the application of its principles and procedures to decolonization, the United Nations must seek a variety of ways to fulfil its purposes.

14. The dispatch of visiting missions to colonial Territories constitutes the best means for the United Nations to co-operate with and assist the administering Powers in fulfilling their responsibilities. This procedure has proved to be successful in the case of Trust Territories, and is increasingly accepted by some administering Powers, while the others scoff at the very idea of a

United Nations mission. Such arrogance is deplorable and quite out of date. We appeal to them to revise their negative attitude. Since in any case they have a veto over the composition of visiting missions, they can surely ensure that balanced teams are selected.

15. Lastly, I wish to refer briefly to the impossible situations created by the illegal racist régimes in Zimbabwe and Namibia. There we have no option but to give full and many-sided support to the struggle of the national liberation movements and to bring to bear on the régimes the full weight of the United Nations authority and powers. The role of the Security Council has not yet been exploited to the maximum, and I have no doubt that the Special Committee will keep this aspect constantly under review.

16. Mr. AL-BEHI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The circumstances of the age in which we live provide us with great capacity and opportunity fully and finally to overcome the evils and tragedies produced by hateful colonialism. The spirit of our age and the circumstances of the world are characterized by evidence of a basic and inalienable growth, development and strengthening of new forces as opposed to the decline and ebb of outmoded forces that no longer find their place in the events of contemporary world history.

17. The specific results of the defeat of fascist forces and trends after the Second World War are represented in the emergence of new forces on the stage of world events and have opened up a great future for countries which love freedom, peace, progress and democracy. This could only have happened because the valiant peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America based their struggles on the noble lessons learned from the peoples of the socialist countries, who made great human sacrifices to consolidate the principles of freedom, democracy and peace.

18. Fifteen years after the adoption of the historic resolution 1514 (XV), which proclaimed the right of peoples to independence and self-determination and to choose the path of their subsequent social development, we are confronted by a great accumulation of events. Since the adoption of that important resolution in 1960, many peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America have been able to achieve national independence and to continue to work towards the future to which they aspire. As a result of that resolution adopted by the General Assembly, and through the legitimate struggle of the peoples of those countries, we have been able to see continued development along the path followed by those countries and peoples, which look forward to liberty and salvation from the yoke of colonialism and its hateful consequences. The effects of that historic decision have been great, and at this session of the General Assembly we have witnessed the accession of five new Member States: namely, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, Papua New Guinea and the Comoros. The peoples of those countries have been able through their struggle to rid themselves of the yoke of colonialism, to enjoy freedom and national independence and to look forward to a prosperous future and the establishment of new and just bases for their countries. My delegation would like to seize this opportunity to congratulate once more the peoples of those countries and

express its solidarity with them in their efforts following the emergence of their new societies.

19. In spite of all this and the great results of that resolution as regards the right of peoples to independence and self-determination, the prospects of the final liquidation of imperialism still seem remote. In southern Africa and in other parts of the world millions of people are still subjected to exploitation, oppression and subjugation, and the hopes of those peoples for freedom, national independence and social progress are still frustrated by the evil intentions of reactionary forces and circles which have taken it upon themselves to persist in the oppression of those peoples.

20. In Zimbabwe, the African people suffer from oppression and exploitation by the illegal Ian Smith régime, and Ian Smith and his myrmidons continue to show intransigence and defiance and to challenge the will of the international community and the right of the African people to freedom and dignity. Ten years after the rebellion of Ian Smith the situation in that region has noticeably worsened, and in this context we cannot hold the British Government blameless given the weak position it has taken concerning the development of events in that region throughout the past ten years. We must consider the British Government a participant in every instance of oppression and injustice which the people of Zimbabwe suffer as a result of racist and reactionary oppression in that region. The latest moves of the Ian Smith régime, which are represented as serious steps that could lead to détente in the situation in that region, are, as far as we are concerned, just part of the great manoeuvre to gain time. The national movement in that region should strengthen its national struggle until the Smith régime gives way to the legitimate national desires of the people. This is the logic of history itself.

21. In Namibia, too, there is a complicated situation, and the African people in that area are suffering from a dual oppression. The racist, fascist South Africa, which is doomed to disappear, imposes on the people of that region a hateful and miserable policy. The police régime in Pretoria increases its methods of oppression and imposes on the valiant people of Namibia increased isolation and dissension and is expanding its methods of killing, imprisonment and detention, and stifling democratic freedoms. The so-called constitutional conference, with which the reactionary Pretoria authorities tried to nullify the results of the Namibian people's struggle, was rejected by the national movement in that region.

22. The fascist régimes in Salisbury and Pretoria could not have continued in these policies but for the shameful collusion of NATO circles in support of the Vorster and Smith régimes. The manoeuvres of the NATO States with regard to resolutions of the United Nations should be stopped. On previous occasions three States—the United States, the United Kingdom and France—have used the veto in the Security Council to reject proposals calling for stronger measures against the racist régimes in Pretoria and Salisbury. This is only one of the facets of the crisis. It is the policy of the members of these circles to oppose the right of peoples to independence, progress and freedom. In the final analysis, it is a dishonest defence by those States of their economic interests in those regions. The giant companies and the great monopolies

which belong to the NATO countries practise terrible exploitation of the resources of the African peoples in Zimbabwe, Namibia and southern Africa, and the great profits derived by those great monopolies from those areas are not used basically in the interests of the indigenous peoples of the area.

23. The legitimate struggle in various parts of the African continent should have the support of all the peoples of the world who love progress, freedom and democracy. This should not merely consist in a denunciation and condemnation of the policies of the racists; all possible support and aid, political and material, should also be given to the national liberation movements of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia in their struggle to achieve their national rights and to fulfil demands.

24. The emergence of a new national democratic régime in Portugal, thanks to the heroic struggles of the people of Portugal and of the African revolutionary movements in the areas under Portuguese colonialism, is a clear indication of the inevitable fate of settler-racist colonialism in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

25. A few days ago the revolution in Angola achieved victory, after a long and bitter struggle, and the people of that great, struggling African country were able to attain national independence and freedom. The fighters, who bore arms throughout the years of struggle, depending on the whole-hearted support of the masses, find in their victories new strength to continue their struggle for the stabilization of the sovereign independence of Angolan territory.

26. My country, the Democratic Republic of Yemen, which is faithful to the principles of freedom, progress and democracy, has expressed its joy at the victory of the revolution in that great African country, and we seize this opportunity in this international forum to extend to the Angolan people and their national revolutionary movement our sincerest and warmest greetings.

27. The People's Republic of Angola is now the object of evil plots by imperialist and reactionary circles, as well as invasion operations organized by South Africa and other imperialist forces, in order to sabotage the achievement by the Angolan people of national independence. We strongly denounce this flagrant interference in the affairs of that country.

28. The unification conference of the national democratic action groups which took place in the capital of my country, Aden, recently and from which emerged one political system, namely the unified national front which is the vanguard and guide of public life in my country, said in one of its statements:

“What has taken place in Angola shows the evil intention of the imperialist circles as regards the African peoples; they support some of the suspect movements in Angola in order to keep that African country divided and maintain it as the object of imperialist exploitation.”

29. The foreign monopolies are trying to block the road by which the Angolan people could achieve great social successes. Western reactionary imperialist circles are trying to impose an open-door policy on that great people so that those circles may continue to exploit the resources and wealth of the Angolan people

and thereby deprive it of its national political independence.

30. The traditional forces of colonialism, which have lost their positions and have received blows from the peoples of the third world and their national Governments, are making new attempts, with new imperialist methods, to regain those positions.

31. We should like to point out that among the peoples still suffering from oppression there is the people of Puerto Rico, which is still subjected to foreign occupation. The peace-loving and freedom-loving people of Puerto Rico desires self-determination and national independence, too. It wishes to choose the road to its social progress.

32. Although some of the means resorted to by the occupying country are still impeding the attainment of self-determination by the people of Puerto Rico, the logic of events and the evolution of history militate in favour of the struggle of that people and its national movement. While my country is separated from Puerto Rico by thousands of miles, we still warmly support the struggle of its people against imperialism and colonialism and their desire to contribute to the forward march of mankind and we look forward to the consolidation of the principles of freedom, justice and dignity there and in every other part of the world.

33. Mankind's desire for freedom and independence is increasing with each passing day. That is confirmed by the determination of many small Territories and peoples to achieve self-determination as soon as possible. In the Fourth Committee this year we have been able to deal with many questions of decolonization affecting small islands and Territories still under the domination of some large countries. The peoples of those small Territories have a perfect right to achieve self-determination as soon as possible and to determine the means to be used for their subsequent progress. That is one of the legitimate rights of those peoples.

34. The epic struggle of the people of Viet Nam and the other peoples of Indo-China, those of Cambodia and Laos, has been won as a result of their valiant struggle and the sacrifice of the blood of their sons. That victory has given all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America renewed international strength and the assurance of the triumph of their struggle. Today when we speak of the universality of our Organization, this is an affirmation of the direction of the escalating struggle of our peoples. There can be no doubt that the peoples of southern Africa—that is, of Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia—and the peoples of Palestine, Puerto Rico and Oman will achieve full victory over the enemies of freedom and progress.

35. Mr. BOULOM (Laos) (*interpretation from French*): Less than 24 hours ago the entire world welcomed the accession to independence of Surinam, which, after almost three centuries of colonial dependence, now has all the powers of a sovereign State. We therefore offer our sincere congratulations to that newly independent State and extend to it our friendly greetings. We wish warmly to congratulate also the Government and people of Angola, which have recently proclaimed their independence.

