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President: Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 60

Programme for the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/8842)

1. Mrs. IDER (Mongolia), Rapporteur of the Third Committee: I have the honour to present the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 60 [A/8842].

2. The General Assembly, at its twenty-sixth session, adopted resolution 2860 (XXVI), in which it expressed the desire to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration in a manner which would fit the occasion and serve the cause of human rights, and requested the Secretary-General to present suggestions on the celebration of the anniversary.

3. The Third Committee has generally endorsed the suggestions as to a programme of suitable activities which could be undertaken in celebration of the anniversary, which are contained in the report prepared by the Secretary-General [A/8820 and Corr.1]. The debate in the Third Committee stressed that violations of human rights take place in many parts of the world, and indicated that the overwhelming majority of members considered racial discrimination and *apartheid* the most flagrant and massive violations of human rights in our time and that the best way to mark the anniversary was to achieve concrete results in the elimination of racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

4. The proposal to launch the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination at the special meeting of the General Assembly to be held on 10 December 1973 in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights received wide support.

5. Hence the Third Committee adopted by acclamation a draft resolution which, *inter alia*, endorsed the suggestion that a special meeting should be held on 10 December 1973 at which will be launched the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and requested the Secretary-General: (a) to transmit for action his report to Governments, specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations and non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council; (b) to take the necessary measures to implement those suggestions which fall within his responsibility or which require the action of other United Nations organs; (c) to organize seminars on a regional level; (d) to submit to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session the report on the implementation of the resolution. The Third Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of this draft resolution.

6. Mr. PAPADEMAS (Cyprus): My delegation, together with 20 others, had the honour in the Third Committee to sponsor the draft resolution which the Committee has adopted unanimously. We believed that 25 years after the signing of that historic document, the Universal Declaration, it was time that all Members of the United Nations should be given an opportunity next year not only to observe the anniversary but also to ponder the failures we have had over these 27 years and to see what we can do to remedy them.

7. My delegation and all the other members were gratified to see the Third Committee adopt the draft resolution unanimously; and it is our expectation that the General Assembly will do so, too. We feel that when this draft resolution is adopted, not only will the States Members of the United Nations find ways and means to implement the very important and detailed programme prepared by the Secretariat, but that the United Nations Secretariat and all other organs will support that programme and provide the means and funds to implement it fully.

8. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly must now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 15 of its report [A/8842]. The administrative and financial implications of this draft resolution appear in document A/8852. The draft resolution was adopted by the Third Committee unanimously, and we have just heard a statement in this connexion by the representative of Cyprus. I take it that the General Assembly decides to adopt this draft resolution.

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 2906 (XXVII)).*

## AGENDA ITEM 22

**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)**

9. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all I should like to say that my delegation is pleased that this year the Assembly has decided to give top priority to agenda item 22. Such a request has been made repeatedly every year by the delegation of Cuba. We consider that those States that are decidedly anti-colonialist should endeavour to support the work of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, should see to it that its recommendations are implemented, and should oppose imperialist manoeuvres designed to bring to a standstill what the United Nations is doing in support of the oppressed peoples of the world.

10. The circumstances of today's debate may be decisive for the anti-colonialist cause. The battle lines are drawn, and there is a clear dividing line between those who advocate the complete and immediate lifting of the yoke still weighing on millions of human beings in Africa, Asia and Latin America and those who do their utmost to deny these peoples their right to national independence.

11. In Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique, in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Puerto Rico and in other Territories which are still subjected to colonialism, the peoples of the world are strengthening their fight against the oppressors. The colonialist and racist forces, led by United States imperialism, have organized reactionary resistance and are actually equipping international armies, consolidating their interests along a common front, and endeavouring to put a brake on international action in support of the oppressed peoples.

12. Last year the Special Committee pursued its effective work in support of the emancipation of all those who have not yet achieved independence. In this way it fully discharged the mandate assigned to it by the General Assembly in resolution 1514 (XV). At the same time, as representatives are aware, it has been the target of consistently hostile policies on the part of the colonialist Powers, which are trying to reduce its effectiveness, which boycott its activities and which assert that what the United Nations is doing to bring about decolonization is at a standstill. Thus, these Powers are acting in contradiction with the principles set forth in resolution 1514 (XV). For these reasons we believe that the Assembly was very right to assign top priority to the Committee's report [A/8723/Rev.1].

13. In the course of the year the Special Committee has adopted important decisions which reflect its determination to continue to discharge the mandate assigned to it by the General Assembly, and to continue its efforts to see to it that all those peoples that have not yet achieved independence exercise their inalienable right to self-determination.

We welcome the results of the Special Mission of the Committee which travelled through the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau). That trip established that the liberation movement of that country, the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [PAIGC], controls three quarters of the Territory, exercises real administration over the liberated areas and, in a word, is the sole *de facto* and *de jure* authority in the Territory. In this connexion, my delegation wishes to reiterate the view which we have already put forward in the Fourth Committee that the General Assembly, sitting in plenary, should hear comrade Amílcar Cabral, the Secretary-General of the PAIGC.

14. It is national liberation movements in the colonial territories, we have repeatedly asserted, that have the exclusive right to represent those territories at the international level. We have heard for many years in the Assembly those who oppress millions of human beings in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Now that the Assembly has established that the triumphant liberation movement in Guinea (Bissau) exercises real control over the territory, it is only fitting and proper that the spokesmen of that movement should speak before this Assembly. That would not only be an honor for our Organization; it would also be proof of the fact that the anti-colonialist principles asserted here and repeated year after year are not mere words but are reflections of political decisions supported by the overwhelming majority of Member States.

15. In the course of this year also the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries proclaimed at their most recent international conference in Guyana, last August, their determination to continue to work for the anti-colonialist cause within this Organization until complete victory. The Georgetown Declaration, which was signed by all the leaders of the non-aligned countries, urged that concrete action be adopted to expedite the process of decolonization, and in that way the conference accurately reflected the present situation. In this connexion, I should like to quote from part of the Georgetown Declaration, in which the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries categorically stated their position on colonialism as follows:

"The Liberation process in countries under colonial rule has reached a decisive stage. The colonial regimes, firmly backed by some of the major western powers, are savagely repressing national liberation movements, ignore the anti-colonial decisions adopted by the international community, organize and support international colonialism and racism, and encourage and promote intrigues and stratagems in order to perpetuate their rule over oppressed peoples and prevent them from asserting their inalienable rights. The colonialist and the racist régimes in Southern Africa, aided and abetted by international imperialism, are promoting conspiracies, provocations, interference and subversions against independent African nations, such as the Republic of Guinea, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, the People's Republic of Congo, and Senegal. The Conference expressed full solidarity with these nations which are or have been the target of hostile action on the part of imperialism, colonialism, and racism, and brings to the attention of the United Nations Organization, and particularly to the attention of the Security Council, the aggressive nature of such policies which clearly violate international law and

obviously threaten international peace and security, inasmuch as it is the duty of the United Nations Organization to guarantee the security, peace and territorial integrity of all independent African States, to halt the aggressive acts being committed by imperialism, colonialism and racism, and fully and promptly eradicate all these evils from the African Continent.”<sup>1</sup>

The Georgetown declaration goes on to state:

“Faced with a reactionary escalation led by colonialism and racism with the support of international imperialism, this Conference appeals to all independent and progressive nations to strengthen their solidarity and mutual assistance, to intensify their political, moral and material support, in every field, for the national liberation movements, to go on fighting unceasingly until colonialism and racism are completely wiped out, and to take concerted action on an international level, particularly within the framework of the United Nations Organization, so that the resolutions adopted in favour of all oppressed people are enforced forthwith, and colonialism, racism and all that they bring in their wake are finally eliminated. For that purpose, the participating members agreed to maintain close co-ordination among themselves during the 27th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization. They also resolved to work together to strengthen the activities of the Special Committee responsible for the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) as well as the work of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* and that of the United Nations Council on Namibia; to make every effort to give full effect and high priority to all items on the General Assembly agenda relating to the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, and racism until each and every manifestation thereof is completely eliminated, and to oppose vigorously every intent to eliminate or reduce the importance of such items, or to deprive the United Nations Organization of its political nature and role.”<sup>2</sup>

16. In Georgetown, Guyana, my delegation fully endorsed that text and we wish to repeat here our full support of it. At that Conference the non-aligned countries reaffirmed their unanimous decision to continue their fight for the complete elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations and expressed complete solidarity with all those peoples which have not yet achieved independence, from Puerto Rico to Mozambique, in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America, and reaffirmed their determination to combine their action within this Organization to guarantee the full exercise of that right.

17. That has been the consistent position of our delegation within this Organization. We have already expressed our complete support for the struggle of all peoples oppressed by colonialism anywhere in the world. We have insisted that if the anti-colonialist struggle is to be successful it must receive consistent support and must be viewed as a universal problem, and that the right of all

peoples of the world to emancipation, no matter what their geographical location and regardless of the administering Power, must be ensured.

18. For this reason the Cuban delegation believes that the resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 28 August 1972 in connexion with Puerto Rico [*see A/8723/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 85*] is an important step towards seeing that this Organization discharges its responsibilities in regard to that Territory and ensures the exercise by the people of Puerto Rico of their inalienable right to independence. While recognizing that the people of Puerto Rico have the right to self-determination and independence, the Special Committee adopted a historic decision, strengthening its prestige and increasing the trust which the oppressed peoples of the world place in it. My delegation is confident that next year the Committee will come forward with concrete proposals to implement resolution 1514 (XV) in the case of Puerto Rico.

