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CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 106: Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity: Manifesto on Southern Africa (concluded)	1

President: Miss Angie E. BROOKS (Liberia).

AGENDA ITEM 106

Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity: Manifesto on Southern Africa (concluded)

1. Mr. ENE (Romania) (*translated from French*): The Romanian delegation has examined with interest the document entitled "Manifesto on Southern Africa"¹ [A/7754]. We fully understand the reasons for the adoption of this important document, the main features of which are an intense interest in the future of Africa and the preservation of its values, and a firmness of principle.

2. The Manifesto highlights the legitimate concern of member States of OAU to put an end, once and for all, to the anachronistic colonial régime implanted in the southern part of the African continent, and to see the exploitation, humiliation and suffering to which the peoples of this part of the world are subjected brought to a close. This concern on the part of African States, which accords entirely with that of the great majority of member countries of our Organization, is based on our concern for the principles of the Charter and the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

3. Faith in human equality and dignity and in the right of peoples to self-determination is, in fact, the *leitmotiv* of the Manifesto. The condemnation of racism and the affirmation of the equality of men without distinction as to colour, race, religion or sex—basic principles of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights—constitute, in the final analysis, the fundamental factors in the establishment of a just and durable peace in the world. Reactionary and retrograde theories which set up so-called differences between the races or allege that one race is superior to another, as well as the practices to which these theories give

rise, cannot and must not have any place or justification in this day and age, or else mankind in its entirety will sooner or later risk the collapse of the long and difficult task of consolidating international peace and security.

4. The Manifesto on Southern Africa appeals to the international community to support measures which will eliminate the colonialism and racial discrimination now being practised in southern Africa, and deals very closely with that situation.

5. On the basis of the principles governing its foreign policy and of the solidarity which it has always felt for peoples struggling to achieve their independence against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, Romania intends to respond to this appeal and to contribute, as it is able, to the victory of the cause which it supports.

6. We have noted in this Manifesto the commitment entered into by the States members of the Organization of African Unity to give the peoples of these territories all the support in their power. We greatly appreciate the reaffirmation in this document of the legitimacy of the struggle being waged for freedom and independence by the national liberation movements in the southern part of Africa, in face of the persistent refusal of the colonial Powers to recognize their sacred right to a free and sovereign existence.

7. It is true that we would have preferred some of the provisions of the Manifesto to have been drafted more clearly and explicitly. This applies, for example, to paragraph 14, the text of which may give rise to misinterpretations, but the spirit of which is aimed, as we understand it, at condemning the colonial policy of Portugal and of those allies which are helping it to continue colonial wars in Africa. We fully share this spirit.

8. The discussion of the Manifesto on Southern Africa recalls to the Assembly's attention the ways and means of strengthening co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, and of making such co-operation more effective in order to speed up the process of the final elimination of colonialism.

9. In our view, one of the most important measures which can be taken to that end is to support and assist the national liberation movements. Romania, for its part, is determined firmly to support, as it has done in the past, the just struggle against alien oppression, thus giving material expression to its sense of solidarity with peoples under domination, wherever they may be.

10. This position of solidarity with the African peoples on the part of Romania was reaffirmed a few days ago when the Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo (Brazza-

¹ Manifesto on Southern Africa adopted by the Fifth Summit Conference of East and Central African States meeting at Lusaka, Zambia, from 14 to 16 April 1969; and also by the Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity meeting at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 6 to 9 September 1969.

ville) visited Romania. The joint communiqué published on 15 November states:

"The two Prime Ministers welcomed the profound changes which have taken place on the African continent and affirmed their full solidarity with the peoples struggling for freedom and independence, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and for the affirmation of their national personality and the free development of their political, economic and social life."

The Heads of Government of the two countries, the communiqué continued:

"...resolutely condemned the policy of racial discrimination followed by the régimes of the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and the policy of colonial oppression practised in Angola and Mozambique."

11. On this solidarity rests the position which we have taken in regard to the Manifesto on Southern Africa.

12. Mr. HAYMERLE (Austria): The Austrian Government has given most careful consideration to the Manifesto of the Organization of African Unity on Southern Africa [A/7754]. We welcome this document as one of wise statesmanship. We welcome in particular its emphasis on the attainment of self-determination through peaceful means by negotiations. As the President of the Federal Republic of the Cameroon stated in his address to the General Assembly on 6 October 1969:

"...mankind finds itself today at a decisive turning-point in its history... Our scientific progress may well have little meaning" for future generations "if we do not succeed in mastering the human problems with which our societies are confronted..." [1780th meeting, para. 29].

13. Unfortunately, we must be aware of the fact that we have not so far succeeded in finding the right way to master these problems. The basic principles of human rights and in particular the fundamental principles of human equality and dignity have not yet been universally accepted.

14. The signatories of the Manifesto make clear beyond all shadow of doubt their acceptance of the belief that all men are equal and have equal rights to human dignity and respect, regardless of colour race, religion or sex. I wish to stress that the Austrian Government and people adhere to the same high ideals. They are indeed a basic element of our civilization and of our concept of democracy. They are basic rights incorporated in Austria's Constitution. The position of my country in this respect, and in particular concerning the doctrines and practice of *apartheid*, has been clearly expressed on many previous occasions. Most recently, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria, Mr. Waldheim, stated in his address to the General Assembly:

"The Austrian Government has time and again expressed its rejection of the concept of *apartheid*—as indeed its rejection of any political concept based on racial, religious or ethnic discrimination. I wish to reiterate this position now in the strongest possible terms." [1765th meeting, para. 172.]

15. We recognize that the peoples of Africa have grounds for impatience when time and again they see their hopes of achieving a solution of the unsolved problems of their continent frustrated. We share that sense of frustration. These problems are not theirs alone; they are the problems of all of us here in this Organization. We must realize, however, that they are complex and many-faceted. It would be unrealistic to hope that their solution will be easy or swift. We are therefore encouraged by the basic approach of the Manifesto, which calls for negotiation and which rejects violence and racism in all its forms.

16. My delegation considers the Manifesto of the Organization of African Unity to be an appeal to reason and an important step in the right direction. We concur with other delegations—in particular those which introduced the item under consideration—that we should not debate and analyse the contents of the Manifesto in detail today. We thought it timely, however, to express briefly on this occasion the appreciation of my Government to the signatories to this Manifesto for their statesmanlike approach to a most burning problem.

17. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, the item entitled "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity: Manifesto on Southern Africa" [A/7754], submitted on behalf of the African countries, should be considered in the context of the entire range of questions relating to the elimination of colonialism and racism throughout the world.

18. The collapse of the colonial system of imperialism is one of the most characteristic features of the modern age. The crushing defeat inflicted by the Soviet army on the armed forces of fascism and the victory of freedom-loving peoples over the bloody forces of fascism during the Second World War acted as a powerful stimulus to the further expansion of the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle.

19. Only about a quarter of a century has elapsed since then. From a historical point of view, this is a very short time. But what tremendous changes have taken place on the political map of the world in that time. In the post-war period, about 70 new States have emerged in place of the former colonies. The collapse of the colonial system has entered its final, culminating stage. This is shown, for example, by the following figures: whereas in 1939 about 700 million people, or one third of the population of the capitalist world, lived in colonies, only about 38 million, or 1.1 per cent of the total world population do so today.

20. This great progress in the peoples' struggle for liberation was achieved through the widespread national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and indeed throughout the world, which developed during the post-war period, it must be said, in extremely favourable international circumstances, when the balance of forces in the international arena changed radically in favour of democracy and socialism, and against reaction and imperialism.

21. This progress was made possible because of the consistent policy pursued as a matter of principle by the

Soviet Union, which, following the precepts of Lenin, the founder of the Soviet State, has since the very first days of its existence given comprehensive moral and material assistance and co-operation to peoples struggling for their freedom and national independence, against imperialism and colonialism and for the exercise of the right to self-determination and independent development.

22. Lastly, the successes achieved in the struggle against the colonial system of imperialism would not have been as great if there had not been a broad anti-colonial front of peoples and States, if there had not been solidarity among the liberated countries of Asia and Africa, and if there had not been the closest co-operation and mutual understanding between the States of the socialist community and developing countries.