36. We thus see that in 1975 there has been appreciable progress towards the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to

Colonial Countries and Peoples. But that progress never could have been made without the determined efforts—often accompanied by great sacrifice and indescribable suffering—and the determined struggle of the national liberation movements, to which my delegation would like to pay a special tribute. The international community's major duty is to continue to support these liberation movements morally and materially and to assist them in attaining their goal of dignity and total independence.

37. What I have just stressed does not in any way diminish the decisive role played and the encouragement given during the last decade by the United Nations system, and specifically the Special Committee, to whose members, and particularly the Chairman, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, my delegation wishes to express its warm thanks and whole-hearted gratitude for their unceasing efforts for the cause of the liberation of peoples.

38. When the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted, in 1960, almost half of the States that today make up our international community were still cruelly subjected to exploitation and racist and colonialist repression. But after the adoption of that Declaration, which is based on the Charter of the United Nations, a dynamic leap forward was noted in the struggle for independence and self-determination, and many peoples were able, with a new and sustained impetus, to break for ever the shameful chains of racism and colonialism and thus accede to dignity and freedom.

39. That shows how much the Declaration, to whose implementation my country attaches the greatest importance, has influenced the course of events and speeded up the process of decolonization. Moreover, as we are getting ready to celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the Declaration, it is encouraging to note that almost all the oppressed peoples—some by their own means, and others with the assistance and support of the international community—have been freed; and that those that are not yet free are determined, whatever the cost, to put down once and for all, to destroy all the roots of, the oppressive racist and colonialist régimes. That seems to be true of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe.

40. In Namibia—where South Africa, in flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter and the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, continues its illegal occupation and carries out a policy of mass arrests, detention and murder, in a word a policy of terror, and where it is trying constantly to consolidate that policy by the cruelest and most infamous measures—the Namibian people, under the enlightened and effective leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], instead of submitting, is determined more than ever before to struggle to achieve independence and self-determination. It goes without saying that all the members of the international community have an imperative duty in this respect to assist that people, morally and materially, in its heroic struggle for its inalienable rights.

41. The most urgent task to be achieved in this respect is, in the opinion of my delegation, by all possible means and in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter, to demand the withdrawal of South Africa

from the international Territory. It is clear that this task will not be easy to implement without the sincere and effective co-operation of all the members of the international community, and particularly of certain countries which are, more than others, in a position to exert a significant influence on the behaviour of South Africa. And it is precisely the absence of such resolute and effective co-operation, which certain countries have demonstrated, that has permitted and encouraged the Pretoria régime to flout the principles contained in the Declaration and the relevant provisions of the resolutions adopted on the subject by the General Assembly and the Security Council and, particularly, Council resolution 366 (1974), which was adopted last year.

42. In the light of the facts and the events that have since taken place in that part of the world, my delegation is convinced that we can expect nothing reasonable or acceptable from the racist and bellicose régime in Pretoria and that only bold united action on the part of the international community can put an end to the suffering of the Namibian people. My delegation is firmly in favour of such action.

43. The same applies to the situation that prevails in Zimbabwe. Here too, despite the numerous demands and condemnations made by the General Assembly and the Security Council, the rebel minority régime of Ian Smith, like the régime of his neighbour and ally, Vorster, continues to impose on the people of Zimbabwe a régime of terror no whit less severe than that of Pretoria. It is a régime which by doing away with all fundamental human rights gives deep concern to the rest of mankind.

44. Thus, with regard to this problem, my delegation believes that the time for ineffective demands and condemnations is over. Henceforth it is important for the international community, and in particular for some of its members who are still hesitating, to take energetic and resolute action against that racist and fascist régime of Salisbury, in order fully and completely to realize the objectives of the Charter and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

45. My delegation learned with much sadness and indignation that the sanctions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council against the régimes of both South Africa and Rhodesia continue to be most flagrantly violated by certain countries which, nevertheless, claim that they believe in the principle of self-determination and human dignity. My delegation appeals to those countries to express their sincerity in action rather than in words and to give effective co-operation in order to win freedom for all peoples still under the colonial yoke. On that condition alone will words have a meaning and our common objective be attained.

46. We consider every accession to independence and total sovereignty by a people and a Territory, whether large or small, to be another landmark on the long road to progress and the economic and social well-being of mankind.

47. On this subject, we cannot forget that in the Caribbean and in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, there are still about 30 Territories to be decolonized in the years to come. Considerations of geographic isolation,

the small area of the Territory or the small number of the population should not in any way be an obstacle or a brake on the implementation of the Declaration or consequently on the subsequent independence and self-determination of these Territories. My delegation is most gratified that the Special Committee has seriously concerned itself with their situation. But in order for that Committee to be able to conclude the work so auspiciously begun, there is an undoubted need for the sincere and effective co-operation of all the administering Powers, particularly in the acceptance of the principle of sending visiting missions to the Territories concerned. We know the good results obtained from the work of these missions and it is important in the future to enlarge their scope and, if possible, to send them to all Territories still under colonial domination. It is only in this manner that we can avoid problems and obstacles and finally achieve the full implementation of the Declaration.

48. Laos is deeply attached to independence and freedom. Moreover, like the other peoples of Indo-China, it suffered a long and cruel war before attaining that goal. Today, having eliminated all vestiges of colonialism and neo-colonialism, Laos is working to consolidate peace and independence, in accordance with the interests and deep aspirations of its people. Now that we enjoy our inalienable rights, we wish to affirm our faith in freedom and our most active solidarity with all peoples still under colonial oppression which are struggling to obtain their fundamental rights. We should also like to express our sympathy and solidarity with the peoples which are fighting against the gross and detestable manoeuvres of neo-colonialism, the nefarious results of which are all too well known. The determined struggle of the peoples of Indo-China and the striking victory which they have won against the enormous war machine of the American imperialists and their lackeys have clearly demonstrated to the world that nothing can stifle or break the impetus and determination of a people resolved to preserve its independence and freedom.

49. Finally, in the area of decolonization we have witnessed during this year which is drawing to a close the total disintegration of many colonial and neo-colonial systems, thus making it possible for many countries to accede to independence; most of them have become Members of the United Nations. These results were possible thanks to the patient and persevering efforts and the common struggle of all the national liberation movements and the constantly growing sympathy and active support of all the progressive forces in the world. The road ahead is long and full of obstacles for all those movements and forces, but what is most certain is that victory is very close at hand.

50. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): On behalf of the delegations listed in document A/L.779, I have the honour to introduce the draft resolution contained therein. The draft resolution is self-explanatory. I therefore do not intend to take an unduly long time to comment on it. However, I should like to make a few brief introductory remarks on some of the underlying considerations by which the sponsors were guided in the preparation of this draft.

51. As has been pointed out by a number of representatives speaking both here in the general debate on

this item and during the related debates in the Fourth Committee, the Assembly will commemorate this year the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The sponsors of the draft resolution consider it most essential that as a fitting commemoration of the anniversary the Assembly unanimously rededicate itself to the aims and purposes of the Declaration and pledge its continued determination to secure the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration with respect to the remaining colonial Territories. Thus, one of the major considerations underlying the wishes and expectations of the sponsors of the draft resolution before the Assembly is the achievement of the unanimous support of this Assembly, which would reinforce the efforts of the Organization to expedite the irreversible process of decolonization. In agreeing to this course of action the sponsors took note of the fact that several elements which would otherwise have formed an integral part of the current draft resolution are already included or will be incorporated in separate draft resolutions dealing with specific items.

52. In approving the recommendations contained in the draft resolution, the General Assembly would therefore recognize the fact that the Declaration, as a basic document for decolonization, has served and continues to serve as an irreplaceable source of encouragement and inspiration for the colonial peoples in their endeavour to secure their self-determination and independence. This has been clearly demonstrated during the past decade and a half in the number of countries which were formerly under colonial rule and are now among us today, actively supporting the cause of freedom, justice and peace for mankind. Recognition would also be given to the fact that the triumph of the peoples in the countries formerly under Portuguese colonial rule has created extremely favourable conditions for a further move towards the liberation of the millions of Africans in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

53. The sponsors of the draft resolution have also noted with satisfaction the increased level of co-operation extended by some of the administering Powers concerned in the relevant work of the Special Committee, and welcomed the continued readiness of many administering Powers to receive United Nations visiting missions in the Territories under their administration. The Assembly would therefore request the administering Powers to extend or continue to extend their co-operation in this regard.

54. In operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution the Assembly would outline a renewed mandate for the Special Committee for the forthcoming year, namely, to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) in all the Territories which are still under colonial rule. It can hardly be over-emphasized that the sponsors of the draft resolution are in full accord that, in the complete application of the Declaration, the cardinal principle is that the genuine wishes and aspirations of the peoples concerned must be freely expressed and scrupulously respected. At the same time, no pretext or excuse should stand in the way of the exercise of this right by the people of the colonial territories.

55. With respect to the draft resolution concerning dissemination of information on decolonization con-

tained in document A/L.780, as the representative of Iraq will shortly be making an introductory statement on that draft resolution on behalf of the sponsors, I wish merely to express at this stage, as the Chairman of the Special Committee, satisfaction at and appreciation of the outstanding work which has been carried out by the publicity aides of the Secretary-General—the competent professionals of the Office of Public Information, under the able leadership of Mr. Akatani.