19. The fight against American colonialism in Puerto Rico is important as a matter of principle, but in addition it is important because the United States has become the staunch supporter of colonialism throughout the world. Not only is the United States acting as the direct colonizer of the people of Puerto Rico; it is also primarily responsible for the fact that colonialism still exists in many parts of the African continent.

20. The adoption of the resolution on Puerto Rico by the Special Committee has, in addition, served to bring to light all the underlying contradictions in that Caribbean colony. The accusing finger of the international community needs only to be raised to show that the entire rotten, decadent edifice, which is out of step with history, of the so-called “free, associated State” could come tumbling down. The Special Committee was quite right when it recognized that the people of the Territory must be allowed to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The people of Puerto Rico have never been allowed to exercise that right which the Charter of the United Nations and resolution 1514 (XV) recognize as the right of all peoples of the world.

21. Ever since the 1898 invasion by the United States the United States Congress has been controlling and usurping the sovereignty of the people of Puerto Rico. The United States has absolute control over most of the activities of the island. The United States exercises exclusive jurisdiction in all matters relating to citizenship, foreign affairs, defence, immigration and emigration, foreign trade, currency, maritime and air transport, postal services, radio and television, wages, labour-management relations, housing, forestry reserves, environmental pollution, transportation, public health, levels of sanitation, food stocks and pharmaceuticals, the closing down of business, the forced expropriation of land and other immovable property, the organization of banks, savings and loan associations and the regulation of certain important professions, such as the medical profession.

22. The list could go on and on, but I think this is enough to show that a political entity which cannot act in the matters just mentioned cannot be considered to be a State and cannot be considered free or to be associated on the

<sup>1</sup> Declaration adopted by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries at Georgetown (Guyana) on 12 August 1972, para. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 21.

basis of equality with any one. Such an entity can only be considered to be a colony in accordance with the principles of this Organization.

23. For these reasons my delegation welcomed the resolution adopted by the Special Committee at its meeting on 28 August of this year. We believe that this Organization's supporting the cause of Puerto Rican independence not only is important as regards that nation, but is also extremely important for the effectiveness of the process of decolonization which is promoted by this Organization.

24. The case of Puerto Rico daily acquires growing importance for peoples which are oppressed by colonialism and subjected to foreign domination and racial discrimination in other areas of the world. Here I should like to draw attention to some of the aspects of colonial development in Puerto Rico which make conditions there ever more similar to conditions in southern Africa. What is being done there is very similar to what is being done by international colonialist forces to the people of southern Africa to deny their right to independence and equal rights.

25. In a document published by this Organization, by the Unit on *Apartheid* in February of this year, we read that early in 1970 it was reported that the Government of the Republic of South Africa had sent groups of experts to Puerto Rico to carry out a secret study on its development and its political and economic ties with the United States. The case of Puerto Rico was considered to be a possible model for the theory of separate development in southern Africa and emphasis was laid on the economic development of Bantustans and their relations with white South Africa, at least as regards migrant labour, industrialization and other matters. This report, commented on in the United Nations document, appeared in the daily newspaper *Cape Times* of 4 March 1970.

26. As a result of the colonial oppression of the people of Puerto Rico a third of the indigenous population has had to emigrate to United States territory and thousands of temporary migrant workers have had to come to this country to work part of the year here. Together with this draining of the population of Puerto Rico, increasing numbers of settlers have gone from United States territory to Puerto Rico, thereby decreasing the percentage of the indigenous population and increasing the percentage of the foreign population, all of which makes it very similar to the case of Rhodesia. If it is realized also that in questions of emigration and immigration all power rests with the United States Congress, it is easy to see the link which experts on *apartheid* saw between that country and the island in the Caribbean and the goal which imperialists and racists are pursuing by applying their experience in the Caribbean to South Africa.

27. As appears in the report submitted this year by the Special Committee, my delegation has stressed the duty of the General Assembly to act in the case of Puerto Rico [see A/8723/Rev.1, chap. I, annex III, sect. A]. This is a people which has for a long time fought to exercise its sacred right to national independence. After an heroic struggle over the centuries, the people of Puerto Rico are still the only people of Latin America who have not yet achieved

political independence, who have never been in a position to exercise their sovereign rights.

28. At the same time, the people have managed to preserve their national identity and to resist all the plans to have Puerto Rico absorbed or liquidated as a separate nation and to annex it to American territory. In order to preserve their nationality, to maintain their national spirit, to preserve their right to independence, the people of Puerto Rico have had to struggle in the most difficult circumstances, to confront the most powerful imperialist Power, the most powerful colonialist Power, of the modern world and to face the most brutal forms of imperialist suppression.

29. In one of its communications to the Special Committee [*ibid.*, sect. B] my delegation described the situation prevailing in that territory with respect to political oppression. We described how, after 20 years, a number of Puerto Rican patriots remained in American imperialist gaols, and others were in other colonial gaols on the island. At the time we stressed, as we wish to repeat today, the duty of all independent and progressive States, the duty of all those who advocate the liquidation of colonialism throughout the world, to demand that the American Government immediately release the nine nationalists who have already been in Yankee prisons for 20 years, subjected to outrageous and discriminatory conditions which the American prison system reserves for Negroes, *mestizos* and Latins. Isolated from the outside world, deprived of some of their most elementary rights as human beings, our companions continue to symbolize for the entire world the spirit of resistance of a Latin American nation in the face of American imperialism. They continue to be an expression of the Puerto Rican national spirit, of the inevitability of the victory of the cause of independence for Puerto Rico, a symbol of the stubborn resistance of a people which refuses to bow to its oppressors.

30. My delegation wishes to take this opportunity once again to reiterate its complete support for all Puerto Rican fighters who have been deprived of their freedom for more than 20 years, some of whom have been condemned to many, many years in prison, some of whom are in an exceedingly poor state of health, including Andres Figueroa Cordero, who is a victim of cancer.

31. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the United States wishes to raise a point of order. I call upon him to raise his point of order.

32. Mr. McGEE (United States of America): I am reluctant to delay the proceedings of this body at this moment, but my delegation feels compelled to raise a point of order relating to the speaker's remarks. It is our firm belief that those remarks are totally and completely out of order, a judgement which we shall explain a little later when we exercise our right of reply. Also, at the time of our reply, as we exercise that privilege, we shall address ourselves to the substance of the speaker's remarks in relation to Puerto Rico.

33. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I would ask the representative of Cuba to continue his statement.

34. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I do not know whether the representative of the United States has an accurate version of chapter I of document A/8723/Rev.1. At least we have a copy of it. We can give him some assistance and provide him with a copy. I might say that in paragraphs 78 to 85 and later in annexes III to V there is quite a considerable description of the matter that we have been discussing.

35. In addition, as regards the question of taking up the time of the Assembly, I would have completed my statement if I had not been interrupted by the point of order. The Secretariat is well aware of the estimated time of our statement, which we gave before the statement, and we would have completed our statement by now had the United States representative not come to the rostrum.

36. It is interesting that the United States representative felt prompted to come to the rostrum only as we were referring to the political prisoners in Puerto Rico. My delegation can assure the Assembly that as long as they continue to be subjected to the imperialist prison régime, here and elsewhere, we will demand their release. The American Government, furthermore, may rest assured that if its representative comes to this rostrum and says that they will be released, that this system of repression and discrimination, this policy of denying the rights of nine patriots who have been in prison solely for having demanded the independence of their homeland has been brought to an end, then the United States will no longer have to hear denunciations of this kind from Cuba. As usual, it is solely in the hands of the colonialists and racists whether the debates in the Assembly stress certain matters or not.

37. Year after year many delegations have felt obliged to repeat that they condemn *apartheid*, that they demand the right to independence for one country or another oppressed by colonialism, and always the colonialist régimes react with the same form of logic. They do not like it that such disagreeable subjects should come up for discussion from this rostrum. But those States which have always had a consistent anti-colonialist policy will never fail to make such statements as long as colonialism continues to exist, either in southern Africa or in the heart of the Caribbean.

38. The anti-colonialist States, those delegations which attached no reservations to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), those who unlike the United States delegation have voted year after year for the resolutions which support the work of the Special Committee and have voted in favour of resolutions on colonialism and racism—we will all continue to fight against colonialism and racism and, we shall certainly not remain silent simply because our statements are displeasing to the racists and the colonialists including the distinguished representative who interrupted me earlier.

39. We would conclude by reaffirming our consistent anti-colonialist policies, and our support for the Special Committee and the report that has been submitted this year. We would reiterate our full support for all those peoples fighting for their national emancipation anywhere in the world, and we would repeat our pledge to continue at their side until they fully exercise their sacred right to

independence. Furthermore, we are looking forward to the statement of the representative of the United States, to see if the representative of the administering Power in Puerto Rico can for the first time reply to just one of the arguments which Cuba year after year has put forward in this Assembly, which show the colonial nature of United States oppression in the island.

40. Mr. MONDJO (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): I come to the rostrum, not out of duty, but with the determination to participate positively in this great debate that the General Assembly means to devote to the problem of colonialism and racism.

41. I should like, however, to begin my remarks by reassuring the Assembly that it is not my intention to speak at length. In particular, it is not my intention to go into the details of colonialism and racism, whose autopsy has already been so masterfully and eloquently performed by several speakers. At this point in our debate, and after the statement made from this rostrum by the head of my delegation, Comrade Minister Henri Lopes, who, on 28 September last [2045th meeting], reaffirmed in his special style—so given to irony—the consistent position of the Government of the People's Republic of the Congo, which has made the anti-colonialist, anti-neo-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle a corner-stone of its foreign policy resolutely bent on the quest for peace, understanding and friendship among all the peoples of the world—my delegation's contribution will appear to be modest, since we mean to confine ourselves to taking up one or two key ideas which for everybody present should constitute a subject for common reflection in the search for the best means of applying without ambiguity resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV), which remain to a large extent unimplemented.