23. The successes achieved in the struggle against the colonial system of imperialism are great. But this system has not yet been completely eliminated. Progressive mankind will still have to make a tremendous effort fully to eliminate colonialism once and for all.

24. It is quite understandable that peoples struggling for their national freedom from the yoke of colonialism should rely primarily on their own strength and on help from their friends. But they also look to the United Nations. A task of great responsibility therefore faces the Organization: to devise the most effective measures—more effective than in the past—for helping to eradicate the cancerous tumour of present-day colonialism from the healthy organism of mankind. The United Nations is bound to do this by its Charter, and also by the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted in 1960. The conscience of all peoples demands it of the United Nations.

25. The main obstacle to the final destruction of colonialism—particularly in southern Africa—is international imperialism. History shows that the imperialists have never voluntarily relinquished their domination in the colonies and that they have always been prepared to wage, and in fact have waged, bloody wars, claiming countless victims among the peoples, for the sake of their colonies. Even when the liberation of particular colonial territories was achieved relatively peacefully, this was a result not of kindness and complaisance on the part of the imperialists, but of the rise of the national liberation movement, its efficient organization and its unwavering resolution in the struggle.

26. But history shows that in many cases peaceful means were quite inadequate and peoples had to win their freedom, weapons in hand, in a long and bloody struggle, as was the case, for example, in Algeria, Viet-Nam and the Congo.

27. Even today, the imperialist Powers are stubbornly defending the vestiges of colonialism. Their industrial and financial monopolies are providing the bloc of colonialist and racist régimes in southern Africa with assistance and support of all kinds—political, diplomatic, economic and military. Without this support, colonialism in southern Africa could not survive. This fact is well known throughout the United Nations. Those who are guilty of continuing

to assist colonialism and racism are also known. Every year, at every session of the General Assembly, more and more new evidence and proof is adduced of the growing co-operation between the major imperialist Powers and monopolies and the colonialist and racist régimes.

28. The interests of the national liberation movement are completely incompatible with those of imperialism.

29. In the struggle between them, the final victory, which is predetermined by the whole course of historical development, will inevitably go to the peoples, to the national liberation movement. It will require a great deal of effort and, inevitably, sacrifices, but they will not be in vain.

30. At the present session of the General Assembly, some representatives have referred to the need to work out a “new approach” to the problems of southern Africa, explaining that the time has come for a dialogue and for negotiations with the colonialist and racist régimes. The Soviet delegation wishes to emphasize that—irrespective of the subjective motives of the particular delegations which support this point of view—it can only give rise to dangerous illusions. In fact, there is nothing new in the idea of negotiations with colonialists and racists. The United Nations has adopted resolutions on such negotiations in the past. Everyone knows the result. We all remember, for example, what happened to the efforts of one of the Organization’s special bodies to solve the question of Namibia, on the basis of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations on that question, through negotiations with the Government of South Africa. These attempts by our Organization were cynically rejected by the racists and colonialists, who merely gained time and used it to intensify their struggle against the national liberation movement in southern Africa.

31. We are firmly convinced that what is needed to eradicate the colonialist and racist régimes in southern Africa is not negotiations and persuasion, but specific and effective action. Practical assistance to the patriots in southern Africa is required. In the past, the Soviet delegation has repeatedly pointed out that one essential method of combating colonialist and racist régimes is to isolate them completely, both politically and economically, to break off all trade and financial relations with them, and to refuse them any support, including, of course, military support. We continue to hold that view.

32. The Soviet Union fully shares the hope and aspirations of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa who are struggling for their national liberation and has always given them, and will continue to give them, all possible support.

33. This position of principle also determines the Soviet delegation’s attitude to the Manifesto on Southern Africa, adopted last September by the Organization of African Unity.

34. As is well known, the main contents of the Manifesto are anti-colonial and anti-imperialist in nature and the purpose of the Manifesto is quite clearly to provide assistance and support to the peoples of Africa who are still under the colonial yoke and are waging a just struggle for

their freedom and independence. In view of this purpose, the Soviet delegation supports the Manifesto. At the same time, the Soviet delegation is bound to point out that this document contains a number of provisions which it cannot support.

35. We should like to emphasize that the main guarantee for the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and racism is, as is well known, the maintenance and strengthening of the united front of all anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces. The last bastion of colonialism and racism in southern Africa cannot withstand this united front.

36. As Mr. Kosygin, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, stated in his message of 6 September to the President of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of African Countries,

“the efforts of the African peoples in their struggle for complete and final liberalization from the fetters of colonialism, and their efforts to build a new and flourishing Africa, have always received and will continue to receive deep sympathy and support from the Soviet Union”.

37. The Soviet delegation is convinced that colonialism and racism are doomed and that the forces of the national liberation movement are invincible and will in the end win total victory in southern Africa. It is the duty of the United Nations to give them the necessary assistance and support to the maximum possible extent. This is what the Soviet delegation calls upon the United Nations to do.

38. Mr. AKWEI (Ghana): There are occasions in the life of this Organization when our common concern for breaches of international peace and security compels us to give united expression to our anxiety and resolve to find effective measures to restore peace and stability. Such was the concern of the drafters of the Charter in 1945 at the San Francisco Conference on International Organization. Such was the concern behind the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In 1960 the General Assembly pronounced itself in a remarkable document, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Our concern at the time, as now, was to map out broad guidelines to govern our actions, to raze the last remnants of colonialism and erect in their place the pillars of freedom and independence. It was thus that the Declaration on decolonization came to focus our attention on the peculiar problem of colonialism in our time.

39. In 1963 Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia presented to this Organization the charter of the Organization of African Unity. He formally conveyed to Members of this Organization the determination of African States to harmonize their policies and, among other things, to concert their action to eliminate colonialism and racism from the continent of Africa.

40. Only a few years ago we adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [see resolution 1904 (XVIII)]. The adoption of that Declaration, coming to supplement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, was a manifestation of our foresight to stem the tide of racism which threatened international co-operation and peace.

41. In October 1969 the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, President Ahidjo of Cameroon, formally deposited with the Organization that organization's Manifesto on Southern Africa [A/7754]. The act of bringing the Manifesto before this Assembly must be seen within the context of the co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. At the time when this Organization has recognized that the situation in southern Africa poses a grave threat to international peace and security, the voice of Africa has spoken articulately in the Manifesto before this Assembly today. As the delegations which requested the inclusion of this item have emphasized,

“the African States consider the Manifesto as an authoritative expression of their collective views and policies with regard to the colonial questions in southern Africa and of their expectations in terms of commitment for action from the United Nations and States Members of the United Nations” [A/7657, para. 5].

42. No document could be introduced at a more appropriate time, for the Manifesto comes not only to complement the several conventions, the Charter and the Declarations of the United Nations, but also to guide our Organization in tackling the problem of southern Africa on the basis of reason and morality. Those two standards of reason and morality are cardinal to our role as Member States of this Organization. In this regard my Prime Minister, when addressing the General Assembly in October, spoke in the following terms:

“The existence of the United Nations General Assembly is based on the assumption, explicit and implied, that all men are capable of being persuaded by rational argument, and also that there is a moral language of principles of right and wrong which all men share, whatever their race, colour or tongue. If we did not accept these assumptions, the existence of this august body and all the efforts and money expended on it would be futile and pointless.” [1786th meeting, para. 15.]

43. The Manifesto encompasses all the elements of reason, morality and realism, which are widely applicable but have particular reference to the grave situation in southern Africa. The Manifesto speaks the language of the Charter. It draws inspiration from the objectives and principles of the Charter. The basis of the Manifesto is the belief that all men are equal, that for the just ordering of a just society of men and a good economic, social and political organization, the principles of freedom and self-determination must be upheld.

44. By the Manifesto, African States have not sought to impose any highfalutin ideas on the Organization. The ideas enunciated in that document proceed from a perspective of relevance. We admit that

“within our own States the struggle towards human brotherhood and unchallenged human dignity is only beginning. It is on the basis of our commitment to human equality and human dignity, not on the basis of achieved perfection, that we take our stand of hostility towards the colonialism and racial discrimination which are being practised in southern Africa” [A/7754, para. 4].