56. In commending draft resolution A/L.779 to the Assembly, I wish to reiterate our confidence that the international community will leave no stone unturned in intensifying the efforts in support of the decolonization process. The victories that we have won so far, as clearly evidenced by the birth of so many new nations in this very year, should serve as a catalyst to inspire us all in our common endeavours. We must resolve not only to bring to an end the remaining difficult problems of southern Africa but also to find appropriate and conclusive measures to end the scourge of colonialism in the Pacific and the Caribbean areas as well as in all the other areas where colonialism still rears its ugly head.

57. On behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution and on behalf of my own delegation, we commend the draft to the Assembly for its unanimous support.

58. Mr. ARAIM (Iraq): On behalf of the sponsors whose names appear in document A/L.780, I should like to introduce the draft resolution on dissemination of information on decolonization.

59. The Special Committee and its Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information devoted great attention to this question. Chapter III of the report of the Special Committee [A/10023] gives a detailed exposition of the subject.

60. The United Nations and the specialized agencies are urged to give the widest possible publicity to the struggle of colonial peoples and to present to the world the suffering of colonial peoples and their aspirations to achieve their inalienable rights in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

61. While appreciating the hard work done by the Secretariat and especially by the Office of Public Information [OPI], we request them to redouble their efforts in the field of the dissemination of information on decolonization. It is the earnest hope of the sponsors that OPI will find new methods of giving further publicity to the work of the United Nations in this regard.

62. In spite of the seriousness of the situation in many colonial Territories, the Western press is, unfortunately, not giving the matter the attention it deserves. Sometimes it publishes inaccurate information on events in the colonial Territories. The Special Committee has approached the representatives of the press in the United States and in Western Europe on several occasions with requests that they elaborate on questions regarding the struggle of colonial peoples. Although the results of those contacts appear encouraging, we believe that there is still a need for further efforts on the part of OPI to achieve wider publicity for the struggle of colonial peoples for self-determination and independence.

63. It is hoped that by combining the efforts of OPI and the Special Committee, the United Nations could make world public opinion constantly aware of events in the colonial Territories and enhance its support for the just cause of decolonization. The mass media in Western Europe and North America are urged to reconsider their negative attitude towards the problems facing colonial Territories and the human suffering of the peoples in the colonial Territories in Africa and in other parts of the world.

64. OPI is also requested to prepare further studies on decolonization and the achievements of the United Nations as well as the problems facing the colonial Territories. This information would be of benefit to the mass media, the universities and academic institutions in the world. Exhibitions and film series on decolonization would also be of great benefit. The information centres of the United Nations throughout the world, and especially in Western Europe, must utilize all available means to fulfil the goals of the United Nations by obtaining the maximum support for the aspirations of the colonial peoples.

65. The Special Committee has maintained very close contacts with those non-governmental organizations which are interested in the work of the United Nations on decolonization. On behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution, I should like to express our gratitude and appreciation to those progressive non-governmental organizations which are actively supporting the cause of decolonization. The United Nations is expected to intensify its co-operation with these progressive non-governmental organizations in order to gain the maximum support for the aspirations of colonial peoples to freedom and independence.

66. The attainment of independence by former colonial Territories in Africa and in other parts of the world should inspire the world community to continue on the path of decolonization until colonial domination is brought to an end everywhere. That task requires the unceasing efforts of our Organization to support the struggle of colonial peoples until they achieve their goals. The mass media could be utilized actively for this goal. The United Nations is expected to work towards this end.

67. Finally, on behalf of the sponsors, I hope that this draft will be adopted unanimously.

68. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): At such a session as the present, the thirtieth session, we should like to adopt the last resolution on decolonization, announcing that this problem no longer exists. Unfortunately, the problem does exist.

69. The discussion in the plenary meetings of the question of implementing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples grows ever more meaningful and significant. While in the meetings of the Fourth Committee we are discussing the situation in various specific Territories or specific aspects of the problems of decolonization, here in the plenary Assembly we have the opportunity to consider the problem as a whole, in all its aspects, both from the point of view of the results of the work carried out by the United Nations since the time of the adoption of the Declaration, and also from the point of view of the tasks to be fulfilled by the

Organization in its struggle to achieve the full realization of the noble goals and principles of the Declaration; today we can state that there is still a whole range of goals which have not been achieved and a whole series of Territories still under colonial oppression.

70. This year marks the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration. The Soviet delegation was gratified to learn of the Assembly's decision solemnly to celebrate the anniversary, because, as all Members are perfectly aware, we were the initiators of the adoption of that Declaration by the Assembly. That historic document has been of great significance in the past and continues so today.

71. By adopting that Declaration the United Nations announced that the struggle of peoples against colonialism in all its forms and manifestations is a just and legitimate one, while the preservation of the colonial system is illegal and contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

72. The Declaration, a document of importance to the anti-colonial activities of our Organization, was adopted in the face of resistance from colonial and imperialist forces and for 15 years has played a significant role in the struggle of peoples against colonialism. The struggle for the full implementation of the purposes and principles of the Declaration continues to this day to be one of the most important tasks of our international Organization.

73. The fifteenth anniversary of the Declaration coincides with the thirtieth anniversary of the historic world victory of united nations over fascist aggression in the Second World War. Everyone is familiar with the contribution made by the Soviet people in the victory over fascism by which we saved mankind from fascism, enslavement and shame, and opened up favourable opportunities for liberating the peoples under colonial domination. It inspired peoples to fight for their freedom, for independence, for democracy and for social progress.

74. The collapse of the colonial system which began after the Second World War is one of the most important historic events in the post-war era. In the 30 years after the War, as many representatives have already pointed out here, more than 2 billion people were freed from colonial domination. Dozens of newly independent young States have emerged from the ruins of old colonial empires. We have been happy to welcome an overwhelming majority of those States here as full Members of the United Nations.

75. An important impetus for the new struggle for genuine peace and for the final liberation of peoples, for their freedom and independence, is provided by the relaxation of international tension which, thanks to the consistent efforts made by the Soviet Union, other countries of the socialist community and other peace-loving countries, is becoming irreversible.

76. The historic decisions made at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe opened up new possibilities for carrying out the most essential task of our time, that is, the strengthening of peace and security. The Final Act of the Conference, which was signed by the leaders of 33 States of Europe, the United States and Canada, gives concrete expression to the principle of peaceful coexistence and creates even more favourable conditions for establishing

mutually beneficial relations in the interests of peace and security and guaranteed freedoms for mankind. That historic document is of great significance, not only for the future of Europe and not only because it opens the way for Europe to pass from being a hot-bed of war to a centre of peace, but also because Europe's example can serve as encouragement for the creation of an atmosphere of security on other continents. The results of the Conference at Helsinki won the high appraisal of various representatives to the thirtieth session.

77. Today we can confidently state that, despite continuing attacks by the enemies of détente who have no constructive proposals except for a return to the cold war, a return that might be followed by events even more serious than the cold war, I repeat, in spite of their attacks, the overwhelming majority of mankind approves of the strengthening of peace and peaceful coexistence.

78. As events in the world have shown, détente has opened great possibilities for the national liberation movements and the oppressed colonial peoples. Indeed, when détente was achieved, liberation movements made new gains in the struggle for national freedom and independence. The people of Indo-China gained the victory over foreign intervention.

79. The struggle for the definitive eradication of the racist colonialist régimes in Africa has reached a decisive stage. We welcome three new independent States: Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola. The day is near when the whole of Africa will be free and independent.

80. The co-operation of young, developing countries with socialist countries and with all advocates of peace and social progress is a powerful force which is capable not only of raising a barrier to the threat of a new war but, once and for all, of sweeping on to the scrap-heap of history the remnants of the colonial régimes in Africa and other parts of the world. These young countries play an increasing role in international affairs.

81. Contemporary colonialists and those who encourage them spread many lies about the socialist countries in general and about my country in particular. They attempt to convince the colonized and young developing countries that the socialist countries support national liberation movements for selfish reasons; they frighten them with the scarecrow of hegemonism. All that is done not by chance. Such attempts are directed at undermining the co-operation between the socialist countries and the young developing and non-aligned countries. Those who are against peace and decolonization are afraid of union between the progressive forces of our contemporary world—the forces of socialism and of the national liberation movements. That is why they are making every effort to undermine this union and co-operation and do not even stop at spreading slander and plotting the assassination of the leaders of the national liberation movements—patriots of their own countries, defenders of their people.

82. We must also face the problems which exist in our lives. No matter how great the success of the national liberation movements may be, the forces of peace and socialism fighting for total freedom from the yoke of colonialism and neo-colonialism must not

forget that millions of people continue to live in colonial slavery and are being exploited by the racists. Primarily they are the millions of Africans in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia who are oppressed by the mad racists and subjected to oppression, murder and persecution. The peoples of the so-called small colonial Territories continue under colonial oppression in many parts of the world and in many islands.

83. Quite recently, on 11 November, after a long struggle, the Angolan people won its independence. It broke the chains of five centuries of Portuguese colonial domination. The announcement of the proclamation of independence of Angola was a serious blow to reaction and imperialism in South Africa. That is why the young Republic is beginning its life, its independent existence, under difficult circumstances, for many cannot accept the existence of that State. This Republic at its very birth is forced to wage a difficult armed struggle against the imperialist forces, against racist interventionists who are trying to stifle it and to bring it back to the time of colonial slavery.