42. Some, accustomed to their reassuring image of their own problems, seem exasperated by the very idea of this debate, which in their eyes seems contrary to good practice. Thus we see them drawing across their faces a curtain of careful indifference. To them I would say that it is indecent in the question before us to ask Africa to look after its own affairs. Colonialism and racism, which are a grave threat to international peace and security, are no longer matters for any one continent or still less any one State. The international community as a whole must show an active interest in cutting off these two scourges before the precursors of the fatal crisis emerge. The fight against old and new forms of colonialism, the fight against racial discrimination, the fight for the self-determination and independence of colonial countries and peoples are now the struggles of every aware man and every free woman of our earth who would rid themselves of the bourgeois hypocrisy which encourages silent complicity in the face of the numerous crimes perpetrated against human rights.

43. In recalling these principles, which all delegations have in mind, we do not wish to seem to be preaching or setting ourselves up as judges which each of us, moreover, could impugn. We should like to say to those for whom this debate—either from weariness or because of certain egoistic interests—has lost its point that Africa could make a heavy indictment if it were given the opportunity. Furthermore, if the heavy indictment of colonialism and racism has turned

up at every session for the past 10 years, that is in no way the fault of Africa. We would like the General Assembly to depart from business-as-usual and to make this debate an important landmark in the annals of our Organization.

44. Mr. President, in your important opening address you very pertinently stated that "the struggle for freedom was a struggle for national existence" [2032nd meeting, para. 55]. I have retained this formula jealously as an epigraph.

45. Thus it is the death of the soul that we see—despite the long succession of solemn declarations, decisions and resolutions, one as ineffective as the other—the existence of millions of Africans still groaning under the burden of colonialism and racism.

46. In truth, the barbarous and retrograde colonialism practised in Africa by the Fascist Portuguese Government and the misanthropic and criminal system of *apartheid* which the incurable racists of Pretoria are imposing not only upon the people of South Africa but also upon those of Namibia and Zimbabwe are indistinguishable in their common programme of sinister genocide in their blind excesses, in their arbitrary acts, in their common servility towards the same tutelary deities that represent "flamboyant capitalism", so much so that the two systems may be seen as the most highly coloured reflection of the unholy alliance constituted by Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury. Moreover, is not this non-independent zone of our continent the vital knot, the anti-African arm of international imperialism? This southern zone of our continent is, as everyone knows, on a standing alert against the awareness and the forward march of the African people, the headquarters responsible for defending the big interests and the profits beyond measure of rapacious imperialism, which is organizing the plunder of all Africa and opposing the true liberation of our continent.

47. The consequences of the existence of this front line of the anti-African arm of imperialism are well known to all.

48. On the one hand, this "accursed alliance" of exploiting capital is arming the Government of the backward State of Portugal and, by every means, is supporting the genocidal war being waged by that country with insane stubbornness against the heroic peoples of Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique. Knowing the tree that produces such fruit, why then be so credulous? Why should we be so amazed by the attitude of the imperialist Powers which, deaf to the voice of reason, proceeding from hesitations to *quid pro quos*, from alleged negotiations to outright shirking, have contributed gravely to creating conditions which make it possible for Portugal to puff itself up to the point where it jeers at the United Nations and encroaches on the sovereignty of the African States bordering on its colonies. The list of these States—among which is my own country, the People's Republic of the Congo—which are continually suffering the odious aggression of imperialism, no longer needs to be set out before this Assembly. Just recently, on the most transparent pretexts, the State of Senegal was the victim of aggression on the part of the Portuguese colonialists, thus adding, as if that were necessary, to the dark picture of death, burning, torture and rape of which the Portuguese colonialist troops, in the name of

Christianity and Western civilization, boast of being the grim artists.

49. Thus it is no accident that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal, playing the part of a modern Don Quixote, had the presumptuousness to come here and jeer at us from this rostrum. Of course, being the king at such a festival was no doubt greatly to his taste. In his vainly arrogant attempt, he believed that the international community could be induced to go back on its own judgement, doubtless imagining that he could succeed in shaking the conviction of the international community, which regards Portugal's policy in Africa of colonialism and savage repression as a crime against humanity.

50. In reality, Portugal, stuck fast in the mud of presumptuous stupidity, is three-quarters drowned; even though only a few yards from the shore, Portugal can no longer distinguish it, and the shore no longer seems to promise it salvation. Despite the increased aid so generously provided by its NATO masters, Portugal is doomed to disappear from Africa. Instead of persisting in making available to Portugal weapons with which to decimate the African populations of Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique, Portugal's friends should think seriously about the therapeutic measures required by their protégé which, as a genuine case of psychopathology, stands in great need of speedy readjustment to reality. Then, and only then, could the Portuguese Government seize the unexpected opportunity to heed carefully the aspirations of the peoples of the Territories it keeps under colonial oppression—peoples whose sole and authentic representatives are the national liberation movements. And here we respectfully hail the determination, courage and constant success of those movements. It is fitting here to welcome the most appropriate decision taken by the Fourth Committee to associate the liberation movements with its consideration of questions concerning their Territories.<sup>3</sup> Genuine spokesmen for the hopes and aspirations of their peoples, the national liberation movements deserve this recognition that is finally putting an end to an absurd situation involving weak policies which they have been, up to the present, required to bear.

51. The emancipation of a people, as you know, does not go forward smoothly. Between colonial constraint and practical mastery of national responsibilities there are many trials and a long tunnel to be traversed. Often a pilot is needed. The national liberation movements are such a pilot, and they do not look to the Blue Helmets—of sad memory in my country—to go out and wage the war for liberation in their place.

52. The wish of these anonymous heroes is to have our Organization better understand and make more widely known the justice of their struggle, so that its outcome may be hastened and in order to limit the sacrifices which they make willingly every day without hesitation. Their hope is also to obtain increased assistance from this Organization to support the sustained effort they are making for national reconstruction in the liberated areas. In speaking of this

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Fourth Committee, 1975th meeting.*

programme of national reconstruction, there suddenly comes to mind the statements made by the Secretary-General of PAIGC, Mr. Cabral,<sup>4</sup> and our brother dos Santos of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO],<sup>5</sup> who, spearheads of African liberation, summed up the situation of their struggle in the Fourth Committee. I shall never forget the measured tone and the wisdom that characterized their two speeches, which, furthermore, gave the measure of the acute sense of responsibility of those two personalities.

53. With regard to *apartheid* in South Africa, in Zimbabwe and in Namibia, where racist power is persistent and is organizing its obsession with the criminal complicity, which we have already emphasized, of certain Western Powers, we continue to think that, notwithstanding all the military, financial and moral support—and who knows what else?—that they are receiving from their accomplices, the racists of South Africa will not prevent the wheels of history from turning. The liberation of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa moves with an irreversible force that will overturn the most solid bastions of the abject system of Vorster and his friends. A simple listing of the innumerable crimes committed by the Vorster clique every day in the name of an absurd system would baffle all understanding. The most positive achievement of which the United Nations can justly pride itself is the emergence of the peoples that suffered under *apartheid*; those who, having crossed the desert have now become aware of their inalienable rights and are today more than ever eager for freedom and independence. It would, in any case, be dangerous to try to snuff the flame of this movement. What matters the murderous mood of Great Britain, which, having belled the cat to get the Zimbabwe people to accept the famous “test of acceptability”, suffered one of the most resounding defeats in the history of that imperialist Power. We know that the shock served the cause of the African liberation movements. The time is past when the colonialists could sell off the interests of our peoples and make use of the feudal chiefs, those museum pieces doubtless designed to excite the curiosity of tourists eager for great thrills, but who, in the eyes of the African peoples, are and can be nothing but puppets who cannot possibly represent the legitimate aspirations of our peoples. The moment has come to pledge ourselves to firm collaboration against the forces menacing the rights of man and of peoples. Our duty—because we are those who are seeking—is to be astonished. We are astonished at the refusal of certain States, notwithstanding their status as permanent members of the Security Council, to give their honest co-operation to the Organization. Will these States finally comprehend what they stand to gain by promoting the unconditional independence of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, by helping to root out *apartheid* so that the people of South Africa may, in recovered freedom, give free reins to their creative capacities? Joint action by all, to replace individual, petty and selfish schemes, will enable the Organization to get out of the rut of resolutions and meaningless verbal sallies and operate on a level of grandeur.

54. But if the theory is to be applicable—we must have the courage to say so and to face up to it—all members of the international community must be closely committed to the decisions adopted and unequivocally agree to sacrifice their so-called national interest to the defense of the common cause. Do you suppose that the scandalous decision taken by the United States of America to import Rhodesian chrome is likely to strengthen the authority of our Organization? In the conditions in which they are articulated, economic sanctions can be no more than a dead letter.

55. I would not wish to complete my remarks without addressing a deserved tribute to the Special Committee whose happy initiatives and intensive activity under the dynamic direction of my friend and brother, Mr. Salim, have enabled our delegations better to grasp the true dimensions of the great plot against mankind represented by colonialism and racism. My delegation whole-heartedly supports the report of the Special Committee and will endorse the pertinent recommendations of the Committee, particularly those concerning the independence of the colonial peoples, up to and including the question of Puerto Rico. Similarly, my delegation gives its unreserved support to the proposed conference on racism and colonialism to be held in 1973 in Oslo.