Indeed, that incompleteness of achievement is true of all other States. But African States demand a similar commitment to principle from the rest of the world, especially from Member States of our Organization, which is dedicated to promoting international peace and co-operation.

45. There have been several interpretations given to the terms of the Manifesto. I think that any erroneous interpretation which seeks to disturb the balance of principles enunciated in the Manifesto should be viewed as a discourtesy to the drafters of the Manifesto and, what is more serious, a grave injustice towards the balance of principles so carefully enunciated by responsible African Heads of State and Government.

46. The truest interpretation to be laid on the terms of the Manifesto comes out of a diligent reading of the words of the document and not out of any individual predispositions, misconceptions or selfish national interests. In trying to bring out the import of the Manifesto's message, what must be borne in mind is the wise guidance which our duly elected and responsible African Heads of State wish to give to our deliberations.

47. What is at stake here is the total liberation of the continent of Africa. Each African State is irrevocably committed to this objective and no sacrifice will be considered too great to bear to free all the peoples of Africa from colonial and racist oppression. Is this objective not legitimate, and is it not only reasonable to call on all States to help us achieve this objective? In the course of our interminable debates on the problems of southern Africa, we have always been told to explore the processes of peaceful evolution. We have consistently shown our adherence to the peaceful procedures of the United Nations. The charter of the Organization of African Unity has given articulate expression to our position. Now the Manifesto takes its basic stand on this premise. The many resolutions of the United Nations on various aspects of the problem of southern Africa are eloquent witnesses of the determination of African States to appeal to those Powers concerned to co-operate with us to resolve the problem. But when you have to deal with the inalienable rights of a people to self-determination and freedom, it is the legitimate human aspiration or urge which has the final say. If in the course of a people's struggle for freedom the oppressive Powers do not heed the compulsions of the human spirit, the people take the law into their own hands and wrest justice from the oppressors at any cost.

48. It is a proposition which the Manifesto on Southern Africa puts clearly for our consideration. It is no new revelation of the human condition. The history of all our States is full of epochs or events during which our peoples were faced with this proposition. Today this proposition has been put to those Powers which are responsible for creating the explosive situation in southern Africa. We have declared:

"On the objectives of liberation . . . we can neither surrender nor compromise. We have always preferred, and we still prefer, to achieve it without physical violence. We would prefer to negotiate rather than destroy. . . . We do not advocate violence, we advocate an end to the violence against human dignity which is now being perpetrated by

the oppressors of Africa. . . . But while peaceful progress is blocked by actions of those at present in power in the States of southern Africa, we have no choice but to give the peoples of those territories all the support of which we are capable in their struggle against their oppressors." [A/7754, para. 12.]

49. No posture can be more reasonable and more worthy of support of all men of good conscience.

50. Africa has spoken out. We invite the international community to examine the policies and actions of those oppressive Powers in South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Southern Rhodesia. It is in this connexion that all reasonable men must regard what the representative of Portugal said this morning [1814th meeting] as a deplorable manifestation of an obscurantist, obstructionist and negative attitude. We do not intend now to go into the many inaccuracies and poor logic in his statement. Let it suffice to say that what is happening in the so-called Portuguese Territories in Africa today is the direct result of a denial of fundamental human rights and liberties by Portugal to the people there. Let Portugal take heed before history overtakes it.

51. What is important and crucial now is not the mere token adoption of the Manifesto by the other Member States of the United Nations, but the true commitment of all of us to act to implement the principles so nobly enunciated in the Manifesto on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity.

52. At the beginning of this decade the late Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, in a report to the Assembly, prophesied that the years of the sixties would see African questions brought into sharper focus in the deliberations of the Assembly. How true his words were, and at the end of this decade the Manifesto of the Organization of African Unity comes as a landmark, as a signpost beckoning us all down the road to justice, freedom and co-operation. Let the international community take up the challenge.

53. Mr. JAKOBSON (Finland): The Finnish delegation welcomes the initiative of the 36 African countries which has enabled us here at the General Assembly to consider and to pronounce ourselves on the Manifesto on Southern Africa [S/7754] adopted by the Heads of State and Governments of the Organization of African Unity at its sixth session in Addis Ababa. The fact that the Assembly has decided to deal with this matter as a separate item in plenary is in itself significant. It shows that we are dealing with a document of exceptional value, not only because of its contents but also because it is the embodiment of the collective views and policies of all independent African States, their hopes, aspirations and commitments with regard to the solution of the grave problems of southern Africa.

54. The problems confronting southern Africa, as we all know, differ in many respects. They all have their distinctive features; but they are all basically expressions of one and the same basic fundamental problem—the refusal of a minority to accept even in principle the concept of a society in which everyone is guaranteed equal enjoyment of human rights. This massive denial of human rights which is

taking place in southern Africa concerns all nations. The problems of southern Africa are not merely African problems; they present a challenge to the international community as a whole. Consequently, we all must join in efforts to solve those problems and those efforts, to be effective, must be based on a broad understanding among the Members of the United Nations. The achievement of such an understanding is advanced by the remarkable document which is before us today. The principles and goals set out in the Lusaka Manifesto must command the respect and support of every civilized nation in the world. The Manifesto is not only a rejection of racism; it is a lucid and moving reaffirmation of principles of universal validity—the principles of human rights and freedoms, of human equality and dignity and of social justice.

55. The Manifesto is more than a declaration of principles; it is a declaration of policy; a policy of conciliation and peaceful co-operation. It would be tragic indeed if this statesmanlike gesture from the African States were to remain without any positive response.

56. We in Finland share the principles contained in the Manifesto and we support the objectives and the goals set out in it. They are objectives and goals arising from the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. By bringing this document before the General Assembly, the African States have in effect expressed their desire to co-operate with all the Members of the Organization in a continued search for a constructive solution of the problems of southern Africa. In voting for the draft resolution before us, my delegation pledges its full and active support for our joint efforts to achieve those aims.

57. Mr. KATAPODIS (Greece): The Manifesto of the Organization of African Unity on Southern Africa [A/7754], signed at Lusaka on 16 April 1969, is a document of historic significance, which may well help shape the destiny of Africa for generations to come. It is impregnated with high moral principles, the same principles in fact which are the foundations of the Charter of our Organization and which should serve as guidance to all Members of the international community. In this Manifesto the African Heads of State have expressed their desire and their will to seek a peaceful settlement of the problems of southern Africa. We should not forget that the satisfactory solution of these problems would mean the complete decolonization of Africa, an end towards which gigantic steps have been made in the last 15 years.

58. Furthermore, the Manifesto contains the most solemn assurances of its signatories as regards the future of the white population of southern Africa. I shall confine myself to quoting the following sentence, one among many in the same line of thought:

“We believe that all the peoples who have made their homes in the countries of southern Africa are Africans, regardless of the colour of their skins; and we would oppose a racist majority government which adopted a philosophy of deliberate and permanent discrimination between its citizens on grounds of racial origin.” [Ibid., para. 8.]

One could hardly ask for a more unequivocal recognition of the fundamental rights of those who have found in that part of Africa a second homeland.

59. It is in the hope that the appeal launched at Lusaka will be heard and that it will lead to a dialogue—without which no major international problem can find a lasting and equitable solution—that the Greek delegation wholeheartedly supports the Manifesto, and will consequently vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.575 and Corr.1.

60. Mr. SOPIEE (Malaysia): The Malaysian delegation regards the Lusaka declaration as a historic, monumental document. Therefore, we support this Manifesto on Southern Africa [A/7754]. We appreciate that there are delegations which may have some reservations and which, while agreeing almost entirely with the document, may have some differences of opinion on very minor points of detail. Indeed, some of them have come to this rostrum and have expressed support in general terms while making reservations about those points with which they do not feel they can go along completely.