84. South African and Rhodesian units and mercenaries from the ranks of the Portuguese fascists are openly taking part in the armed intervention that has been launched against the Angolan people by international reaction and pro-imperialist forces. In this period which is very difficult for Angola, the Soviet peoples fully lend their sympathy and support to the people of Angola. We believe that the Angolan people are brave and that the patriotic forces of Angola, headed by the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [MPLA], will be able to eliminate the obstacles which have been placed before them through no fault of their own.

85. The Soviet Union was one of the first States to recognize the young Republic and established normal diplomatic relations with it. In a message addressed to the first President of the country, Agostinho Neto, on the occasion of the proclamation of Angola as an independent State, the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, Mr. N. V. Podgorny, stated that:

“The Soviet Union, in carrying out its international duty, remained unswervingly at the side of the fighting people of Angola, giving its patriotic forces every kind of assistance and support. On this historic day for Angola, the Soviet Union warmly wishes it success in building a new life in conditions of freedom, national unity and territorial integrity for the country.”

Together with all peace-loving and progressive forces and with the peoples of the African continent, the Soviet Union decisively condemns the armed aggression against the young African State of Angola and demands the immediate withdrawal of the armed interventionists from the territory of Angola. The people of that country should be given every opportunity for peaceful and independent development along the path of progress.

86. Why is there no peace in Angola? Why is the blood of that long-suffering people being shed? The truth is that the patriotic forces of Angola, led by MPLA, have taken power into their hands and wish to see the country free and independent. But this pleases neither the pro-imperialist forces in Angola itself nor the colo-

nial racist forces on the outside. For this reason they have organized open intervention in Angola and thus have threatened its integrity and freedom. That intervention by racists from South Africa was not prepared recently but over a long period of time. With the help of outside support from a number of States and by inviting foreign mercenaries, armed conflicts were started in the country. Regular military forces from South Africa, as well as mercenaries from a number of other countries and fascists from Portugal, are also active in Angola.

87. All those present in this Chamber know perfectly well the reasons for the difficult situation that prevails in Angola today, the real reasons why blood is being shed there. I intended to make a very brief statement, but through no fault of my own, I am obliged to speak a little longer.

88. It is being said among us that our delegation was in duty bound to respond to a delegation that spoke here. We Russians say that good accounts make good friends. And this is exactly what I am going to do. The representative of one Far Eastern great Power has spoken here, a great Power which can barely hide the fact that it is striving for world hegemony, and which has tried here from this podium to reduce all problems of decolonization, however important and far-reaching, and narrow them down to the one problem of the situation in Angola. But how was that situation interpreted? In the usual slanderous, anti-Soviet spirit. Nevertheless, one cannot shroud the truth in the clouds of such allegations.

89. We mention Angola here today not only because a representative from a Far Eastern country broached the subject but also because he distorted the facts. One type of intervention is taking place there: foreign, armed intervention directed against the people of Angola. That intervention has brought together the forces of the southern racists and Portuguese fascists and, as I have said, the foreign support of a number of countries. What role is this representative playing?

90. The representative of China spoke at great length about his sympathy for the people of Angola. But he forgot something and I should like to remind him of it. Which forces is his country helping? The truly patriotic forces or those who are being paid by the monopolies, who are thirsting to exploit the people and wealth of Angola and who wish to establish an obedient puppet régime there? The answer is quite simple. That country is helping not the patriotic but the anti-patriotic forces. Is MPLA a foreign force? It has been fighting for more than 15 years in Angola for its independence. MPLA represents the majority of the people of Angola. In union with whom are the representatives of China helping the enemies of Angola's freedom? In union with racists, with fascists, with imperialists. Is this union accidental? No. In the United Nations no one can forget that the union of the Maoists and racists has a long history.

91. The delegation of China, at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, voted with the racist clique of South Africa and with the then Portuguese fascists against the resolution on the non-use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons [*resolution 2936 (XXVII)*]. This was what was then justly known as the tripartite unholy alliance which was against the non-use

of force in international relations and against the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. That was when in the United Nations the fall of the representative of that Far Eastern Power began.

92. At this historic moment when, together with racists, together with the monopolies which guarantee the resources and weapons, they are fighting against the truly patriotic forces in Angola, we cannot forget the specific facts: that today's alliance explains the previous history of this delegation's behaviour. The Chinese representative has not condemned South Africa's intervention against Angola. The Chinese representative mentioned here some intervention by the Soviet Union, but he was silent about the facts.

93. Let us therefore consider these facts. I should like to remind the delegation of China that the head of the Chinese delegation, here from this rostrum, revealed in his statement during the general debate that China helped all three movements in Angola. But it seems clear now that it is not the three movements it has helped, but those which are trailing along after the foreign intervention.

94. Perhaps the Chinese representative does not know any other facts, or perhaps these facts have not yet reached him. I should like to recall them. Quite recently, a press release was put out by the Portuguese delegation. What was this press release about? In it Portugal strongly protests against the foreign armed intervention by the racists of South Africa. Perhaps the Chinese representative is not aware of this. I think that the Chinese representative should perhaps read this press bulletin. Or perhaps the Chinese representative does not know the assessment of what is happening in Angola made by the United Nations Council for Namibia in a document of 24 October. I should like to remind him. It was with alarm and indignation that the Council for Namibia learned that South African detachments had attacked Angola.

95. In that document it was also stated that that was a gross violation by South Africa of the territorial integrity of Angola, in that it was a premeditated act of aggression. The Council for Namibia called upon the international community to condemn the illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia and the acts of aggression committed. Is this not known to the Chinese representative either? Who does not know here that the attempts to show that their policy is aimed at unification are only a myth which is to be perpetuated so that people will believe it? But these are not facts; this is not the reality.

96. There is an excellent Chinese proverb to the effect that one cannot put two saddles on even a good horse. That is precisely what the Chinese representative is trying to do. On the one hand he pretends to be in favour of independence for the people of Angola, and on the other he joins the union of reaction and his country helps and trains forces which are against Angola.

97. On the one hand, the representatives of China say they are against colonialism; on the other, they take sides with the colonialists who are fighting against Angola. What do these actions demonstrate? They show that in pursuing their hegemonistic goals the representatives of China continually strive to under-

mine the efforts of the people of Angola and to interfere on the side of the pro-imperialist forces.

98. I could give a whole range of facts, but I do not wish to take up too much of the Assembly's time. I have here a dossier from which I could read, but I do not wish to list all the specific facts on armaments, resources, training, advisers, and so on and so forth; the Western press constantly publishes them. The tripartite union against the people of Angola and the intervention are inspired by varied but similar sources. One newspaper reported that there were 20 Soviet prisoners in Angola and then in very small print it was stated by TASS that that was absolute nonsense. You can see how this is organized.

99. By its actions in Angola, China attempts to cause disputes among the peoples of Africa and to destroy their unity. It is attempting to make our country and other socialist countries quarrel with the national liberation movements, but in that they will not succeed. I repeat that, they will not succeed.

100. Some people in the West, even some well-known official leaders, are attempting to repeat these Chinese fabrications. There are rumours that there is Soviet interference in Angolan affairs. But it is well known that there are no Soviet soldiers or advisers there. Whose soldiers and whose advisers are to be found there? I will not answer that question. There has not been and there is no Soviet interference in Angolan affairs.

101. What is actually happening there? I should like to return to this problem once again. I will repeat that there is a build-up of open armed intervention by South Africa, the Portuguese fascists and various mercenaries against the truly patriotic forces and the Government of Angola. They would prefer not to make known the true situation in Angola. The truth is that the Soviet Union was sympathetic to the patriots of Angola and will continue to be sympathetic to them. The Soviet Union wishes to see Angola united and independent, and it will see Angola whole, independent and united. That is our international responsibility.

102. Our country has not had and does not have selfish goals in Angola. We have never attempted to encroach upon or to claim the wealth of Angola. We did not wish to derive strategic benefits in Angola. We never intended to transform Angola into a testing ground to be used for contests between the great Powers. That suggestion is untrue.

103. In Angola has been concentrated everything that alarms not only our Assembly but the entire world. Either Angola will be independent or the patriotic forces of Angola will be destroyed, and only then will all the peoples of Africa see what great danger they will encounter. Angola represents a problem on which we can test the intentions of every State as regards national liberation movements and the total elimination of colonialism. If Angola becomes free, colonialism will not last in South Africa. If, unfortunately, the contrary happens, colonialism will continue to exist.

104. The forces of imperialism and international reaction have not concentrated their attention on Angola by chance. They consider it the last bridge-head in South Africa. The South African brass-hats and others would like to establish in Angola a buffer

zone between the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia on the one hand and independent Africa on the other. But not only a buffer zone, they would also like to establish a basis for subsequent aggression against new independent States of Africa. No one can afford to forget that today. No one should close his eyes to the fact that the victory of the interventionist forces in Angola would be a heavy blow to the national liberation movements in Africa.

105. The struggle for the final elimination of the colonial racist régimes in southern Africa has embarked on its most decisive phase. No one in favour of progress and peace on the African continent, no one in favour of the speedy liberation of the African peoples from the last vestiges of racism and colonialism, and no one who wishes to see Africa truly free and independent can stand aside from the events that are taking place in Angola. They cannot remain passive observers today, when the forces I and other representatives have mentioned wish to stifle the independence of Angola. It is the duty of the United Nations not only to note that fact but decisively to condemn foreign intervention in Angola.