56. There is more and more talk of the environment at every meeting of the United Nations. For us, racism and colonialism are among the major factors polluting the environment in Africa. Let us all here undertake to leave behind our subtle distinctions, and let us all resolutely set about destroying these two scourges. In spite of disappointments and reverses, the sons of Africa will surely consider, not angelically or complacently, but with objectivity and deep gratitude, the contribution of those friendly countries which respond generously to their appeal.

*Mr. Maghur (Libyan Arab Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

57. Mr. IBINGIRA (Uganda): It is the view of my delegation that this Assembly, and indeed the United Nations, can no longer remain content to adopt resolution after resolution, year in and year out, on decolonization, with little or no apparent effect. The adoption of resolutions has two principal purposes from our point of view. The first is to crystallize, in a specific form, certain agreed principles or ideals that have come to be accepted as norms of conduct in the world community of nations today. The second purpose is to provide a basis, through these declared principles, for action on the part of all concerned, for the realization in practice of such principles and ideals.

58. Let us not be in danger of forming a habit of finding satisfaction and contentment in adopting resolutions as an alternative to implementing them. That would be to accept form for substance or mere shadows for realities.

59. The archives of the Security Council and of the General Assembly contain heaps of speeches by representatives and delegations over the years supporting resolutions demanding the end of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, demanding the termination of the racist rule in Rhodesia

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1986th meeting.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1987th meeting.

and South Africa; but these speeches have had little or no practical consequence.

60. The report of the Special Mission which visited Guinea (Bissau), as contained in document A/8723/Rev.1, chap. X, annex I, demonstrates beyond question that Guinea (Bissau) has the elements of a viable, intelligently directed State, despite the onslaught of a barbarous, tottering small colonial Power from Europe, whose outmoded ideas of grandeur and greatness belong to the remote past of this planet. It is equally clear that the national liberation organizations in Mozambique and Angola—FRELIMO and MPLA<sup>6</sup>—have a considerable following and are systematically gaining control of their motherland as they push out the Portuguese in a bloody struggle.

61. The question we must ask, and the question I am here to pose for consideration at this and other forums, is this: At this juncture in the colonial conflict in Africa, how best can the Assembly or this Organization help to promote the legitimate interests of those oppressed peoples? Before outlining the views of my delegation, let me state that we are acutely aware of the problems involved in implementing what I will presently suggest for consideration. We are aware that some of the big nations of the world, which have given more money to Portugal than they have given to all the nations of Africa combined, will surely use their muscle in an attempt to obstruct our course. That is a challenge that must spur us to greater heights of resolution and ultimate triumph.

62. It is high time that this Organization recognized the legitimacy not merely of freedom fighters' movements, which it already does, but also the control by such movements of their respective Territories, as the sole legitimate Governments in those Territories presently under Portuguese colonial rule in Africa.

63. Portugal, by perpetuating its colonial rule in Africa, has forfeited its legal status as a colonial Power under Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Charter of the United Nations never envisaged a state of perpetual or permanent colonial rule. On the contrary, it expressly demands that colonial Powers wind up their colonial empires and grant self-determination to the subject peoples. Since Portugal claims that its colonial empire in Africa is part and parcel of metropolitan Portugal in Europe, this must surely mean that the peoples in Guinea (Bissau), in Mozambique and in Angola, can never attain self-government as envisaged in the Charter, as referred to above. This places them in a status entirely outside the Charter and is, needless to say, too grotesque and preposterous to require elaboration before rejection. There is therefore no legal basis for the present Portuguese claim to these Territories in Africa. What this Assembly must establish is whether within each respective State—Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique—there is an organization sufficiently possessed of effective authority over a reasonable amount of territory to warrant recognition by this world body, not, as I have said, just as a liberation movement or merely as an observer in the Fourth Committee, but as a government administering an independent State on the African continent.

64. It may not be possible for this world body to grant such recognition to all such organizations at the same time; but surely the principle must be established that this Organization has the right—as a method of enforcing its decisions, as a method of achieving respect for its principles and as a way of coming to the rescue of the many helpless millions who yearn for freedom—to give recognition to the birth of a State from colonial bondage.

65. Indeed, it is not recognition of the birth of a State, but recognition of an accomplished fact: namely, that a functioning State exists in a liberated area. Considering the present stalemate on resolutions that are adopted but not implemented this, in our view, would provide a great impetus to the liberation movements and all the forces in the world that generally seek the elimination of colonialism.

66. We are aware that the recognition of Governments and States in international law has had a long and sometimes problematical history. But there are principles which are very clear. If you have a government that controls a substantial territory and obtains obedience from a given population, and such a government is capable of entering into international obligations, then it deserves recognition. It is a historical fact that it is within the blood of the Portuguese never to grant independence with grace, but to be humiliated when such independence is won by the defeat of its colonial armies on the battlefield. That is Portugal's South American experience. Its dependents there had to resort to arms to gain their independence, and we know that for years Portugal still claimed to be the administering Power of those former Latin American territories. We know that it still demanded of European Powers that they deal with those colonies through its Government to maintain the fiction that it was still legally master of those territories. But we also know that those territories, having asserted their independence, sought recognition independently from the community of nations as it existed at the time, and were given that recognition against the wishes of Portugal.

67. At that time there was no such thing as the United Nations; there was no such thing as a coherently organized community of nations purporting to speak effectively for mankind and to pronounce common standards for all nations of this planet to adhere to. If, for example, at the time Brazil broke away from Portugal there had been a United Nations, it would have been the most logical and proper thing for the United Nations to recognize Brazil immediately as an independent State and to admit it to all the organs of this Organization. But now, so many generations later, there is a United Nations, and the battle has moved from Latin America to the African continent, where the Portuguese are repeating their actions in waging battles Portugal can never win.

68. It is the view of my delegation, based on the report of the Special Committee, to which I have referred above, and on other independent testimony of impartial observers, that the government of Guinea (Bissau) headed by Mr. Cabral is sufficiently possessed of the elements that would make Guinea (Bissau) an independent, sovereign State. Consequently, the United Nations must pronounce itself in the most categorical terms as recognizing the government of the

<sup>6</sup> Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.



PAIGC, headed by Mr. Cabral, as the only legitimate government of Guinea (Bissau). Such recognition must be translated into action and implemented in all organs of the United Nations, and the right of Portugal to speak on behalf of that State must end forthwith.

69. We all know that, although international law postulates certain legal principles for the recognition of governments, the act of recognition is essentially a political one. During the last world war there were many governments in Europe—governments in exile of States which had been overrun by Hitler and whose leaders packed their bags and sought refuge in another State and established themselves there and were accorded recognition as the only legitimate governments of the States from which they had fled, despite the fact that those States were under effective enemy occupation, in several cases for many years.

70. If a government in exile can be recognized when it is so weak and so ineffective that it cannot operate on the territory over which it claims jurisdiction, how much more compelling is the argument that we should recognize a government of freedom fighters who have stood their ground and fought the enemy on their own territory, gaining a considerable portion of that territory, established an effective government on that territory, as demonstrated to the world in very many instances, and as has already been indicated by various documents of this Organization which have been quoted.

71. Of course, there are two stages at which this problem may be viewed. The first is when the freedom fighters are in a state of insurgency and have not yet established such control, perhaps, as to warrant the type of recognition that I am talking about here. At that stage our duty at the United Nations should be to assist such movements materially and morally, wherever they fight for their freedom. There is a second stage, where the insurgents or the freedom fighters have attained and consolidated such authority and organization in their territory that they must surely receive not only our approbation but also our recognition as Governments of independent, sovereign States.

72. True, it is the right of each Member State here to recognize or not to recognize Cabral's government in Guinea (Bissau) as the effective government of that Territory. But the United Nations, because of its unquestionable obligation to ensure decolonization wherever colonization exists, has the special duty to come out and declare itself unequivocally when conditions are such that a new State has been born out of a colonial empire.

73. Let us therefore consider seriously at this session speaking out plainly and clearly, declaring not merely that Portugal has no right to rule Guinea (Bissau), which we have done many times already, but that Guinea (Bissau) shall be treated as an independent, sovereign State, even if it is not yet a Member of this Organization. And we all know that statehood is not synonymous with membership in the United Nations.

74. In a similar way, the liberation organizations in Mozambique and Angola should be assessed sympathetically and objectively and accorded, in due course, such

recognition as the only legitimate governments in the areas in which they operate.

75. But meanwhile before they attain that status, we should do our duty and accord them observer status, not only in the Fourth Committee but in all the other organs of this Organization, and also continue to accord them all the assistance that they need.

76. It is our view that this is the crux of the whole matter of colonization and decolonization at this stage in the evolution of our world.

77. As I stated earlier, the Charter of the United Nations does not envisage a permanent state of colonialism; therefore there is no legal basis, either in the Charter or in the resolutions on colonialism generally, to continue to recognize Portugal as the administering Power in those Territories. All we are asking, therefore, is that we should say so.

78. The case of Rhodesia departs from the proposition I have put forward since there is no insurgent movement of freedom fighters there sufficiently possessed of the capacity to warrant such recognition. But this Assembly must clear its mind on one point of critical importance: namely, how far can this Organization accept the proposition that the United Kingdom has responsibility, or primary responsibility, to establish justice and self-determination in Zimbabwe?