61. It is possible that after the voting there may be delegations which will come to the rostrum and clarify their position regarding their reservations about certain minor points. Indeed, perhaps even among African countries there may be certain points on which there are some minor reservations. But because of the spirit of unity and solidarity and of the desire to act and work together, one cannot deny that this Lusaka declaration represents the view and the voice of the whole of Africa. Despite those reservations—which may be held privately or publicly, or made quietly or loudly—the Manifesto represents in our view a monumental, historical document. We, for our part, give it solid support because we see in it the statesmanship of which Africa is capable: we see in it the idealism that our brothers in Africa have shown to the whole world; we see in it a message for the whole of humanity, we see in it a message for the future; we see in it an instrument for possible peace in that part of the world.

62. It is because of our belief in and unequivocal support for this declaration of Lusaka that my delegation feels that the draft resolution might be improved by a slight amendment that my delegation humbly submits for the consideration of the Assembly. My delegation feels that it is not sufficient for the General Assembly merely to welcome the Manifesto on Southern Africa and to recommend it to the attention of all States and all peoples. We feel that it should be the basis for action. We feel that it should provide the guiding principles for action inside Africa as well as outside Africa, by the Organization of African Unity as well as by every organization in the world which upholds the values and the wisdom that are enshrined in this document.

63. We believe in and support co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, so that the United Nations may intensify its efforts to find a solution to the present grave situation in southern Africa. But we feel that this solution should be sought in the spirit of the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa.

64. Accordingly, the Malaysian delegation formally submits an amendment to this draft resolution. We would propose that the following words should be added at the end of paragraph 2 of the draft resolution: “in the spirit of

the Manifesto on Southern Africa". Thus paragraph 2 would read:

"Expresses once again the firm intention of the United Nations, acting in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, to intensify its efforts to find a solution to the present grave situation in southern Africa in the spirit of the Manifesto on Southern Africa."

65. We have very carefully chosen the phrase "in the spirit of the Manifesto on Southern Africa" so as to make it possible for those delegations which support the Manifesto as a whole and yet have reservations on some minute point to be able to support it. What we are asking delegations to support is the solution of problems, not entirely word for word, but in the spirit of this historic Manifesto, this African Manifesto, this Manifesto which embodies all the fine things that all of us in this hall believe in.

66. In conclusion, I would request that in the vote on this amendment that I have put before the Assembly, you might be pleased, Mr. President, to take a recorded vote.

67. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): When the American States began their long task of decolonization almost two centuries ago, they thought it necessary to justify their rebellion, and they left us glorious, brilliant manifestos in which they proclaimed their indictment of the metropolitan tyranny and set out for future generations the reasons for which they had to engage in armed struggle.

68. When the African States obtained their independence in a different manner and in an international framework in no way similar to that of 150 years ago, no such procedure was followed, and indeed it was unnecessary. But today, with the first 10 years of the Declaration to put an end to colonialism drawing to a close, and in the face of determined opposition in southern Africa, they have thought it timely to do so. We are glad of it, for the Manifesto signed in the capital of Zambia is a document worthy of the times in which we live and of the purposes of the signatory countries, which sum up the aspiration, part of the United Nations credo, that

"all men have the right and the duty to participate, as equal members of the society, in their own Government"
[A/7754, para. 2].

69. The African States establish very clearly the soundness of the ideals that hold mankind together and point with truly statesmanlike objectivity to the fact that there is a wide gap between the high principles of equality and brotherhood and the imperfections and incomplete achievements that constitute reality. But as human beings we cannot overcome this duality, which we all share and which is found even in the countries we regard as developed. The evil is not in that; the Lusaka Manifesto is unusual in defining with exemplary clarity where the defects of the present situation in southern Africa are to be found. The political régimes of the area are taking cover behind an open and continued denial of the principles of human equality, a denial which goes beyond failure and self-determination, to implement ideals that are generally accepted, since it denies their validity and disputes their

inherent supremacy. This struggle against the models which mankind has in the last third of this century accepted as vital for its development is what converts the situation in southern Africa into an international crisis, and the undisputable value of the Lusaka Manifesto is that it clearly and eloquently describes it as such.

70. Quite rightly, the Manifesto underlines the four great problems over which southern Africa is divided, and it is worth while commenting briefly on each of them in general terms, as my delegation has already done on the occasions when each item was considered separately.

71. When resolution 1514 (XV) was adopted in 1960, the General Assembly also adopted resolution 1541 (XV), which is frequently overlooked but which was preceded by a serious study, which led to a description of the characteristics of the colonial phenomenon and to a definition of the political means for its peaceful elimination. It is a matter for satisfaction that this preference for peaceful means also prevails in the Lusaka Manifesto, and the Mexican delegation, realizing that solutions by force frequently create more problems than they solve, firmly supports the conclusion in paragraph 12 of the Manifesto, in which the African peoples speak of negotiating rather than destroying, of talking rather than killing, and of advocating violence not for its own sake but only as a final desperate recourse against the flouting of human dignity in this last bastion of obsolete political doctrines.

72. Resolution 1541 (XV) defined colonialism as the imposition of the sovereignty of one people over another which is distinguished from it by historical traditions, with which it does not have a common culture and from which it is separated by a considerable geographical distance, usually by sea; it was noted that this situation frequently degenerated into a fiction of federalism, doomed to perish for lack of any real foundation. In such cases the only solution was full independence, through which new links of friendship and political action might be forged. This situation is that described very concisely but exactly in paragraphs 13 to 15 of the Manifesto. My Government maintains cordial and friendly relations with Portugal, but has consistently expressed its belief in the self-determination of peoples; it trusts that Portugal will realize that its great opportunity is not to persist in an outmoded colonial policy but to become a great cultural centre for a Portuguese community spanning three continents, which would have much to offer to mankind, now anxiously seeking new forms of supranational brotherhood.

73. The same qualities of brevity and precision are to be found in paragraph 16 of the Manifesto, describing the situation in Rhodesia. This episode cannot be counted among those which redound to the credit of the United Nations. An important decision to apply economic sanctions to an inland, agricultural country has proved futile and, as a result, our Organization has been weakened. We cannot of course ignore the responsibility of certain countries, in particular South Africa, which have helped to render those sanctions inoperative. It is time to express our hope that the peaceful solution favoured by those who signed the Manifesto will prevail and that the situation, daily becoming darker although many Member States have scrupulously complied with the Security Council resolutions, will take a turn for the better.

74. We now come to the crux of the problems of southern Africa and to the racial problems of the world today, for with the application of the policy of *apartheid* and the continuing unlawful occupation of the territory of Namibia, we are faced with one of the most serious and longstanding of the problems with which our Organization has to battle.

75. The fact that the Mandate for South West Africa has terminated is not a matter which merits further discussion. It is also clear that the United Nations has a duty to take some positive action, for the States Members are in virtually unanimous agreement that the Organization has a direct responsibility for Namibia. The Manifesto is justifiably pessimistic on that point, since no effective measure has been taken to enforce the various resolutions which both the General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted to put an end to the *de facto* sale being exercised by South Africa. Unfortunately, in this connexion we meet with a negative attitude which is, furthermore, an insult to the United Nations. South Africa appears to attach no importance to the consequences of the creation of Namibia and continues unperturbed to implement its *apartheid* policy in a territory which is not metropolitan territory and which it is occupying without any title, apparently under the illusion that in the end the United Nations will agree that it has committed an error and that Namibia will once again become the former South West Africa, the fifth province of the Union.

76. The problem of *apartheid* is closely linked with this attitude to international life. Condemned by all sectors having any influence in the modern world, this is a totally mistaken policy wherever it occurs; but South Africa continues to be governed by a minority party which puts race first, and as is clearly pointed out in the Manifesto, denies any importance to all the other factors that properly enter into human personality.

77. While the great African poet who is now President of Senegal speaks about permitting black blood to enter into circulation in the great cities in order to humanize them and make them friendly, the South African minority which has seized power is afraid of itself and of the human feelings that are our only reason for living. That society is inhuman in principle and in its persistence, in the face of continual and repeated condemnation by the United Nations, in a world which has justly and humanely decided that its future depends on cross-breeding, it obviously constitutes a threat to peace and security.