106. I intended to speak very briefly, but through no fault of my own I have been side-tracked. Perhaps the representative of China exploited the question of decolonization to express his anti-Soviet views. Very fortunately the meetings in the Fourth Committee were quite constructive. But today I had to answer. The truth is involved here, and I could not be silent.

107. The United Nations has contributed significantly to the implementation of the goals and principles of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It has adopted many useful decisions, and it has implemented a number of specific measures designed to give support and assistance to the liberation movements of the colonial peoples. But the process of decolonization has not been completed. The events in and around Angola, the refusal of the Government of South Africa to implement General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on the question of Namibia, and specifically Security Council resolution 366 (1974), the repression and terror carried out by the fascist and racist régime of Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia against the national liberation movements and the fighters in that area, the maintenance of the colonial régimes in a number of small island Territories, all show that the forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism have not yet laid down their arms. They are making great efforts to maintain their domination in the backward colonial areas and, as is the case in Angola, they counter-attack and prevent the United Nations from taking effective measures against the colonialists and racists, particularly in southern Africa. These forces are trying to divide or break up the national liberation movements of the colonial peoples and to weaken the anti-colonialist front of the socialist and developing countries, and thereby if not to undermine at least seriously to delay the process of decolonization.

108. Today, as we witness the conclusive stage of the struggle against colonialism, the United Nations must once again clearly and unequivocally state that the principles outlined in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and

Peoples should be implemented as quickly as possible in all colonial Territories, both large and small.

109. In the resolution on decolonization which will be adopted here—unfortunately, we have only just seen the draft resolution that has been submitted and have not had a chance to study it—the United Nations must demand that South Africa and Southern Rhodesia withdraw their troops and mercenaries from Angola and take decisive measures to promote the implementation of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on the questions of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia. We must demand that the Governments of those countries that maintain close political, economic and other ties with the racists of South Africa break those ties and thus force the Government of South Africa to comply with the will of the international community.

110. I believe that in our resolution we must decisively condemn the armed intervention in Angola. The Assembly should also reiterate its resolution 2621 (XXV) containing the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and specifically paragraph 3 (9), which states that “The question of territorial size, geographical isolation and limited resources should in no way delay the implementation of the Declaration”.

111. We should not only recall that previous decision but also demand that the administering Powers should take all steps to complete the process of the decolonization of those Territories.

112. The complete and unconditional implementation of the principles of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is not only in keeping with the basic interests of the peoples that are still oppressed but in the interests of the entire international community.

113. The struggle for détente, for its expansion and concretization, and for equitable economic and political co-operation is a struggle against the remnants of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

114. Our country, which 15 years ago initiated the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, has been and continues to be in favour of the full implementation of that Declaration. That is a position of principle; it is an anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist position. It is inherent in the nature of our State, a State of workers and peasants where there is no exploitation of man by man, where all nations and nationalities enjoy equal rights and the opportunity to build a new life—communism. From the very first days of its existence, beginning with Lenin's peace decree, adopted on the second day following the victory of the great October revolution in 1917, the Soviet State has desired peace among peoples and has proclaimed the principle of the self-determination of peoples. To this day we are fighting for Lenin's principles, for Lenin's provisions, which were adopted in the Peace Programme of the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union intends to continue to fight for the cause of peace. It has given and will continue to give support to the national liberation movements in all countries and continents. The Soviet Union has given and will continue to give assistance to all peoples

struggling for their freedom and independence against colonial oppression and enslavement.

115. In his message to the participants of the twelfth session of the Council of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, the General Secretary of our Party, L. I. Brezhnev, stated:

“So far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it will continue to make every effort, together with all the other forces devoted to the cause of freedom and peace, to ensure that all peoples are guaranteed conditions for peace and free development and a national rebirth. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is decisively in favour of all those who are against imperialist aggression, national oppression, neo-colonialism, racism and social injustice.”

And members of this Assembly know that what we say, we do.

116. Mrs. Cissé (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): From a careful study of the Special Committee's report, it can be seen that positive and specific results have been achieved recently in the decolonization process that has been embarked upon by our international Organization.

117. In welcoming that encouraging development, my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the members of the Special Committee, to the United Nations Secretariat and, above all, to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, whose tireless efforts have appreciably contributed to the victorious progress of our Organization regarding the process of decolonization.

118. Fifteen years after the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV)—now a historic resolution—by which the United Nations energetically expressed its support for the liberation of the oppressed peoples, we note with some satisfaction that at this session the General Assembly is examining the implementation of the Declaration in a new situation characterized by positive changes in this field.

119. Indeed, it is with satisfaction and legitimate pride that we see among us here the representatives of the brave peoples of Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Cape Verde, the Comoros and Papua New Guinea, which have just gloriously freed themselves from the shackles of colonialism and have attained their national sovereignty.

120. My delegation appreciates also the positive and constructive measures concerning the self-determination and independence of those Territories which are still under colonial administration and which reflect a glimmer of realism that has penetrated the administering Powers in view of the revolutionary thrust of the development of decolonization.

121. Despite the praiseworthy efforts made by the international community to eradicate colonialism throughout the world, and particularly in southern Africa, it is regrettable to note that for selfish economic and other reasons certain States Members of the Organization continue to flout the United Nations resolutions and to engage actively in the exploitation of the colonial Territories of that region. The activities of the foreign economic interests that have free rein in the region not only give encouragement to the racist minority régimes to continue their illegal and inhuman

policy, but also constitute major obstacles to the liberation struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa and, consequently, to the decolonization effort undertaken by our international Organization. The economic sanctions against the rebel régime of Ian Smith, which on 11 November celebrated the tenth anniversary of its gross insult to Africa and the international community, are being constantly violated and the illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African régime continues, with the support of the apparatus of bloody repression which Vorster imposes on the Namibian people.

122. Even worse, the South African régime, instead of withdrawing its illegal administration and putting an end to the bantustanization of Namibia, as the General Assembly and the Security Council have called upon it to do in several resolutions, has now become a master of arrogance by using this international Territory to launch the most barbaric overt aggression against the newly independent, sovereign State of Angola. The South African Government and those supporting it are using every possible means so that Angola will not become a base for the liberation of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

123. The progress of decolonization in the former Portuguese Territories, marked by the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Portugal on 25 April 1974, has created disarray in the ranks of imperialism and international reaction, which have openly embarked upon the path of the intensification of the action of attrition against the liberation forces of the former colonial possessions of Portugal. It is not by chance that the adversaries of authentic independence of the Angolan people are today directing the spearhead of their attacks against MPLA, the sole patriotic mass organization which for 13 years has waged an energetic armed struggle against colonialism and which has drawn up a programme of radical reform and the decisive halting of the domination of imperialist monopolies in the national economy, by resolutely trying to ensure the orderly process of decolonization, to defend the fundamental interests of the Angolan people in this new and important phase of the struggle for real independence, and to implement the principles of national unity and the territorial integrity of Angola.

124. The evolution of the tragic events suffered by the Angolan people over the last few years has revealed the designs nurtured by imperialism and international reaction, which are trying, through manoeuvres of all sorts, to snatch from MPLA the victory which it has gained by arms, and to recolonize Angola.

125. I am sure that each and every one of us will recall the diabolical and evil role that imperialism played in the past in the Congo—today Zaire—in the attempted secession of Katanga, and in Nigeria in the case of Biafra. Thus, wherever there are important economic potentials, imperialism wishes to take hold and, if the peoples are not vigilant and victorious, it attempts to subject them to its dictatorship or to destroy them, with the sole intention of exploiting for its own profit the wealth of those countries.

126. Now it is the turn of Angola. Since immense resources have been discovered in Angola and major petroleum deposits in its province of Cabinda, that country has become the target of imperialist and capitalist Powers which do not wish to see it accede

to full sovereignty under the leadership and guidance of MPLA, because they know full well that MPLA will consistently and courageously defend the legitimate interests of the Angolan people.

127. If we have dwelt at some length on the painful situation in Angola, it is because it forcefully confirms that imperialism and its agents are doing everything within their power to prevent the full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV), and eloquently shows that the racist régime of South Africa is one of the major obstacles in the path of freedom, peace and progress in Africa. Thus it is no longer a secret that the South African racists are stirring up tension in Angola. Last August South African troops crossed the Angolan border. It was not by chance that this action coincided with the intensification of armed provocation of MPLA by dissidents of the liberation struggle and by reactionary and imperialist forces seeking to sabotage the triumph of the work of decolonization and reopen the whole question. An official declaration by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa accused Portugal of being incapable of maintaining calm in the southern part of Angola, qualifying the invasion of that part of the Territory by South African troops as "preventive measures" to protect the kaukana dam and the pumping station of Kalueke, which provide the water supply for the northern regions of Namibia. Once again the South African Government is trying to find excuses to justify its reprehensible intervention in Angola. The General Assembly must therefore categorically condemn this attitude of aggression by the Vorster team which is trying to crush and stifle the independence of Angola.