79. The latest vetoes by the United Kingdom in the Security Council on Rhodesia leave us with the unmistakable impression that, by claiming the right to govern Rhodesia and consequently excluding direct outside interference, the United Kingdom is actually giving effective shelter to the rebel régime to enable it to consolidate its position until it acquires not only *de facto* control, which it already has in Rhodesia, but also, with the lapse of time, *de jure* status. If this be the case—and there is no evidence that it is not—then this Organization has to assume responsibility for Rhodesia more directly. Freedom fighters must be supported and must be given all the material support that they will need in the ensuing struggle against the Smith régime, until such time as this Assembly will be in a position to recognize that the freedom fighters within that Territory—as is being now advocated in the case of the Portuguese Territories—if they possess sufficient capability to govern themselves, warrant recognition as the Government of a sovereign State.

80. I must say a word about Namibia. The situation in Namibia is patently clear. The illegality of South Africa's presence has been pronounced in every conceivable forum of world opinion, both official and private. Therefore it is the view of my delegation that the least we can do is promote the interests of the liberation movements by giving them all the material and moral support they require in order to attain their sovereign status.

81. We know that South Africa is deeply involved in entrenching the rule of Portugal and Ian Smith in southern Africa. In a very real, strategic sense, this is a necessity for the survival of the *apartheid* régime in South Africa. Therefore we must expect very stiff resistance from the

racists in Pretoria and also from those in Western Europe and the United States who have invested billions of dollars in southern Africa in order to exploit the populations as slave labour, which the freedom fighters' triumph would end.

82. It is unthinkable today—when this planet has been reduced to such small proportions by technology, when, despite our diversity, we are visibly forging ahead in achieving common standards of justice and civilization, when we are reaching out to the stars in outer space—that we should still have in our midst, in the twentieth century, such sordid, abominable colonial wars being waged by a people in the name of what it calls a just civilization. The time is ripe for translating our resolutions and our speeches into concrete action. Let us do so without further loss of time and by so doing redeem the worthy name of this Organization on behalf of the whole of mankind.

83. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation attaches particular importance to the problem of the full and entire implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Solidarity with the struggle of the peoples for their liberation from colonial domination and multilateral support furnished for that struggle and for all efforts to achieve the exercise of the inalienable right of those peoples to decide their destiny themselves are among the fundamental options of the foreign policy of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Accordingly my delegation welcomes the decision to give the requisite priority this year to the discussion of colonial problems in plenary meetings of the General Assembly.

84. The adoption 12 years ago of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples marked a resolute commitment of the United Nations, in conformity with the principles of the Charter, to the efforts to abolish colonialism and to focus the action of Member States and the international community on the task of putting an end to this anachronistic phenomenon, which is fundamentally incompatible with the most elementary requirements of law and morality, with the very essence of civilization and the progress of mankind in our time.

85. Although many years have passed since then, and many peoples, particularly on the continent of Africa, have since freed themselves from colonial domination and become independent States, the mission of our Organization is far from completed.

86. In Africa and on other continents, more than 30 million people continue to be subject to harsh colonialist and racist oppression. The colonialist and racist régimes of southern Africa, disregarding the imperatives of the time and the demands of the international community contained in the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and spurning the protests of peoples who love freedom and peace throughout the world, not only fail to give the slightest sign of understanding the meaning of the history of our age, which is that of the affirmation of freedom and independence for all nations but, on the contrary, are striving to intensify further their policy of

oppression and stifling of the legitimate aspirations to a free life of peoples still under their domination.

87. The Portuguese colonialist forces, in an effort to maintain their colonial empire and with the assistance of certain NATO Powers, are carrying on a despicable colonial war against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Methods repugnant to the human conscience are being used in the Republic of South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia by the racist minorities in order to deprive of their elementary rights and oppress the majority coloured population of the respective Territories.

88. The South African Government continues illegally to occupy Namibia, despite the decision of the General Assembly which put an end to the mandate of the Republic of South Africa over that Territory [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*].

89. The persistence of such situations and the recrudescence of colonialist policies and practices in Africa are creating a more and more dangerous situation for the peace and security of the continent and of the whole world. The many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, and first and foremost the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], are based on the principles of the Charter and have made a substantial contribution to the cause of liberation of colonial peoples. The General Assembly has quite rightly described colonialism as a crime totally at variance with the principles of international law, which is based on the right of peoples themselves to decide their destiny.

90. While the United Nations, under the impetus of the anti-colonialist forces and those peoples of the world that love peace and progress, has repeatedly condemned colonialism, the vital problem now facing the Organization is to see to it that the resolutions are implemented.

91. Furthermore, the measures taken so far have not proved sufficient. The colonialist and racist régimes, enjoying economic and military assistance from the Governments of certain States and international monopolies, continue to subjugate foreign peoples and to defy the will of the international community.

92. Therefore it is entirely natural that the oppressed peoples should have recourse to the only path open to them in order to achieve their legitimate aspirations, namely, to take up arms to throw off the yoke of foreign domination. For where colonialism is concerned there can be no other way out than its total liquidation by all necessary means.

93. It could not be otherwise, because the perpetuation of that anachronism, which dates from bygone times, tramples under foot the very essence of the Charter, its spirit and its letter, and seriously undermines one of its fundamental elements, which is respect for human dignity and the right of every people itself to decide its destiny and to live in freedom and independence. We therefore resolutely maintain that every subject people has the right to use every means at its disposal in the struggle to recover its freedom. This right has furthermore been recognized in various resolutions of the General Assembly, including the most

significant document, the unanimously adopted Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations [*resolution 2627 (XXV)*].

94. As history has shown, the primary and decisive factor in the abolition of the colonial yoke is the struggle of the oppressed peoples themselves, of their liberation movements. Nevertheless, it is the duty of the international community to give that struggle its full moral and material support. As was emphasized in the resolution of the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party last July concerning the international policy and activity of Romania, the union of all progressive forces of our time is urgently necessary to impose the liquidation of all forms of colonial domination, of the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination and to affirm the right of each people to a free, worthy and civilized life.

95. The Romanian people, which itself long suffered foreign oppression and which had to fight hard to recover its independence, is moved by deep sympathy for all peoples struggling against the imperialist policy of force and of *diktat*, against colonialism, neo-colonialism and all forms of racism and racial discrimination, and expresses its solidarity with those peoples in their determination to conquer the right to a free and independent life.

96. During the visit made last March and April to eight African States, in the course of contacts—later followed up—with the leaders of the national liberation movements, the President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, expressing the active solidarity of our people with those liberation movements, declared that:

“It is the sacred right of peoples still living under the colonial yoke to use all forms of struggle, including armed struggle, to ensure their independence so as to become masters in their own country. Accordingly, Romania, which has so far also given support to the national liberation movements, is determined to furnish them even more effective support in the future, thus carrying out its duty to support the anti-imperialist front of the whole world.”

97. We feel that the United Nations must act with more firmness and work harder in order totally and definitively to abolish colonialism everywhere in the world.

98. It is necessary, to this effect, that the resolution that we shall adopt at the end of this debate be such as to give fresh impetus to the implementation of all the measures contained in the programme of action adopted at the commemorative session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1970 for the comprehensive implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*]. Assiduous activity must also be deployed to ensure the implementation of other resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

99. The United Nations and the international community have the duty to give more substantial political and material support to the national liberation movements in territories still under colonial domination.

100. In this sense, we consider that an important measure which could affirm and consolidate the position of the national liberation movements on the international level would be international recognition of those movements as the only authentic representatives of their people. Such recognition is in conformity with the principles and rules of modern international law, according to which people subject to colonial domination are themselves entitled to decide their fate. This right has, moreover, been confirmed in a whole series of General Assembly resolutions. Thus, it has been recognized, among other things, that the national liberation movements are entitled to receive assistance from States and international organizations.

101. Apart from that, it is our view that international recognition of national liberation movements is the corollary of the obligation of all States not to accept illegal situations resulting from the use of force and coercion in a manner incompatible with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, as in the case of the colonial domination of southern Africa.

102. It is in this same framework that the measures taken by the Special Committee may be seen. The Special Committee, in its resolution of 13 April [*see A/8723/Rev.1, chap. X, para. 34*], recognized the PAIGC as the sole authentic representative of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde. The resolution called on all States, the specialized agencies and other United Nations bodies to take this into account when dealing with problems relating to Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde. While entirely approving that resolution, at the same time we welcome the recent decision of the Fourth Committee accepting the national liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe and Namibia as observers in the debates on the respective territories. The wisdom and usefulness of that decision have been borne out by the facts. The full statements on the purposes and results of the struggle waged by PAIGC and FRELIMO presented in the Fourth Committee by the representatives of those movements, Amílcar Cabral and Marcelino dos Santos—statements that we highly appreciated—have greatly added, by the wealth of specific details they contained, to the information of our Organization and of Member States concerning the territories in question.

103. In the view of the delegation of Romania, it is the duty of our Organization to move consistently towards the recognition of national liberation movements.

104. We also believe that the United Nations, in application of the 1960 Declaration, should resolutely denounce the attempts of the colonial and racist Powers to justify their presence in colonial territories. There is need once again to stress the importance and meaning of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971,<sup>7</sup> which confirmed the political decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly to the effect that the presence of South Africa in Namibia was illegal and, accordingly, that the South African administration

<sup>7</sup> *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.*

should be withdrawn, thus putting an end to the occupation of that territory.

105. For the same reasons there is need to broaden and deepen the action to mobilize public opinion in support of peoples struggling to recover their independence. Here one should stress the historic importance of the fact that, for the first time, a session of the Security Council devoted to the problems of decolonization and *apartheid* has taken place on the continent of Africa.

106. An important contribution to promoting the struggle against colonialism was made by meetings of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the recent Conference of the Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries held at Georgetown.