78. In the course of history we find mistaken ideas that have been put aside as harmful, but it is somewhat strange to find that racist ideas which have long ago been discarded, which are completely discredited and whose results are tragic in the extreme, have been built up into a political theory; for to divide up a great continent longing to affirm its dedication to freedom, and to do this by invoking the short-sighted justification of the immediate advantage of slave labour, is to mortgage the whole future of the world and close the natural avenues to coexistence between peoples united by geography and, even though this may not be apparent, also by history.

79. The Mexican delegation considers that the efforts of the United Nations, jointly with the Organization of

African Unity, should be concentrated on *apartheid*. With the disappearance of this evil doctrine, the whole situation would change in southern Africa, and other problems that today appear insoluble would be given a colouring that would render them less dangerous.

80. My delegation asks itself what can be done to make the present Government of South Africa and the party it represents realize that they must fall into step with mankind and work out formulae for coexistence that conform with those of everyone else. In paragraph 22, the Manifesto refers to the obstacle that some find in the fact that international law takes precedence over humanity. We think that on that point the document gives insufficient weight to the basic characteristics of one of the great branches of knowledge and coexistence, for law is the crystallization of human practice, the distillation of all that is known to be good and feasible in international coexistence, and to ignore its rules solely because of the desire to hasten towards a particular objective is to underrate the system of international law, its flexibility and its capacity for action. For example, the Security Council, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, which is international law in its most general form, has instituted sanctions against South Africa, prohibiting any State from selling or shipping arms or other military supplies to that country [*resolution 181 (1963)*]. We have acted within international law, but can we make international law responsible for violation of the legal obligations which stem from this law? Moreover, we believe that it is precisely in the strict implementation of the law that we must look for the subsequent means of achieving our goal, which is simply the peaceful elimination of *apartheid*.

81. In paragraph 22 the Manifesto discusses the difficulty of allowing the South African Government to reject the very concept of mankind's unity and nevertheless to benefit from the friendly international relations deriving from that same unity. My Government agrees with the approach whose adoption helped to ensure the success of the nineteenth Olympic Games. Furthermore Mexico, with other countries, sponsored the draft which recommended the exclusion of South Africa from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

82. I should now like to consider the possibility of extending this effort to ostracize South Africa, which the Manifesto puts forward as a necessity, until that Government accepts the implications of the common nature of mankind. That ostracism could certainly be put into effect as regards the specialized agencies, but there is no reason for the United Nations itself to remain aloof. Articles 5 and 6 of the Charter in fact refer to the suspension and even the expulsion of a Member State.

83. If we study the history of these articles, at Dumbarton Oaks and at San Francisco, we find that it was undoubtedly a question of the application of sanctions and that the two sanctions were connected and progressive; there was considerable opposition to the idea of expelling a Member State in the face of the principle of universality, and the notion was adopted at the last moment in order not to hold up the conclusion of the work. The resulting Articles 5 and 6 laid down sanctions, which have been graduated, suspension representing the first exercise of the authority of the

United Nations when justified by the conduct of any Member State which has been the subject of preventive or enforcement action by the Security Council because of its defiance of the international community.

84. The Mexican delegation firmly believes that it is legitimate to discuss suspension of a Member of the United Nations. We believe that this measure is applicable to the Republic of South Africa for the following reasons: first, because it has been the subject of enforcement action by the Security Council, as set out in resolution 1 (1963); secondly, because it has been the subject of preventive action, as set out in operative paragraphs 6 and 7 of resolution 182 (1963); thirdly, because there is no reason why the General Assembly, in the exercise of its very broad powers under Article 11 of the Charter, should not request the Security Council to consider a recommendation such as is envisaged in Article 5, to the effect that South Africa should be suspended from "the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership" of the United Nations.

85. This suspension would of course not affect any of the obligations of South Africa, particularly those relating to human rights and the self-determination of peoples, which are of particular relevance in this case, or in any way detract from their force.

86. For all the above reasons, the delegation of Mexico will vote for draft resolution A/L.575 and Corr.1.

87. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): On behalf of my Government and my delegation I should like the voice of Cyprus to be joined to the expressions of admiration and support for the Manifesto of the Organization of African Unity [A/7754], the subject of the draft resolution before this Assembly. The Manifesto is a document of inspired goodwill and statesmanship embodying human wisdom in one of its most impressive manifestations. It is a great historic declaration and a landmark in the evolution of modern man. It takes its place of eminence along with the Magna Carta, the American Declaration of Independence, the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations, and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

88. The Manifesto, in pointing to the misunderstandings, the disagreements and conflicts of interests, and indeed of wrongly conceived self-interest, which disastrously divide mankind, rings in the hearts and minds of all men a bell of alertness to the compelling need for international understanding and co-operation, particularly during these critical times when, to quote the Manifesto: "united action is necessary, to control modern technology and put it to the services of man" [*ibid.*, para. 1]. For indeed mankind is now at the most critical turning point in the whole of its history when the unloving or indifferent misuse of technology threatens to destroy the human environment and all that makes life possible or desirable on this planet of ours. Indeed, when technology has brought man to such peaks of power and knowledge as to enable him to visit and explore the moon, it is inconceivable and inexcusable that there is no comparable moral progress and that there should prevail among men the crudeness of violence and of the use of force in the service of outdated prejudices, and of divisions for the purpose of denying to a section of humanity its

inherent right to equality and dignity and its inalienable right to self-determination.

89. The Government and the people of Cyprus, whose history has been one of continuous struggle for these rights, whole-heartedly stand in solidarity with their brethren of Africa in support of this magnificent expression of human wisdom, dignity and goodwill that the Manifesto represents.

90. Mr. SEN (India): Since we have sponsored the draft resolution before the Assembly [A/L.575 and Corr.1], it may be a little unnecessary to speak in its favour. In fact this draft has received such a large measure of support and our own attitude is so well known that any further arguments may appear to be rather a waste of time. However, because of certain comments we have heard during the debate on this important Manifesto recently adopted at Lusaka [A/7754], we in the Indian delegation felt it necessary to make a few observations.

91. First, we do not believe that any country in southern Africa is even remotely free from the curse of racial discrimination.

92. Secondly, we agree with only one sentence of the statement by the representative of Portugal. He said: "The Portuguese system is not and never has been a colonial system in the modern sense of the term" [*1814th meeting, para. 77*]. We agree that the Portuguese colonial system is outdated and pernicious. We can never agree that Portugal has any right to decide the future of any Africans, and we are convinced that the sooner Portugal leaves that continent the better it will be for everyone. We have elaborated on this on a number of occasions and I do not wish to repeat all the arguments, which should now be familiar to all.

93. Thirdly, we consider that the Lusaka Manifesto has done well to bring to our attention in a comprehensive manner the problem of southern Africa, even though there may always be differences of opinion about how and when the problem should be solved. On one matter however we have no doubt: namely, that if all the Members of the United Nations would faithfully carry out the terms of the resolutions already adopted, both by the General Assembly and in other forums, considerable progress could be made. Of course, I do not expect South Africa or Portugal to listen to any liberal or humane ideas. We expect them to continue with their policy of total oppression and repression and of total defiance of the United Nations.

94. Lastly, we have no illusion that the liberation of southern Africa from the evils of colonialism and racialism will be either swift or easy. But we have every hope that with greater public support from peoples all over the world, together with suitable action by their Governments, the agonies of the citizens of southern Africa can and will be shortened. It is in this spirit that my delegation has co-sponsored the draft resolution before us. We look forward to a most impressive endorsement of that draft resolution by this Assembly.

95. Mr. DE LIPKOWSKI (France) (*translated from French*): The document [A/7754] which we are being invited to endorse has, I believe, few precedents in the history of our Organization. The fact that 41 Heads of

State joined together to analyse the sources of a tragedy which goes beyond the confines of a single region, and undoubtedly of a single continent, is proof of its importance.

96. It is also remarkable to note that these 41 Heads of State, by common agreement, strove to overcome their resentment and to curb their justified impatience in order to seek together the bases of a lasting peace affecting millions of people whom they recognize as brothers.