128. The Party State of Guinea, for its part, reaffirms its solidarity with and unconditional support of the courageous people of Angola in this decisive phase of the valiant struggle that it is waging under the leadership of MPLA in order to free itself from the strait-jacket of colonialism and neo-colonialism. We launch an urgent appeal to all progressive and peace-loving States throughout the world immediately to recognize the Government set up by MPLA on 11 November, and to give their diplomatic, political and material support to MPLA, in order to ensure the liquidation in Angola of all foreign forces which are committing acts of aggression against the Angolan people and so that the integrity of Angola may be safeguarded. It is through such support that we shall know the friends of Africa and the enemies of Africa, the friends of the Angolan people and the enemies of the Angolan people, those who are in favour of the real national independence of Angola, the integrity of its Territory and the total sovereignty of its people, and those who wish to maintain Angola in the shackles of imperialism and neo-colonialism. In any case, for the Guinean delegation, there can be absolutely no confusion between those who are giving sincere assistance to Africa to rid itself of racism and colonialism and those who, on the contrary, seek to subjugate it and deny it the attainment of its independence.

129. We are also concerned at the present moment by the serious situation which prevails in the international Territory of Namibia. The racist régimes of the white minorities of Pretoria and Salisbury are afraid of the new situation that has been established in southern Africa since the collapse of Portuguese colo-

nialism and which is demonstrated by the tightening of the vice on those régimes, the noise of weapons and the feverish build-up of military potential, thus creating a threat to peace and security, as is evidenced by the information provided in the report of the Special Committee.

130. In this connexion, the delegation of the Party State of Guinea believes that it is important for the international community to exercise increased pressure on certain Western Powers and on their monopolies so that they renounce their co-operation with the racists and put an end to the delivery of weapons.

131. We also attach considerable importance to the application of other effective measures pursuant to the provisions of the Charter, including the strengthening of economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and their extension, and the application of Chapter VII of the Charter to South Africa, which is at the present time committing overt acts of aggression against the independent and sovereign State of Angola. My delegation hopes that the Security Council will take concrete measures in that direction.

132. The new situation created by the success of the national liberation movements opens vast prospects for the total elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism in Africa, in the West Indies, in the Pacific Ocean and in other regions of the world. In these conditions the United Nations should at this stage adopt firm and resolute measures so that the world will once and for all time be completely free of colonialism and racism.

133. This year our international Organization is celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of its foundation. It is also the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. On the occasion of these two important anniversaries, we believe that new and more decisive measures should be taken to accelerate the process of total decolonization.

134. The Party State of Guinea reaffirms here its solidarity with and unconditional support for all peoples fighting against racism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism for accession to full responsibility, attainment of the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence and the triumph of the ideals of freedom, justice, peace and progress.

135. We should like to avail ourselves of this opportunity to greet the people of Surinam on the occasion of its accession to independence on 25 November 1975. We welcome them and should like to extend our warm congratulations to that new State with which we have already established relations of close co-operation through the International Bauxite Association, of which we are members.

136. To conclude, the delegation of the Party State of Guinea expresses the hope that the General Assembly, with the new impetus of the peoples and more particularly the realism which now seems to be guiding the administering Powers, will adopt more constructive measures to ensure the speedy triumph of justice and the final and complete elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, because that is the purpose of the historic Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations.

137. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before calling on the next speaker I should like to inform the Assembly that the following delegations have decided to add their names to the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/L.779: Congo, Kuwait, Niger, Rwanda and Togo.

138. In addition, the following delegations have decided to add their names to the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/L.780: Congo, Guinea, Kuwait, Niger, Rwanda, Togo and Upper Volta.

139. Mr. MONDJO (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): It will be recalled that it was in order to complete the liberation of the colonial Territories that the General Assembly adopted the solemn Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. In order to achieve the objectives of that resolution, the General Assembly established the Special Committee, which since that time has made efforts, and continues to do so, to find appropriate means to ensure the full implementation of that resolution and the attainment of its purposes. The Special Committee regularly submits reports to the General Assembly containing information on all aspects of the situation of the Territories to be decolonized.

140. As a member of the Special Committee, my country could not appreciate more the selflessness and objectivity with which that Committee, under the guidance of our brother, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, is carrying out its task, despite the obstinacy of certain administering Powers which so far have refused to co-operate with the Committee. That attitude is hardly surprising. It fits very well into the Machiavellian plan of new-style colonialism which is trying to maintain millions of human beings under its domination.

141. However, despite this somewhat pessimistic picture, we are convinced that so long as there are peoples under colonial domination the work of the Special Committee, that is to say, the work of the United Nations, will be intensified year by year. This is the appropriate time for my delegation to say quite categorically how much we appreciate the efforts of the United Nations to bring about the complete elimination of colonialism.

142. It is also appropriate for the People's Republic of the Congo to welcome warmly to our midst the delegations of Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, Papua New Guinea and Comoros, countries which today are swelling the ranks of the non-aligned family.

Mr. Alzamora (Peru), Vice-President, took the Chair.

143. The situation of those peoples which are still bowed under the colonial yoke continues to be of concern to the international community. With regard to Southern Rhodesia, and in view of the evil designs of the Ian Smith clique, which is trying to delay the granting of their rights to the peoples of Southern Rhodesia, we should like to say that the distinguishing mark of our century is the development and success of the liberation movements.

144. Despite the fact that the monster is seeking in vain to consolidate his racist and minority régime, thus defying the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, and that he is assured that he has the uncon-

ditional support of certain imperialist Powers which are, unfortunately, important Members of this Organization, there is no doubt that the people of Zimbabwe will succeed. As long as the United Nations stands by and looks on powerlessly, certain States will continue to give powerful assistance to the minority régime of South Africa with a view to hindering the sanctions that our Organization has imposed on that régime and therefore the people of Zimbabwe will have no other choice than to make its armed struggle for national liberation more radical.

145. With regard to Namibia, the racist Vorster, the champion of *apartheid*, deliberately refuses to implement resolution 366 (1974) of 17 December 1974, by which the Security Council gave the South African Government until 30 May 1975 to undertake through a solemn declaration to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, to recognize the territorial integrity of Namibia and to take the necessary measures to withdraw the illegal administration which it maintains in Namibia. There again, Vorster benefits from the total complicity of certain Member States of this Organization, a complicity which encourages him to defy with impunity the resolutions of the United Nations.

146. However, it must be recalled that as the process of decolonization is irreversible, the means to continue this process may be peaceful or violent. And in this connexion, we should like to recall the Dar es Salaam Declaration, adopted on 10 April 1975 by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], which, moreover, most appropriately recalls the position expressed in the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa adopted in 1969 by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU.

147. With regard to the smaller Territories, the Special Committee should in our view continue to send missions of inquiry. The Committee should also work with the administering Powers in order to prepare the peoples concerned for independence.

148. At this time when we are discussing the problems of decolonization, a new State, the newest, born hardly a few weeks ago of the revolutionary struggle which has been waged for several years—and here I am speaking, of course, of the People's Republic of Angola—is the victim of imperialist aggression perpetrated by South Africa, a country condemned by the United Nations because of its criminal policy of *apartheid*. Not content with maintaining Namibia for many years under colonialist domination, South Africa is stretching its odious tentacles towards Angola, an independent and sovereign country. Indeed, regular South African troops are brazenly carrying out scandalous acts of aggression against the Angolan people. In the face of that aggression, which will have incalculable consequences, the voice of peoples that love freedom and peace continues to be raised throughout the world in condemnation of the criminal acts of South Africa.

149. Thus, a new form of colonialist domination is emerging before our eyes and is trying to take hold in Angola, thus flouting the sovereignty of this young African State. We are witnessing a reincarnation of the unholy alliance between international imperialism and the South African racists. In the Congo, we are well

aware of the evil plans drawn up by a coalition of imperialists, not only against the effective independence of the Angolan people, but also against the liberation of Africa. This is why the attitude of reprehensible passivity which certain countries demonstrate in this serious affair as they take refuge in blind, instinctive anti-communism can only profit the imperialists who, by using the racist mercenaries of Pretoria, wish to hide their macabre designs in Angola behind a smoke-screen.

150. The so-called liberation movements which, flouting the resolutions both of the OAU and of the United Nations, are sidling up to the racists of South Africa in order, so they think, to win power in Angola, appear in the eyes of the African nation like puppets manipulated by the enemies of the total liberation of our continent and can only arouse the greatest scorn on our part.

151. As for those who are preparing to invade the People's Republic of Angola, invoking the most fallacious pretexts, we wish to remind them of the striking lesson which the heroic Vietnamese people taught the imperialist aggressors and their local lackeys. It is a dangerous illusion to believe that in 1975 Africa will permit the reconquest by obscure forces of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism of even one of our countries, all of which without any exception aspire to freedom, real independence, dignity and peace.

152. For its part the Angolan people, under the banner of its vanguard, MPLA, will be able to foil the imperialist-racist manoeuvres. In its struggle for genuine independence for its country, the young Angolan Republic can count on the solidarity of its numerous friends throughout the world, among them my country, the Congo, which has always taken a determined stand against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

153. We hope that the General Assembly will fulfil its responsibility to promote peace, progress and independence.

154. Mr. KINENE (Uganda): As we are about to celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples we note with satisfaction that over 50 States have benefited from that famous Declaration, Uganda being one of them. This year alone this Organization has witnessed the admission of five States to full membership. In other words, the success of the decolonization process has been great and the United Nations ought to be proud of this remarkable record. In this connexion, I wish to join those who have congratulated Mr. Salim, Chairman of the Special Committee, and all the other members of that Committee on the brilliant work that they have done in the field of decolonization.

155. The collapse of the fascist Portuguese dictatorship in 1974 removed one of the biggest stumbling blocks in the decolonization process. We welcomed the decision of the armed forces movement of Portugal, which saw the realities of the situation and proceeded to grant independence to its former colonies.