107. The world conference to be held in 1973 for the support of the victims of *apartheid* and colonialism in southern Africa and the organization annually of a week of solidarity with colonial peoples in southern Africa will, we are sure, serve the just cause of decolonization.

108. The United Nations, in our opinion, is also capable of doing more work in this direction, making fuller use of the facilities of the Office of Public Information.

109. Conscious of the fact that the unity of all the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces constitutes a factor of major importance in the success of the liberation struggle of peoples, the Socialist Republic of Romania is resolved to go on making its contribution to the achievement and strengthening of this unity and will militate firmly for effective measures to bring about the final abolition of colonialism and racism.

110. Mr. ROSENZWEIG-DIAZ (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Centuries ago navigators and *conquistadors* sailed the seas and found new horizons for the economic power of their nations. They bore with them the seeds of a civilization. Nevertheless, they were unable to sacrifice certain of their interests for the benefit of their civilizing mission, so that instead of making colonialism constructive they fell into a policy of exploitation for the exclusive benefit of their own nationals.

111. There were certain areas of the world, in the Latin American continent in particular, which were able to emancipate themselves from the colonial yoke on their own, due to the historic circumstance of the weakness of the colonial Powers as a result of the Napoleonic wars. In other areas of the world, such as Africa, Asia and the Pacific, the struggle to conquer territory led to a haphazard division of land, and territories were created as dependencies of far-off metropolitan countries. Boundaries were artificially established and various interests were defended, with scant respect for the interests of the inhabitants. In those days the seeds were sown that later grew into the problems which obstruct what the United Nations is doing today to bring about decolonization. One of those problems was coexistence between the original true masters of the territories and the recalcitrant minorities who enjoyed unrestricted economic and political support from the metropolitan countries.

112. Concern on the part of the international community for the fate of these territories was expressed for the first time after the First World War in the Covenant of the League of Nations. That international instrument created a legal order to ensure the administration of these areas in accordance with a mandate system. However, decolonization cannot really be said to have begun until the Charter of the United Nations was adopted and until a legal and political system to ensure the emancipation of all colonial territories in the world was formulated. It was also asserted that the well-being of peoples under the colonial yokes took precedence over everything else, and the United Nations laid down certain procedures to ensure implementation of one of the basic principles of the Charter, namely, self-determination, which is the right of communities freely to choose their own destiny. In exercising this right the people of a territory may choose between integration with the administering Power, association with that Power, participation in a commonwealth, or they may opt in favour of complete independence.

113. Obviously, the exercise of this right implies non-interference on the part of foreign elements, especially the administering Power. United Nations participation is, then, essential in accordance with the tenets of the Charter, to ensure absolute impartiality in the consultations to ascertain the true wishes of the people concerned.

114. Until 1960 the emancipation of colonial territories was carried out in accordance with legally established norms. Eighteen former colonial territories became Members of the Organization as sovereign independent States, and this accelerated the process of decolonization. Of the 51 signatories of the Charter only four represented the African continent. Today, of the 132 Members of our Organization, 41 belong to the continent of Africa.

115. The complete decolonization of the African continent is obviously a question of primary importance for all African nations. Thus, on 14 December 1960 resolution 1514 (XV) was adopted. It was entitled "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples". To ensure full implementation of the Declaration, a Special Committee was created under resolution 1654 (XVI) of 27 November 1961. By this resolution the political stage of the process of eliminating colonial control in all areas was initiated.

116. In his statement to the General Assembly, during the general debate, the Foreign Minister of Mexico, Mr. Emilio Rabasa, said:

"We are still convinced that one of the fundamental tasks of the United Nations continues to be the proper and complete application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. It is incredible, in the opinion of my country, that in this space age in which we live, we should still be debating this item and placing it exclusively within a political framework . . . it is high time that we now deal with the other form of colonialism which is equally ominous, and I refer to economic colonialism.

“Absolute decolonization, in accordance with the United Nations Declaration . . . and the elimination of the remnants of colonialism in all of its forms and manifestations, are essential prerequisites if developing States are to be able fully to exercise their economic rights in the international arena.” [2050th meeting, paras. 88-89.]

Therefore, Mexico will continue its action in favour of the complete implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and the complete abolition of colonialism from the entire world.

*Mr. Trepczyński (Poland) resumed the Chair.*

117. With the adoption of the oft-quoted Declaration 12 years ago, the process of decolonization became a struggle on the part of our Organization against some Member States which, in order to safeguard the short-term interests of the minorities in colonial territories, dare to violate the purposes and principles of the Charter; therefore it is only logical that the United Nations should recognize the legitimacy of the struggle of the national liberation movements. In accordance with the foregoing, as was stated by the Foreign Minister of my country from this rostrum:

“It is also necessary that the definition of terrorism should be worked out with the utmost caution, in order to avoid its serving as a pretext to restrict or suppress individual freedoms or to limit the exercise of the right of self-determination of those peoples which are still subject to colonialism.” [*Ibid.*, para. 87.]

118. We have been referring to the serious crisis which exists in southern Africa and is a threat to international peace and security. The fact that it is a threat is borne out by the many meetings which the Security Council has held on colonial questions relating to that area. In view of the dramatic situation as regards the implementation of the Declaration on the decolonization of southern Africa, we wish to mention, as it is only fair to do, the constructive work of Australia and New Zealand in carrying out the civilizing mission assigned to them by the international community.

119. Elsewhere there exist remnants of a colonial era which are no longer relevant, legally or morally, in today's world. The assimilation of the European into the African culture, racial equality, the role of law and social justice should be our guidelines in our efforts to wipe out colonialism.

120. Mr. ODERO-JOWI (Kenya): My delegation feels it is not proper to repeat what other delegations have already conveyed in their statements on the important issue of decolonization. However, I should like to make it clear that Kenya solidly supports those States which condemn colonialism not only verbally but also in practice.

121. Year after year this august world body has been meeting and passing resolutions, one after another, condemning the subjugation of peoples by colonial Powers; yet for the last 10 years, to say the least, those resolutions have been undermined by certain major world Powers on the pretext of economic or security interests. As a result, on the African continent our brothers and sisters in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), the Cape Verde islands,

Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa have been reduced to a subhuman status. We in Kenya understand this very well because thousands and thousands of our gallant sons and daughters sacrificed their lives during our freedom struggle. In that context I should like to make it clear that the relationship between a colonial Power and a colonized people is that of a lion and a lamb. No matter what argument might be advanced to the contrary, that situation prevails and nothing short of granting self-determination and independence to all colonized people will be acceptable. The remaining colonial Powers and their allies should come to grips with reality and, before it is too late, agree to read the handwriting on the wall: the question is now how soon the oppressed people of the world will be masters of their own destiny in a free world.

122. As many delegations have already remarked, it is an irony of our time that a small, poverty-stricken European country, Portugal, should be the greatest colonial Power of the day. It is an understatement to say that Portugal persecutes our African brothers in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and the Cape Verde islands on behalf of its allies. Similarly, if Britain had effectively and honourably discharged its obligations as an administering Power, Ian Smith would not have survived in Rhodesia for a day.

123. Other Powers which have stepped into Southern Rhodesia on the pretext of having economic interests are, in effect, promoting the politics of racism and discrimination. In Kenya we are proud to say that the black people of Kenya show more tolerance and fairness in matters involving race than is shown in any white-ruled country in Africa. Since Kenya threw off the yoke of colonialism more foreigners of every classification have migrated to Kenya, because every possible effort has been made to enforce unprejudiced fairness as the corner-stone of our national policy.

124. Repetitiveness should be excused when decolonization is discussed. History bears strong evidence that not many decades ago the British used to boast that “the sun never sets on the British Empire”. With the dissolution of that Empire, Portugal would be better advised to seek counsel from Britain on the futility of such a boast. It is my honest belief that the Portuguese people are intelligent enough to realize that, although the Portuguese Government appears to be completely deaf. But we still appeal to enlightened Portuguese opinion to communicate to the Government of Caetano that the logical consequence of the obstinate Portuguese colonial rule will be shame rather than honour.

125. My delegation is convinced that by applying delaying tactics Britain is playing for time so that Ian Smith may consolidate himself and develop his illegal, oppressive régime to a position comparable with South Africa's operation of *apartheid*. Oppression is oppression, regardless of where it emanates from. The fact that Ian Smith is white should not make Britain bend its morality, with the apology that time will bring change. It is still fresh in our memories that British forces were mobilized and moved into Kenya, my own country, to suppress the freedom struggle. Similarly, they were mobilized and moved into what was then Aden and is now the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. More recently, Britain marshalled her

troops to go into Anguilla for the same reason. One wonders why the same is not applicable to Rhodesia.

126. It is the hope of my delegation that those who continue to support the illegal Smith régime will see fit to march to the tune of the modern world, so as to rule out the logical consequence of a bloodbath in Zimbabwe, which would be the only alternative to the smooth and peaceful handing over of government to the majority.

127. My delegation therefore proposes that all countries that profess to be freedom loving and at present have economic and other relations with the illegal régime of Ian Smith sever such relations *in toto*. The present rationale that developing countries will quietly view the persecution of their less fortunate brothers as a means of winning economic aid will be short-lived. To us Africans and those who support our cause it is disheartening to witness some Western Powers paying lip-service to the principles of the United Nations Charter. Although General Assembly resolution 2769 (XXVI) of 22 November 1971 reaffirmed that there should be no independence before majority rule in Southern Rhodesia, and although it was adopted by a clear majority of the members of this Assembly, there are Members of this Organization who are working to sabotage the effect of that resolution. It is strongly entrenched in the thinking of those Powers that the overtures of détente between the big Powers will obsess the third world to the extent that it will forget the plight of the colonized people and their yearning to be free.