97. A respected Head of State, Mr. Ahidjo, himself came to this rostrum on behalf of the regional organization over which he presides [1780th meeting] to present this document to the United Nations.

98. I need not say how much the situation in southern Africa runs counter to the great principles which have always inspired the policies of France. These great principles—I hardly need to recall them, since they are universally known—are those with which France has been identified throughout its history: freedom, equality and human brotherhood, which means the struggle for the dignity of man, whatever the community to which he belongs, which in turn means the rejection of all that detracts from that dignity and that mutual respect between peoples.

99. This is what the representative of Niger stated only this morning [1814th meeting] from this rostrum, in very moving terms. I wish to express my deep gratitude to him and to tell him that the sentiments which he expressed about our co-operation are whole-heartedly shared by France.

100. It is true that the authors of the Lusaka Manifesto have sometimes, in that document, expressed judgements on the political authorities of certain European countries and used expressions the tone and trend of which scarcely conform to the language which we endeavour to use in this forum.

101. It may be regretted that the signatories of the document accepted in advance the final resort to violence and the possible involvement of the Organization in the international affairs of States because, in our delegation's view, peace—our common aim—should result above all from an untiring effort towards dialogue and understanding. And while the publication of the Manifesto constitutes, as has been stated here, the beginning of a "new strategy", the reason is, in our view, that it endeavours to dispel the "great fear" which has rightly been denounced from this rostrum and which is, in the final analysis, largely responsible for the situation in the southern part of the African continent.

102. But we are bound to support the signatories of this document when they denounce all the forms of racism that we ourselves have always sharply condemned. We note that they recognize as their colleagues in the development of the continent all those who have established themselves there, in some cases for centuries, with the desire to live there and further the progress of the countries concerned. We also note that these same signatories had the wisdom not to exclude any form of union or association with peoples on another continent, provided that such a union or associa-

tion springs from the freely and unequivocally expressed desire of the majority of the people. My country, which has experienced such choices in the past, is particularly well suited to gauge the mutual benefits which result.

103. But the reservations which my delegation has entered on particular proposals in the Manifesto did not prevent us from recognizing both the lofty nature of the thoughts it contains and its spirit of conciliation, or from welcoming with full sympathy the efforts of the authors, in the words of President Ahidjo, "to help through dialogue and negotiation in solving the world's great problems" [1780th meeting, para. 17]. These are the reasons for which the French delegation will vote for the text submitted to us [A/L.575 and Corr.1].

104. Mrs. JIMENEZ (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation has studied the item which is before the General Assembly today with great interest and in a very sincere spirit of understanding, because it deals with a matter to which the African Group has devoted great attention and to which it has attached great hope.

105. The countries of East and Central Africa meeting in Lusaka have recorded their concern at the colonialist and racist policy followed by South Africa, Portugal and the Fascist Government of Southern Rhodesia, and have set down in a Manifesto [A/7754] all their anxieties, laying down the bases for the solution of vital problems that could lead to the liberation of the subjugated peoples of that region.

106. The delegation of Cuba welcomes the high purposes set forth in that important document. Like the authors, it recognizes that no minority group in any community whatsoever has the right to impose forms of political domination that entail the total denial of the fundamental rights of the vast majority of the population. Further, there is no question that unless we hold firmly to the principles of human equality and self-determination of peoples, no solid foundations can be laid for peace and justice in the world.

107. All peoples aspire to live in peace and achieve their independent development without foreign interference; but, peace is not a gift from the gods nor a gracious concession made by exploiters. Peace with dignity, to which the peoples aspire, can be obtained only through a tenacious and persistent struggle against the principal enemy of mankind, collective imperialism, headed by the American Government. In the world of today, shaken by an empire without frontiers whose aggressive actions extend to all continents, the concept of peace can be achieved if the sovereignty, independence and self-determination of all peoples, large or small, strong or weak, can also be guaranteed; but it is an illusion to think that this ideal can be achieved in the face of the mighty forces fighting against those principles, forces which, as the Manifesto itself states, have been built up deliberately with a view to destroying all the values commonly accepted by mankind.

108. Undoubtedly, we are living at one of the most critical moments of history. The colonial system of imperialism is shaken to its foundations and shows clear signs of disintegration. The imperialists can no longer stifle the appeals

of the national liberation movement. Hundreds of millions of human beings who until very recently groaned under the yoke of the oppressor have acquired independence.

109. Nevertheless, the developments in Viet-Nam and in the southern part of Africa show how dangerous it is to harbour illusions about dying imperialism. The victories achieved by the liberation movement have made imperialism more aggressive, brutal and adventurous. Everywhere the old and new colonialists are trying to recover their privileges and are provoking situations that threaten world peace and the national liberation movement.

110. Imperialism is not renouncing its insensate hopes of crushing the revolts of peoples and suppressing liberation movements, and so recovering the ground it has lost. To attain its objectives, it is intensifying its activities, now subtle, now brutal, and does not shrink from the most shameless acts. In the southern part of Africa, there has been a powerful resurgence of international imperialism on an economic basis, against the background of the unchained fury of a sinister racism that has dared to institutionalize injustice in the form of *apartheid*.

111. Common economic interests are leading the colonial Powers to build up military alliances and political understandings directed especially against the dependent peoples. This "unholy alliance", as it has aptly been called, is the instrument of certain Powers which today, organized in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and directed by the United States, are trying to consolidate the colonialist bastion in the south of the African continent.

112. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba reaffirms once again its active and militant solidarity with the oppressed peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Our people and our Government consider that the effective and lasting solution of the conflict created in southern Africa is the genuine independence of those oppressed peoples, who are denied the most elementary rights inherent in their condition as human beings and whose inalienable right to win their liberty with weapons in their hands we fully recognize. For these reasons, my Government supports and endorses the joint steps which the African States have taken in that direction.

113. Nothing justifies any State, especially the States Members of the United Nations, in lending economic and military assistance to Governments that persist in maintaining African peoples under an inhuman and degrading colonialist and racist régime.

114. We share the view that any support to liberation movements is lawful, and we consider that there can be no compromise or negotiation on that basic issue. The past history of every people provides evidence that the situation obtaining in the southern part of Africa leaves the peoples no alternative but to oppose imperialist, colonialist and racist violence with revolutionary violence.

115. The system of oppression and systematic pillage imposed on southern Africa by the imperialist, colonialist and racist system, the policy of permanent violence it engenders and the social evils it involves close the road to reform and make coexistence between oppressors and

oppressed impossible. Behind the régimes of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonialists stands imperialism, exploiting, attacking and threatening everywhere. The global strategy which imperialism has adopted in order to safeguard its vast privileges imposes a common strategy on the national liberation movement. The oppressed peoples of Africa are called upon to take a decisive part in the final struggles for liberation.

116. We realize that the struggle is hard and that the road is beset with dangerous ambushes. A hundred years of heroic struggle has demonstrated to the people of Cuba that great and heroic sacrifices must be accepted if peoples are to win their ultimate independence.

117. Uncompromising revolution has proved to our people, as our Prime Minister, Fidel Castro, has said in connexion with Viet-Nam, that it is not only possible to resist and fight to the death, but also to resist and fight to victory.

118. The United Nations has been studying the colonialist and racist policy pursued in southern Africa for many years now. Both the Security Council and the General Assembly have adopted numerous resolutions and made dramatic appeals; nevertheless, Portugal, South Africa and the racist régime of Ian Smith have tightened up their alliance and intensified their oppression and destructive activities in complete disregard of the United Nations and its repeated proclamations. Nor has any useful purpose been served by the goodwill of those Member States that look for possible ways of solving the oppressed peoples' urgent problems within the United Nations system.

119. The Cuban delegation would be departing from the position of principle it has maintained unchanged since the triumph of the revolution if, for reasons of false solidarity, it were to accept that approach. Its conviction is that liberty will never be won through the United Nations, and that the lesson of history is that freedom can only be won by peoples who are prepared to fight for it at the cost of their blood.

120. The road to true independence for the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) is through armed struggle, without respite or compromise. As the battle is joined today in those territories, in the face of an imperialism aggravated by racist intransigence, victory will not be achieved through theoretical reasoning or abstract proclamations. Exploiters understand only one language: revolutionary violence.