156. Unfortunately, the problem of colonialism is still with us today, especially when we look at the situation in southern Africa. In Zimbabwe, the racist rebel

Smith continues to flout and disregard international opinion and United Nations resolutions on decolonization. It is now 10 years since the rebels unilaterally declared independence. The rebel régime would have already collapsed had it not been for the active support rendered to it by the racist régime of South Africa and some Western imperialist countries.

157. It is disappointing to note that in spite of economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations on the rebel régime some Member States have continued to trade with Smith. Uganda has always supported and will continue to support the peoples of Zimbabwe, both materially and morally, in their legitimate struggle for self-determination under the leadership of their national liberation movement, the African National Council. The time will come when they will occupy their rightful place in this Assembly.

158. The racist régime of South Africa continues to occupy Namibia in flagrant violation of United Nations resolutions. In 1966 the United Nations terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*], and in 1971 the International Court of Justice delivered an advisory opinion in which it ruled that the continued occupation of the Territory was illegal.¹ Instead of heeding the decision of the International Court of Justice and respecting the decisions of this Organization, the South African racist régime has continued to oppress the people of Namibia and to exploit their natural resources for no other reason than self-aggrandizement.

159. The trading partners of the Vorster clique achieve their selfish ends by stealing uranium from the Territory for use in their nuclear plants. They ignore the fact that the Africans are the authentic owners of the land and its natural resources and that much of the wealth of the Territory from which they are excluded derives from the ruthless exploitation of their labour.

160. Let me reaffirm Uganda's complete solidarity with the people of Namibia in their struggle, by all means, against the racist régime of South Africa. Let Vorster and his allies know that those who indulge in imperialist excesses do not have any exit but will be caught in the waves of the revolutionary tide their actions will have induced.

161. I cannot conclude my statement without making a brief reference to Angola, a country which attained its independence on 11 November after centuries of colonial rule. My President has already congratulated the people of Angola on their attainment of independence. May I take this opportunity once again to express our warm congratulations to those valiant sons and daughters of Africa who relentlessly challenged and defeated colonial rule.

162. At the same time, I wish to congratulate the people of Surinam, who regained their independence yesterday. We look forward to welcoming them very soon as full Members of the United Nations.

163. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, at its twelfth ordinary session held at Kampala in July of this year, expressed concern at the bloody confrontation between the three liberation movements in Angola which had previously signed agreements at Kinshasa, Mombassa, Alvor and Nakuru. The Assembly in its wisdom reaffirmed that

it was the duty of the OAU to restore peace, harmony and understanding in Angola. With this in mind they decided to set up a fact-finding commission of enquiry and conciliation. The fact-finding commission of enquiry and conciliation made recommendations which the OAU should follow in solving the Angolan problem. The commission recommended, among other things, that the formation of a government of national unity in Angola was essential as this would help to ward off all foreign interference in the internal affairs of Angola.

164. It is in the light of that recommendation that we call for strict respect of the decisions of the OAU and its relevant agencies in trying to reach a peaceful solution to the Angolan problem. We strongly condemn the South African racist régime for its interference in the internal affairs of Angola.

165. Let me conclude by referring to what my President, Idi Amin Dada, who is also current Chairman of the OAU, said when he addressed this Assembly on 1 October 1975: "The problem of Angola, being essentially African, should and ought to have an African solution." [2370th meeting, para. 91.]

166. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representatives of Cuba and China have asked to exercise their right of reply. I give them the floor.

167. Mr. ALARCÓN (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the preceding meeting, the representative of Australia asked to speak in this debate despite the fact that the list of speakers had been closed. A few minutes later he made a statement which was devoted almost exclusively to responding to the statement I made at the 2417th meeting. In this connexion, I should like to put on record our total and complete rejection of what was said by Mr. Campbell, with regard to both the substance and the form.

168. Mr. Campbell attempted to present to the Assembly a warped picture of the activity of the Special Committee over the last few years, which is quite easily refuted if representatives look at the records of the plenary meetings of this Assembly at which it approved the reports of the Special Committee on its work in 1972 and 1973.

169. In both those years, as was stated to the Assembly by the Chairman of the Special Committee and its Rapporteur, the reports contained certain resolutions concerning the case of Puerto Rico which were adopted by the Assembly in full knowledge of the facts. I can quote the very words of the Chairman of the Special Committee when in 1973 he specifically emphasized for the consideration of representatives that one of the new and important elements of the report referred precisely to the Puerto Rican case and to the resolutions to which I have alluded.

170. My delegation does not wish to embark on any polemics with the delegation of Australia because we share the satisfaction of many representatives at the fact that Australia had decided to take part in the decolonization activities of the United Nations after a certain period of absence. But I am sure representatives will agree that I was very moderate and cautious when I described what had occurred in the Special Committee this year as regards the Puerto Rican case. I just said a very few words, which seemed to have provoked the matutinal inspiration of Mr. Campbell. I said that "the use of incorrect procedures made it

possible for the United States to bring about postponement of the consideration of this question until next year'. [2417th meeting, para. 74.]

171. I did not refer to Australia or to its representative in the Committee, Mr. Campbell, who was the instigator of that action undertaken by the Special Committee; nor did I employ other terms used in copious literature from other sources, which described such action in rather more brutal terms. If the representative of Australia wishes at this stage to refute such assertions by other sources, but certainly not by the delegation of Cuba, then it should direct its criticism to them.

172. Merely in order to assist him in this exercise of reply, I should like to remind him that it was not my representation, but that of Mr. Paul Hoffman, an American journalist, who, on the first page of *The New York Times* of 21 August this year, a copy of which I have here, and with which I think everyone is familiar, alluded to what had occurred in the Special Committee, indicating that the action of the Committee had been taken under strong pressure from the Government of the United States. He said, *inter alia*:

"Implied in the American warnings was a clear threat of retaliation through such means as withholding of economic aid or other favours."*

173. I also have with me here sufficient photocopies to hand out to any representative or any Member of this Organization who so desires of the first page of an African newspaper which reproduces the text of the note sent to an African Chancellery by the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States in that country. With the note there is an editorial from that paper which qualifies the action in rather more brusque terms than those I used yesterday afternoon.

174. I also have with me a copy of what the head of the United States delegation said to this Organization and which is part of what has been repeated over the past few months. Referring specifically to the action of the Special Committee last August in which Mr. Campbell played a pre-eminent role, Mr. Moynihan, in an interview with the Columbia Broadcasting System, televised in colour coast-to-coast in this country, referring to the diplomatic activity of the United States delegation as regards the Puerto Rican case, said:

"One country in the United Nations came up to one of our fellows across the street. He said, 'Are you threatening us?' The man did not know what to say. The man called us over across the street at the embassy, and I said, 'Tell him, yes'."*

175. Mr. LAI (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): In our continued consideration and debate on the question of opposing colonialism, let us first of all congratulate Surinam on its achievement of independence yesterday. We welcome that newly independent country, and hope that it will soon join the United Nations as a new Member.

176. In his statement on the afternoon of 24 November [2415th meeting], the Chinese representative exposed, with well known and irrefutable facts, the gross intervention and blatant expansion by the Soviet leadership in Angola. The many facts presented by us

constitute iron-clad evidence which cannot be explained away by the Soviet representative. Therefore, in his statement just now, he could only resort to such despicable tactics as fabrications and slanders. This is completely futile.

177. There are two positions on the question of Angola: one is the open and above-board position of respecting and cherishing the over-all interests of the independence and unity of Angola and Africa; the other is one of harbouring sinister designs, in disregard of the appeal of the people of Angola to seek a peaceful settlement of the conflict among the Angolan liberation movements and to safeguard African unity.

178. This sharp contrast can be clearly seen by everyone. All the nonsensical abuse and vilifications levelled by the Soviet representative against China can only further expose the social-imperialist nature of this super-Power which has single-handedly provoked the civil war in Angola and undermined African unity in its attempt to expand its sphere of influence, and contend for world hegemony.

179. It should be pointed out that the unbridled disruption of national liberation movements, interference in others' internal affairs and pursuit of power politics on the part of the Soviet leadership in Africa did not begin only today. It may be recalled that the Soviet leadership attempted over a long period to control a Middle East country militarily, politically and economically, in order to incorporate it in its sphere of influence when that country was in a difficult position during the war against Zionist aggression. It fostered pro-Soviet traitorous forces in an African country and on a number of occasions plotted the subversion of the Government of that country. Quite a few African Governments were forced to expel groups of Soviet personnel who masqueraded as diplomats and specialists while engaging in intelligence and subversive activities. There are too many such instances to be enumerated.

180. What evoked particular indignation was that, on the eve of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, in 1973, and on the eve of the twelfth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held in July this year, the Soviet leadership openly wielded its baton and exerted pressure on the Chairmen of those two Conferences in a vain attempt to compel the African countries to submit to the expansionist force of Soviet social-imperialism and to abandon their just position of opposing imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. All these wanton acts of the Soviet leadership have been firmly exposed by the African countries and ended in ignominious failure. The facts are all here. Does the Soviet representative dare to deny them?

181. The various evil deeds committed by the Soviet leadership on the question of Angola serve as another glaring exposure of the vicious development of its social-imperialist nature. This tells people that the Soviet leading clique, with honey on its lips and murder in its heart, is neither a "natural ally" nor an "angel of peace", but, rather, a most sinister and ferocious new Tsar of the twentieth century.