128. Let Britain be advised to intervene in Southern Rhodesia before the period of grace expires, because its continued hypocrisy will succeed only in sowing the seeds of bloodshed and racial hatred. We should like to see in our midst Joshua Nkomo, Reverend Sithole and Bishop Muzorewa. To us, they are the authentic leaders of the people of Zimbabwe. Those leaders know what oppression is, and we rule out entirely the eventuality of their oppressing others in the way they have been oppressed. The leadership of my beloved President, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, and the tolerance he has shown those who imprisoned him for nine years is a living testimony that Africans respect humanity regardless of pigment or creed. Indeed, the greatest lesson Mzee Jomo Kenyatta has taught Kenya and the world at large is not to treat others out of bitterness. As a result, as I stated earlier, we have more foreigners in Kenya than before, than during the colonial period. Yet the majority of those migrants are those who would otherwise symbolize our past oppression.

129. My delegation once again appeals to the Western Powers to promote rather than frustrate the Charter of the United Nations, with particular reference to the question of Namibia. It will not serve any useful purpose for me to cite the mass of resolutions passed by the General Assembly every year condemning South Africa for imposing itself on Namibia contrary to General Assembly resolution 65 (I) of 1946, whereby South Africa was mandated to administer Namibia and to submit regular reports to the United Nations. Suffice it to say that, as representatives are fully aware, it was observed only until 1949. Thereafter, South Africa systematically embarked on the incorporation of Namibia into its criminal *apartheid* system. Definitely, this could not have been effected without the good will and practical support of certain Western Powers.

130. My delegation renews its appeal to the Western members of the Security Council to stop paralysing the effective functioning of the United Nations over the question of Namibia. Instead, those members should join the progressive forces of the world in fighting relentlessly against oppression and in promoting freedom and independence in Namibia. It is ironic that the conscience of the world remains unstirred when napalm bombs, defoliants and other destructive weapons from the allies of South Africa and Portugal are used by a minority régime to exterminate Africans. Yet they are not made available to freedom fighters or, for that matter, for the liberation of Namibia from South African rule.

131. The creation of the United Nations Council for Namibia should not be regarded as an end in itself, but rather as a step towards the liberation of that Territory. The reports of that Council will serve only to swell the archives unless its recommendations are enforced. If decisions regarding decolonization cannot be enforced, they are useless.

132. At this point I should like to refer to Security Council resolution 310 (1972) of 4 February 1972, in which the Security Council reaffirmed "that the continued occupation of Namibia by the South African authorities is illegal". The same resolution condemned repressive measures against African labourers in Namibia. But only recently the unrest in Ovamboland sprang out of slave labour contract conditions and unprecedented repression and abuse of basic human rights.

133. Having agreed that the occupation of Namibia is illegal—and Members of this Organization, with the exception of South Africa, concur on that—how long are we going to wait before we enforce the liberation of the people of Namibia? We know full well those who are sabotaging the implementation of the Security Council decision. We therefore once again appeal to the allies of South Africa to convince it to walk out of Namibia gracefully, because the alternative will involve unnecessary human suffering.

134. I should not like to waste the time of representatives, and therefore I will be as brief as possible in reminding Portugal that its self-delusion will soon come to an end. It is self-deception for the Portuguese Government to think that the statement made by the Portuguese Foreign Minister to the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly [2048th meeting] was taken in the way he wished. At least, it was not taken literally by the third world and a few of the Nordic countries that cherish freedom. Portugal should know beyond the shadow of a doubt that its diabolical colonial policy can no longer be tolerated by the world community. The Portuguese Government's claim of granting autonomy to its so-called overseas territories is not the solution. It can go on, as it has in the past, with the masquerade of some indigenous traitors who support its policy, but it is not in a position to reverse the desire for self-determination and independence. In the African context, the reality that freedom fighters in Guinea (Bissau) and the Cape Verde islands are in control of three quarters of their homeland should teach Portugal and its allies not to repeat the same mistake in Angola and Mozambique.

135. Under normal circumstances, the Cabora Bassa dam and the Cunene River project would be good for the countries in question. However, those projects are part of a scheme to enrich Europe and impoverish Mozambique and Angola. We also know that this scheme is intended to export a million jobless people from Western Europe to Mozambique in order to strengthen the hegemony of the Lourenço Marques-Pretoria-Salisbury axis in Africa, and this we cannot tolerate.

136. Already 120 families from the 500 Italian nationals who left Libya and Somalia in 1971 have been exported to Angola as a first step towards creating another South Africa there. We hope the true friends of Africa will support us in opposing that diabolical plan.

137. I beg the Assembly's indulgence for taking so much of its time on the question of the oppression of my brothers and sisters of the African continent. One could easily prepare an encyclopaedia of the oppressed and colonized people in the Indian Ocean, the Atlantic Ocean, the Pacific Ocean demonstrating that, no matter how strongly they deny it, the Western Powers and their extractions still fully deserve obvious condemnation. The use of those islands as military bases by certain Powers is what we regard as neo-colonialism.

138. In conclusion, I would like to borrow a phrase from an eminent British scholar, who, like his predecessor Gibbon, is a product of a one-time colonial empire and can therefore be regarded as a realistic spokesman on how empires rise and fall. In the 12 volumes of his *A Study of History*, Mr. Arnold Toynbee finally concluded that the colonized peoples' fight for self-determination and independence was so great that in the face of it the British Empire degenerated to such a point that it had to fall. The same conclusion is applicable to all colonial Powers, and it is the considered view of my delegation that, instead of reliving the experience of the United Kingdom, the remaining colonial Powers should take a lesson from this chapter of British colonial history.

139. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia): In the United Nations deliberations on all problems of decolonization, Czechoslovakia, as a socialist country, has always proceeded from the fact that the brunt of the struggle for freedom of the colonial and dependent Territories has been borne directly by their peoples, which avail themselves of the assistance of their friends. The Czechoslovak delegation has, at the same time, always fully appreciated the positive role that the United Nations has played, and may still play in the future, in the field of decolonization.

140. The historic Declaration of 1960, adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union, undoubtedly represented a qualitative turning-point in the United Nations as far as the struggle against colonialism is concerned. The proof that the Declaration reflected that the state of affairs in the world was then ripe as well as that our Organization must also assist the process then under way was the fact that immediately after the adoption of the Declaration dozens of new States embarked on the road of independence. The objective and the main purpose of the Declaration consisted in doing away with colonialism once and for all. Unfortu-

nately that objective remains unattained despite the impressive changes that have meanwhile occurred in the world.

141. Victories won after the Second World War by the peoples of former colonial and dependent Territories were facilitated by a wide anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist front of nations and States, and by the solidarity of the liberated countries and the co-operation and mutual assistance between them and the countries of the socialist community. The acceleration of the final phase of the national liberation process in colonial countries depends also on the degree of maintenance and further strengthening of a united front against colonialism. The violation of such a united front would not be in harmony with the interests of the consistent struggle of the remaining colonial and dependent Territories for freedom, but would indeed be contrary to those interests.

142. May I be permitted now to make a few remarks on the activities in 1972 of the Special Committee in connexion with its report [*A/8723/Rev.1*]. I wish to note that at the beginning of this year the Special Committee rightly evaluated the fundamental prerequisite for its work. The delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic fully concurred in the opinion expressed by the newly-elected Chairman of the Special Committee, Ambassador Salim, in his opening statement at the Committee's 833rd meeting, and, referring to it at the Committee's 834th meeting, stated that the current year could become a year of decision for the Special Committee even if it merely continued to contribute in consolidating the unity of the anti-colonial front for the triumph of the cause of peace and freedom. If we assess the Special Committee's activities from that point of view we can only hope that it will proceed in the same spirit in the future also.

143. The Special Committee's work was assisted by the fact that the Committee established definite and regular contacts with the leaders of the national liberation movements: namely with the leaders of PAIGC, MPLA, FRELIMO, SWAPO,<sup>8</sup> ZAPU,<sup>9</sup> ANC<sup>10</sup> and others, who took part in the Committee's work not only on an *ad hoc* basis, as they had done in the past two years, but in regular sessions held away from Headquarters near the theatres of operations. The fact that in the current year the working relations between the Special Committee, the Security Council, the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, and the organizations of the national liberation movements in colonial Territories have been deepened, in co-operation with the OAU, is evidence of the fact that the assistance rendered by the United Nations to the struggle of colonial peoples for the implementation of their right to self-determination and independence has entered a new stage. The Czechoslovak delegation shares the opinion that the United Nations, which has recognized the legality of the national liberation struggle carried on by colonial Territories and peoples, should also recognize and offer all means of assistance to the organizations which lead that struggle.

<sup>8</sup> South West Africa People's Organization.

<sup>9</sup> Zimbabwe African People's Union.

<sup>10</sup> African National Council of Zimbabwe.

144. This year's session of the Special Committee was preceded by two important decisions taken by the General Assembly on the basis of previous recommendations of the Committee: that a session of the Committee should be held in Africa; and that a United Nations mission should be sent to the liberated Territories of the Portuguese colonies, in agreement with the representatives of the national liberation movements.

145. The Special Committee considered its primary task to be to ensure those decisions of the General Assembly which, as the proceedings of the African session had shown, represented a landmark in its future activities.