121. With these truths before our eyes, we have to look at the document before us in its context. When the time comes to vote, our reaction will be consistent with the position of principle we have maintained and upheld on all other issues.

122. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo has asked to speak on a point of order, under rule 78 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

123. Mr. IDZUMBUIR (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (*translated from French*): My delegation apologizes

for speaking at this stage on a point of order, but as a sponsor of the draft resolution before the Assembly [A/L.575 and Corr.1], it feels that, in view of the amendment submitted by the representative of Malaysia, it is extremely important that the sponsors should have an opportunity to consult one another on that amendment.

124. I know that the delegation of Malaysia has been informally consulted and that two appeals—which my delegation reiterates from this rostrum—have been made to it that the representative of that country should not maintain his amendment. If, however, he intends to do so, I am quite certain that the Malaysian delegation and all delegations in the Assembly will understand that it is in the interests of our work—and a matter of simple courtesy not only to the delegations which have jointly sponsored the draft resolution but also to the delegation which has submitted the amendment—to allow the sponsors of the draft resolution at least to consult each other on this amendment.

125. That is why my delegation proposes that, if the Malaysian delegation should not feel able to respond to our appeal, the meeting should be suspended for half an hour. During that half-hour, the sponsors of the draft resolution will have time to consult among themselves in order to adopt a joint attitude to the proposed amendment.

126. My motion for suspension is made under article 70 of the rules of procedure.

127. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): If there is no objection, I shall take it that the motion for suspension of the meeting for 30 minutes is accepted.

The meeting was suspended at 5.20 p.m. and resumed at 6 p.m.

128. Mr. CASTALDO (Italy): In draft resolution A/L.575 and Corr.1, the African countries invite us to take note of the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa [A/7754] and to welcome it. The Italian delegation will vote in favour of that draft resolution, and I wish to explain very briefly why we welcome the Manifesto.

129. The leaders of East and Central African States who met at Lusaka in April 1969 discovered, to use their own words, that there was “widespread misapprehension of” their “attitudes and purposes in relation to southern Africa” [*ibid.*, para. 1]. They decided, therefore, to make their position clear and they have done so in very unequivocal and poignant terms.

130. They made clear, first of all, that their basic approach to the problems of southern Africa derived from the conviction that the essence of those problems is the denial of fundamental human rights: particularly of the right of all men to equal treatment, and of the right of all men to participate, on an equal footing, in their own Government.

131. In this respect the Manifesto contains a strong statement which is worth quoting: “... we affirm that only the people of a society, acting together as equals, can determine what is, for them, a good society and a good social, economic or political organization.” [*Ibid.*, para. 2.]

132. Thus the universal aspect of the problems of southern Africa is brought into full light, and it is stressed why these problems should be of concern to all people all over the world who upheld the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

133. We consider that a constructive approach and we take note with appreciation of two other main features of the Manifesto. The first is the view, based on a realistic appraisal of the situation, that the desired changes in southern Africa can be brought about only through gradual developments which do not exclude “transitional arrangements while a transformation from group inequalities to individual equality is being effected” [*ibid.*, para. 3].

134. The second main feature I refer to is the emphasis put throughout the Manifesto on the desire to resort to peaceful means and negotiations rather than to violent means. Italy has for a long time advocated a dialogue and negotiations between the parties concerned as the basic, realistic way to find a solution to the problems of southern Africa. My country therefore whole-heartedly welcomes the Manifesto’s farsighted call for negotiations. I wish to add that this realistic aspect of the Manifesto was the decisive factor which prompted my delegation to support the draft resolution before us.

135. The Lusaka Manifesto is, of course, a complex document which has the merit of achieving a striking balance between a deep idealistic inspiration and a realistic political quest for possible concrete gradual solutions of the problems. I do not intend to make a thorough analysis of the document at this stage. Most of the ideas and suggestions contained in it deserve, in our view, attentive consideration and heartfelt appreciation.

136. There are other, minor, aspects which could raise objections. Although we may not adhere to each single point of the document, the Manifesto as a whole represents, in our opinion, a positive contribution in so far as it paves the way for the search for constructive democratic solutions through negotiations, which presupposes the renunciation of the use of force. The Manifesto gives expression to a responsible evolution of positions and attitudes that, in our view, deserve to be encouraged.

137. I wish to recall in this respect what the Foreign Minister of Italy had to say on the Manifesto in the general debate on 8 October 1969:

“... we have read with interest the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa which was authoritatively presented by the President of Cameroon and which, we hope, will not go unheard. In the same spirit we look forward to the completion, in all parts of the world, of that irreversible historical process which requires the elimination of the political and economic structures of colonialism.” [*1783rd meeting, para. 20.*]

138. The authors of the Manifesto have wisely stressed that, while gradual development might be envisaged for the progress of southern Africa towards more just social conditions, all people concerned in the area must commit themselves to the principles of human equality and human dignity.

139. We share their views that this commitment is a precondition to reversing the present sterile policies which are leading only towards anachronistic forms of racial discrimination and colonialism that have been condemned by the world conscience. We urge all Governments and people concerned to respond to the appeal contained in the Lusaka Manifesto; we urge them to show their resolve to march towards social harmony so that the people living in southern Africa might devote their energies to the economic and social progress of the area. We hope especially that the hand extended by the African countries will be seized by the Governments directly concerned.

140. Mr. OTEMA ALLIMADI (Uganda); My delegation commends the leaders of Africa on their wise thoughts enshrined in the Manifesto on Southern Africa now before us [A/7754]. At this time, when Africa is striving to achieve unity, there could not have been a more vivid expression of its desire for unity than that offered by the African leaders when they met and drafted this Manifesto. The spirit of the Manifesto is to try to eliminate

“unnecessary disharmony, disagreements, conflicts of interest, or different assessments of human priorities, which provoke an excess of tension in the world, and disastrously divide mankind, at a time when united action is necessary to control modern technology and put it to the service of man” [ibid., para. 1].

141. It was those noble goals that motivated the leaders of the East and Central African States meeting at Lusaka, Zambia, on 16 April 1969, in offering us the wise thoughts embodied in the Manifesto, recently presented to the United Nations General Assembly by President Ahidjo of the Federal Republic of Cameroon [1780th meeting]. The same noble goals motivated the African Heads of State meeting at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in September 1969, in adopting the Manifesto and recommending that it be presented to the United Nations General Assembly. It is in the same spirit of hope that all of us here who believe in the principles of the United Nations Charter, the principles we are gathered here to defend, will receive and accept this Manifesto. For some of us here to fail to do so would be clear evidence that they do not believe in the principles of equality of man and equal rights, of human dignity and respect and self-determination. As the Manifesto acknowledges quite rightly, “without a commitment to these principles of human equality and self-determination—there can be no basis for peace and justice in the world” [ibid., para. 3].

142. Southern Africa has suffered from colonialism and racial discrimination and exploitation for a long time. Much has been said against the inhuman policies of *apartheid*, racial discrimination and colonialism practised by the régimes in southern Africa. Yet nothing has been heeded by those régimes. Furthermore, attempts have been made here to pass meaningful resolutions which, if implemented, would have taken us a long way towards reaching a solution to these problems. We have instead been cynically told time and again that these resolutions are unrealistic, meaningless and unenforceable. What has been even more disheartening is that some countries declare their dislike of policies and situations obtaining in southern Africa while at the same time they are not prepared to subscribe to any alternative

proposals conceived even in their own kind of realism to eliminate these evils they publicly condemn. We are told that in principle they are with us but in action they opt out. They have chosen to be silent and to act in a negative manner towards the realistic proposals intended to resolve this explosive situation. They have never proposed any resolution based on their implied so-called “realistic” approach.

143. Before us we have yet another document: the Manifesto on Southern Africa, prepared after thorough consultation and reflection with the object of bringing about a lasting solution to this long-standing problem. We hope that it will be accepted in good faith and will not be classified as one of those so-called “meaningless”, “unrealistic” and “unenforceable” documents.