182. But time has changed. The African continent, which has lived through a long period of dark colonial

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

rule, has now awakened, and the African peoples have now stood up. For many centuries the African peoples have indomitably carried out trials of strength with old colonialism and are now waging heroic struggles for the defence of national independence and the liberation of the entire African continent. They will never allow Soviet social-imperialism, clad in the sheepskin of a "natural ally", to get a chance to step in and rob them of their hard-won fruits of victory.

183. The intervention, expansion and aggression by social-imperialism, the other super-Power and the South African racists in Angola are doomed to failure. The just cause of the Angolan and African peoples will certainly triumph. The reason is precisely the fact that truth and justice are on their side and that they enjoy the sympathy and support of the people of the entire world. Of course, before achieving final victory, they will inevitably encounter various difficulties and detours, and the road will not be smooth. However, the aggression, interference, intimidation and sabotage on the part of the super-Powers cannot stem the surging torrent of the liberation cause of the Angolan and African peoples. We are deeply convinced that the great African peoples will root out the interference by the super-Powers and succeed in the great cause of the liberation of Angola and the African continent.

184. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The members of the Assembly would probably have been surprised if I had not asked to speak in exercise of my right of reply. They would be even more surprised if I were to allow myself to be drawn into a polemical discussion of the kind we have just heard. I repeat what I said before: Let the representative of China say whom they were helping in Angola.

185. I remind this Assembly that the Soviet Union will continue to help Angola to become independent, free and unified and to secure its territorial integrity, to become a country in whose internal affairs no other country will interfere.

186. As for the word "super-Power", which the representative of China repeats constantly, it can be viewed in different ways. From one point of view, there is nothing bad in it. Indeed, there are certain Powers which are somewhat larger and somewhat stronger than others. Is that important? No, what is important is the purposes for which this power is used.

187. But why did the representative of China exclude his country from the ranks of the super-Powers? It has one of the largest populations in the world. As far as military forces are concerned, it has the largest number. And as for interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, it is at the very forefront; it will not give priority to anyone else. In view of all that, why do they go on using this term?

188. I should now like to quote from another statement made by one of the leaders of our country, in order to show that we are true to Lenin's foreign policy and that we shall continue to follow it, no matter what they say. This is what the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated when he received one of the leaders of Africa:

"We should like the African peoples to be totally freed from colonialism and neo-colonialism. We

want to see not a single region or territory remaining on the African continent where colonialism, racism and *apartheid* dominate. An integral part of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is to give all possible assistance and support to the peoples that have freed themselves from colonial dependence."

189. That is the policy we shall pursue, no matter what the representatives of China say from this rostrum or in their press releases.

190. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of China will speak in exercise of his right of reply.

191. Mr. LAI (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Anyone who respects reality can see that the statement made by the Chinese representative on the afternoon of 24 November and the reply made just now were all based on facts and reason.

192. China's position on the question of Angola is based on principle, taking into account the fundamental interests of the people of Angola, Africa and the whole world. The Soviet representative's attempt to distort China's just position on the question of Angola is entirely futile.

193. In his reply, the Soviet representative did not dare to touch on the facts enumerated in our statement or on our basic points of view. Instead, he did his utmost to sow discord in the friendly relations between the Chinese people and the African countries and peoples, and made slanderous attacks on China's foreign policy.

194. The use of abusive language in place of reasoning is an expression of political degradation and a guilty conscience. This reminds us of what Lenin said in June 1914, when he criticized Plekhanov, Trotsky and the like: "In politics abusive language often serves as a screen for utter lack of principles and sterility, impotence, angry impotence, on the part of those who use such language."

195. This is a vivid description of the present predicament of the Soviet representative. The various evil and ugly deeds committed by the Soviet leadership in Angola are objective facts well known to all. Any attempts at denying them by sophistry will be futile. The Soviet representative slanderously accused China of "striving for world hegemony". Now, what is a super-Power? And who is seeking hegemony? It is an imperialist Power which seeks world hegemony by engaging in aggression, interference, control, subversion and plunder against other countries everywhere. Is not the Soviet Union of today precisely such a Power? It has engaged in criminal activities of all kinds in Europe, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, the Pacific, the Atlantic and in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Does not all this prove that the Soviet Union is precisely such a Power? China does not have a single soldier or any military bases abroad. "Never seek hegemony" is one of our basic principles, which we are scrupulously observing.

196. China is a developing socialist country. It is not qualified for a super-Power nor will it ever become one. Even when it grows stronger in the future, China will never be a super-Power.

197. So long as the Soviet ruling clique does not change its social-imperialist nature, it will never abandon its super-Power hegemonism of its own accord, neither today nor in the future. It is therefore very correct and most appropriate to pin the labels of super-Power and social-imperialism on the Soviet leadership.

198. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of the Soviet Union has asked once more to exercise his right of reply.

199. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I do not intend to put on a show here in our dispute with the Chinese representative. I should like to say to him, quite kindly, that everything he has said paints his own portrait; everything he said about principles is turned back to him, because he had no principles, nor has he any now.

200. As far as Angola is concerned, I have already stated twice and I repeat for the third time that we have helped the people of Angola and we shall continue to do so. This is quite clear and it has been stated by the leaders of our Government. Everything else they have said is absolute nonsense which does not deserve a reply.

AGENDA ITEM 87

Question of Namibia:

(d) Appointment of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE

201. Mr. QUARTIN SANTOS (Portugal), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly for its consideration the report of the Fourth Committee concerning the question of Namibia, which the Committee took up under agenda item 87. The report is contained in document A/10358.

202. As reflected in the report, the representative of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the national liberation movement of the Territory, participated in the Committee's proceedings in accordance with the related decision of the General Assembly. Bearing in mind the information thus received, and in the light of the related recommendations 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 the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Fourth Committee adopted draft resolutions I and II, which are set out in paragraph 15 of the report.

203. As will be noted, one deals with the item as a whole. During the Committee's consideration of the question the majority of members deplored South Africa's persistent refusal to comply with the relevant decisions of the United Nations and its continued illegal occupation of the Territory, as well as its efforts to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia. Of no less concern to members was the fact that, despite United Nations decisions and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice,¹ certain States continue their relations with South Africa on behalf of or concerning Namibia as well as military

or strategic collaboration, all of which has the effect of supporting or encouraging South Africa in its defiance of the United Nations. In this regard, the majority of members noted with satisfaction the opposition of the Namibian people to South Africa's illegal presence in the Territory and, in particular, the progress of their struggle for national liberation.

204. By approving the recommendations of the Fourth Committee contained in draft resolution I, the General Assembly would once again reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence, and the legitimacy of their struggle by all means against the illegal occupation of their country by South Africa. The General Assembly would also endorse the relevant provisions of the Dar es Salaam Declaration on Southern Africa, adopted by the Council of Ministers of the OAU at its ninth extraordinary session, held in April 1975. In strongly condemning South Africa for its persistent refusal to withdraw from Namibia and for its manoeuvres to consolidate its illegal occupation by organizing a so-called constitutional conference to create divisions among ethnic groups and to further its policies of "bantustanization", the Assembly would demand the immediate withdrawal by South Africa of its military and police forces, and its so-called administration from Namibia so as to enable the Namibian people to achieve freedom and independence. In addition, the General Assembly would decide that free elections should be held in Namibia as a matter of urgency under the direct supervision and control of the United Nations. It would also urge the Security Council to take up again the question of Namibia and to act to give effect to its resolution 366 (1974).

205. As regards the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the draft resolution would have the General Assembly approve the Council's report, including its proposed programme of work for 1976, and would make adequate financial provisions for the implementation of that programme.

206. Draft resolution II relates to the United Nations Fund for Namibia. By adopting this resolution the General Assembly would, in order to ensure the operation of the Fund, authorize an allocation of \$200,000 from the regular budget, and would further request the Secretary-General and the United Nations Council for Namibia to continue to appeal to Governments and organizations for voluntary contributions to the Fund. The General Assembly would also appeal to States, to organizations within the United Nations system and to other organizations having an interest in Namibia to make financial contributions to the Institute for Namibia.

207. Finally, I wish to place on the record of this meeting the satisfaction and appreciation expressed by a number of Committee members at the initiatives taken by the Governments of Guyana, India, Pakistan, Turkey and Zambia in issuing commemorative postage stamps on Namibia. These stamps were displayed in the adjacent area during the Committee's consideration of the item.

208. On behalf of the Fourth Committee, I commend this report to the attention of the General Assembly.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fourth Committee.

209. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now take a decision on draft resolutions I and II recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 15 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of draft resolution I is contained in paragraph 4 (a) of document A/10383.

210. I put to the vote draft resolution I.

The draft resolution was adopted by 110 votes to none, with 7 abstentions (resolution 3399 (XXX)).

211. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We turn now to draft resolution II. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in paragraph 4 (b) of document A/10383.

212. The Fourth Committee adopted that draft resolution without objection. May I consider that the Assembly decides to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3400 (XXX)).

213. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I now invite members to turn their attention to the note by the Secretary-General which deals with the appointment of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia [A/10382]. In his note the Secretary-

General proposes to the General Assembly, for its approval, the extension of the appointment of Mr. Sean MacBride as United Nations Commissioner for Namibia for a further one-year term until 31 December 1976.

214. May I consider that the General Assembly approves the proposal of the Secretary-General?

It was so decided.

215. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. MacBride on the confidence which the General Assembly has just shown in him and to wish him continued success in the important task which he has been carrying out with so much interest and dedication.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.

NOTE

¹ *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.*