146. The over-all atmosphere in which the Special Committee's deliberations took place in Conakry, Lusaka and Addis Ababa was marked by matter-of-fact conduct and determination, and this was reflected also in the documents adopted. Several factors contributed to that end; among them we may mention the following, in particular: first, the matter-of-fact and deliberate course of action of the representatives of the main sections of the national liberation movements, who took an active part in the whole course of the deliberations in which they participated together with the members of the Committee; secondly, the favourable atmosphere created by African public opinion in general, and by public opinion in the countries in which the Special Committee's meetings took place in particular, as well as the active part played by the highest representatives of the host countries during the deliberations; thirdly, the success of the United Nations Special Mission to the liberated territories of Guinea (Bissau), as well as, indirectly, the fact that Portugal tried without success, even at the price of a considerable loss of human lives, to bar the members of the United Nations Special Mission, and their escort from exercising their functions; and finally the active participation of all the members of the Special Committee in negotiations, and their common approach to the most important questions.

147. All sectors of the national liberation movements have highly appreciated the assistance given to them by the socialist countries.

148. Those factors resulted in the deliberations of the Special Committee, which touched upon the roots of the problems that were aimed against the existing colonial and racist régimes and which also exposed those States which effectively helped those régimes. The people struggling for their freedom and independence have been best convinced, by their long experience, who their friends are.

149. It is clear from the Special Committee's report, for instance from the part of the report, prepared in accordance with paragraph 12 of resolution 2878 (XXVI), on compliance by Member States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on decolonization [*A/8723/Rev.1, chap. III*], that the preservation, particularly, of the racist and colonialist régimes in southern Africa, namely the Portuguese colonies, Namibia and Zimbabwe, is at present a direct consequence of the fact that those régimes are being given the comprehensive and all-embracing support of certain Powers, particularly the members of NATO.

150. The above-mentioned factors resulted in the Special Committee's session in which there prevailed efforts to maintain a united approach of all the forces struggling against colonialism. At the ceremonial meeting in Conakry, on the opening day of the African session of the Special Committee, Mr. Sekou Touré, President of the Republic of Guinea, stated:

"We may not agree on the conditions in which freedom can be exercised, on political and economic régimes or on social laws but, when we consider respect for the dignity of men—whether they are white, black or yellow—and the affirmation of the right to self-determination, our differences must not affect our universal agreement."<sup>1</sup>

151. Everyone who took part in the African meetings of the Special Committee felt that they were useful. I would like to mention as an example at least one aspect of this statement: a noble mission to the liberated territories of Guinea (Bissau).

152. The three-member group, composed of the representatives of Ecuador, Tunisia and Sweden, established direct contacts with the people of Guinea (Bissau) and, on the spot, convinced itself of the deserving work of the PAIGC. The results of their trip, as well as the information provided by the delegation of PAIGC before the Special Committee at its 849th to 852nd meetings on the conditions of the national liberation struggle and on the tasks that have to be carried out in the liberated areas, enabled the Special Committee to adopt unanimously the resolution recognizing PAIGC as the sole and authentic representative of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and calling upon all States, specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, to proceed from this fact in their considerations when dealing with matters pertaining to that Territory [*see A/8723/Rev.1, chap. X, para. 34*]. May I be permitted to emphasize in this connexion the personal and professional qualities of the members of the United Nations mission, who, in difficult conditions, fulfilled the responsible task entrusted to them by the Special Committee and by the mandate of the General Assembly.

153. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always highly appreciated the role of the Special Committee within the United Nations system of activities. Its authority as a central working body of the United Nations in the field of decolonization results from an untiring effort to implement to the very last letter the objectives set up by the Declaration. That is why the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic accepted with pleasure its appointment as a member of the Special Committee, conscious that it will be able, as one of the countries of the socialist community, to take an active part in the Committee's fruitful work.

154. The Czechoslovak delegation supports the proposed main directions for the Special Committee's future work, contained in chapter I of document A/8723/Rev.1, and shares the opinion that those conclusions should be reflected in the resolution which the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly will adopt with regard to the report of the Special Committee on its activities. It is

<sup>1</sup> See A/AC.109/SR.847, p. 12. Quoted in French by the speaker.



clearly evident from the considerations of the Special Committee that it pays its primary attention—with regard to the struggle for full implementation of the Declaration in all Territories which have not yet reached independence—to the effort to put an end to the impasse in the colonial Territories in Africa, where no less than 18 million dependent peoples live under conditions of ruthless discrimination and repression.

155. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before giving the floor to the representatives who have asked to exercise their right of reply, I should like to remind the Assembly that, yesterday morning, it decided that speeches in the exercise of right of reply would be limited to 10 minutes.

156. Mr. McGEE (United States of America): Mr. President, I want to assure you that we do not intend to use our generous allotment of time. We hope that we might be permitted a refund on the unused portion that will accrue this afternoon. But earlier on this occasion we listened to the usual harangue by the representative of Cuba about the so-called condition of the people of Puerto Rico. The Assembly has heard these half-truths, non-truths and outright lies before. The United States delegation has had occasion to refute the arguments and to correct the distortion of facts made by the representative of Cuba on numerous occasions, the most recent occasion being just last week [2063rd meeting].

157. Now, I shall not attempt to dignify the calumnies and the charges made by the representative of Cuba since I do not believe them to be worthy of serious response. It is regrettable, however, that he has chosen to lower the standard of this debate on an issue which is not even included in the agenda of the General Assembly. Let me repeat that: this issue is not on the agenda of this session of the Assembly.

158. I wish to remind the representatives<sup>4</sup> that, with the adoption of resolution 748 (VIII) in 1953, the Assembly chose to remove Puerto Rico from the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. The reason was that the 1952 Constitution of Puerto Rico and its direct election of a Governor made it self-governing through an act of self-determination. It should not be necessary, either, to remind the members of the Assembly that only a year ago first the General Committee, and then the General Assembly, decided by an overwhelming majority that the so-called case of Puerto Rico should not be placed on the agenda of the twenty-sixth session.

159. Also, let me say that as far as the delegation of the United States is concerned, we do indeed question whether the representative of Cuba was in order when he made his statement earlier today. There is no item on Puerto Rico before this Assembly. What is before the plenary is a report by the Special Committee stating that its Working Group should submit a report to that Committee relating to the procedure to be followed for the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) [see A/8723/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 85]. Thus there has been no recommendation to the Assembly as yet. A procedural decision was taken in the Special Committee, and until otherwise informed, this

Assembly has nothing before it which would justify a discussion on the substance of the question of Puerto Rico.

160. Finally, I cannot conclude these informal comments without saying again what the policy of the United States is. It is plain and simple. If the people of Puerto Rico vote for commonwealth status, so be it. If they vote for statehood, so shall it be. If they vote for independence, so shall it be.

161. That is not a determination subject to the decision of Cuba, and in that sense it is not subject to the decision even of this body. That decision belongs to the people of Puerto Rico alone.

162. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): When he interrupted me a little while ago, I would have sworn that the representative of the United States had promised to make a substantive reply. Instead, he merely repeated the same fallacious arguments to which the General Assembly is well accustomed. So my statement need not be very long.

163. With respect to what he alleged—that whatever decision is adopted by the people of Puerto Rico as regards their future, it would depend on the Puerto Rican people themselves—it is to be expected that an American Senator should say that, considering the legislation in force in the United States, and specifically the law on federal relations with Puerto Rico—with which, I imagine, the Senator is familiar—which states in its first paragraph: “The provisions of this Act shall apply to the Island of Puerto Rico and to the adjacent islands belonging to the United States. . . .”<sup>12</sup>

164. The Senator from Wyoming has, of course, every right to speak about the future of Puerto Rico, since its future is in his hands and indeed in the hands of the rest of the members of the United States Congress. That is the way it has been, without any changes, since American forces invaded the island in 1898. Nothing has changed since that time; nothing has modified that status, not even the deceit which the American delegation has practised from this very rostrum, for example the famous statement of Ambassador Cabot Lodge in 1953,<sup>13</sup> which was as categorical as the one we heard today and which was belied by subsequent events in Puerto Rican history.

165. There are any number of things which I could discuss with you, in the albeit illusory hope that we might get a substantive reply. I have before me, for example, what was said last month by an American diplomat—you can see it, Mr. President: “Ex-diplomat reveals error in the case of the United Nations concerning the island in 1953”. Mr. Mason Sears, who came here in 1953 and recited the same fallacies about Puerto Rico, today reveals that that conduct was incorrect, that Puerto Rico was and is a colony and that it deserves independence.

<sup>12</sup> See Organic Act of 1917, as Amended, in *Documents on the Constitutional History of Puerto Rico* (Washington, Office of Puerto Rico, n.d.), p. 81.

<sup>13</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 459th meeting, paras. 65-67.*

166. I have here statements by none other than the Governor of the colony, Mr. Ferré, who said:

“I affirm that tomorrow Congress”—the Congress of the Senator from Wyoming—“can change all the fiscal laws of Puerto Rico without Puerto Rico being able to do anything, because the Congress can impose quotas on the people of Puerto Rico, which it cannot impose on any of its States. At this very time it is imposing a quota on refined sugar, which no state has; if it can impose a quota on refined sugar it can impose a quota on the production of machinery, etc. . . .”.

167. But since there has been no substantive reply to what I said before, there is no need for me to give a substantive

counter-reply. I would merely invite Senator McGee, who is such an ardent defender of self-determination and freedom of peoples, to concern himself with bringing this spirit, which he proclaimed so demagogically here, to the American Senate, where he has offered other illustrations of his sympathy for the cause of the emancipation of peoples. My delegation has available for distribution to all Members page S/14301 of the *Congressional Record* of 14 September 1971, which contains a powerful, eloquent and radical statement by the Senator from Wyoming in which he welcomed a delegation from the racist Government of South Africa.

*The meeting rose at 6 p.m.*