144. My delegation listened carefully this morning to the statement made here by the representative of Portugal, who stated *inter alia*:

“...Portugal is and always has been unreservedly committed to the principle of human equality and equal dignity. And indeed we are surprised that there should be any one who, in this year of grace 1969, is still unaware of Portugal's commitment to this principle. Indeed it is the principle on which Portugal has traditionally based its policy in Africa.” [1814th meeting, para. 84.]

145. Can we say we are glad to hear this “belief” of Portugal? My delegation wishes to point out that Portugal's statement does not correspond in any measure to cold realities in the so-called Portuguese Territories in Africa since it invaded those Territories. Moreover, my delegation waited anxiously for Portugal to admit that the principle of equality and human dignity is inseparable from the principle of self-determination. In the absence of that admission I can only say that it is futile for Portugal unashamedly to declare that in this year of grace 1969 it observes the principles of equality and human dignity. We know very well how Portugal violates the human rights of peoples in Africa. Yet Portugal still insists that it owns these parts of Africa and has the right to enslave Africans. My delegation wishes to reiterate the determination of my country to see the whole of Africa liberated. Our struggle to achieve this end will continue against any impediments, for we are determined that in this struggle we shall neither surrender nor compromise.

146. Since my country is a co-author of the Manifesto in question, I do not intend to go into greater detail with the aim of educating those who try to justify their presence in Africa on the grounds of being a civilizing mission. I simply want at this stage to correct briefly certain deliberate misinterpretations of the Manifesto.

147. The most obvious misinterpretation—obviously advanced by wishful thinkers—is that the Manifesto is a recognition by African States of the need for a dialogue with the southern African racist régimes. There has been much talk of dialogue since the Manifesto was presented to this General Assembly session. Uganda is not against dialogue; but let it be clearly understood that neither my country nor this Manifesto encourages dialogue *per se* with any régime or country that does not believe in the

principles of human rights or with Governments not based on the consent of the governed. The Manifesto on Southern Africa established a condition for dialogue with the racist régimes in southern Africa: this condition is the complete abandonment of the policy of *apartheid* and, for that matter, of any other policies based on racial discrimination and colonialism. Let those who are misinterpreting the Manifesto understand that they are only deliberately misinforming themselves. This is wishful thinking based on a policy of expediency. Its only purpose is to perpetuate colonialism and economic exploitation in that part of our continent.

148. My delegation once again commends the Manifesto and urges its adoption by the United Nations.

149. Mr. MWAANGA (Zambia): I realize that the hour is getting late and we are all anxious to vote on this very important document. I am glad, however, to have been given the opportunity of taking part in this debate on the Manifesto of the Organization of African Unity [A/7754] on the all-important question of southern Africa. I should like in particular to mention certain aspects of the Manifesto which were raised in the course of the debate this morning.

150. This morning the General Assembly was treated to a recipe of obnoxious fallacies and distortions by the representative of Portugal [1814th meeting]. The representative of Portugal showed his usual discourtesy and contempt for the General Assembly by making frivolous and baseless allegations which clearly do not reflect the intent of the Manifesto itself in its own words. The Portuguese delegation here at the United Nations has a bad reputation for the arrogance and the disrespectful manner in which it treats the aims and aspirations of the peoples of the world. It epitomizes Portuguese deceit in trying to convince the world that nothing is wrong with Portugal and its ruthless policies of oppression. We requested the right to intervene because of the innuendoes and insinuations contained in the speech of the representative of Portugal. My country shares common borders with Angola and Mozambique and we know precisely what goes on in those tormented areas of Africa. The African people of Angola and Mozambique have been forced to take up arms against the oppressor, as the latter has refused to negotiate a peaceful transfer of power to the indigenous people. It is those freedom fighters and those men seeking the right to determine their own destiny who are referred to as aggressive and violent elements by the representative of Portugal. We cannot subscribe to such assertions.

151. The spirit of the Manifesto on Southern Africa is to find a peaceful and permanent means of solving the devilish situation of colonialism and imperialism that exists there. Enough men have been killed or put in prison for no crime other than seeking to be free. Yet the Portuguese representative seems to read confusion and deceit throughout the document and decides to give it his own uncalled-for interpretation.

152. The Organization of African Unity, in demonstrating the importance that it attaches to the message contained in the Manifesto, gave a mandate to one of its most distinguished leaders, His Excellency President Ahidjo of

Cameroon, to present that historic document to the United Nations [1780th meeting]. But this morning, in his most contemptuous and scornful fashion, the Portuguese representative arrogated to himself the authority to interpret the Manifesto, reading into it fear and antagonism on the part of free and independent Africa.

153. Portugal must not live in the past; it must start recognizing the dynamism of historical determinism. Whom did the Portuguese representative wish to deceive? Is it not a well-known fact that Mozambique and Angola are the most illiterate parts of Africa, with a literacy rate of less than 1 per cent? Yet Portugal has governed those colonies, as the Portuguese representative rightly stated, for over five centuries. Did it require the Secretary-General of the United Nations or representatives of independent African Governments to travel to those colonies to verify that well-known fact? And is it not a fact that racial discrimination does exist in Portuguese colonies, that the so-called policy of creating *assimilados*, the puppet show-piece *élites*, has also failed? Very often we have seen Africans, Asians and Goans included in Portuguese delegations, so that the world can see that there is no racial discrimination in Portugal and its colonies. But that is only an attempt, in the view of my delegation, to camouflage the real problem that exists in the colonies. Systematic racial discrimination in the obnoxious form in which it exists in those colonies cannot be overstressed. The African is nothing but a victim of exploitation, and it is only the perverted ones that will renounce their origin and masquerade as Portuguese.

154. What the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) desperately need is the right to be free, the right to choose their own political and social institutions, and the right to shape their own destiny. The Manifesto on Southern Africa is a positive suggestion to the oppressor that those rights can be restored without bloodshed.

155. Portugal must stop using false and flimsy excuses for clinging to its policies of ruthless exploitation. We realize that it is the poorest and most backward State in Europe, but we have no doubt that, on becoming independent, the African peoples of those colonies will not want to victimize the Portuguese who are already living there. That is the message of the Manifesto, and the people of Africa will honour their word.

156. We reject any form superiority that is based on race or on economic exploitation. And it is with this in mind that we are still prepared to make an appeal to Portugal so that it may be able to revise its policies. We hope the minds of the representatives of the peace-loving nations of the world will not be diverted from their consideration of this very important Manifesto on Southern Africa by the undignified and arrogant manner in which the Portuguese representative presented the distortions and fallacies of his Government.

157. Given the arrogant and unreceptive attitude of Portugal as amply demonstrated this morning, the people of those Territories have been left with no alternative but to continue their struggle with even greater determination. The Portuguese attempt to distract the attention of this Assembly is all too familiar. We have rejected those attempts in the past and we do so again with even greater

vigour. The Assembly is discussing a dignified document with dignity, and we should not allow any indignities to be introduced, no matter how they are disguised.

158. What the people in the Portuguese Territories want is simple and clear. They want freedom to run the affairs of their own countries in the way they see fit and they want to be able to speak for themselves in this Assembly rather than to have a spokesman who is clearly unqualified to speak on their behalf. This, I submit, is what the Manifesto seeks to achieve by honourable means.

159. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Under rule 78 of the rules of procedure, I call on the representative of Malaysia, who has asked to speak on a point of order.

Miss Brooks (Liberia) resumed the Chair.

160. Mr. SOPIEE (Malaysia): When I addressed the General Assembly earlier, seeking to move an amendment to draft resolution A/L.575 and Corr.1, it was the intention of my delegation to emphasize, to highlight, to point out the importance and the desirability for all of us who support the cause of freedom, the cause of humanity, the cause of decency, to commit ourselves openly. The amendment that we put forward was therefore made in a most sincere effort to achieve that end. However, it has been suggested, particularly by the sponsors of the original draft resolution, that our amendment, far from helping to mobilize the unstinted, unreserved support of everyone for this momentous, historic document which has now come to be known as the Lusaka Manifesto, might give rise to misunderstandings, misinterpretations, and so on. Appeals have been made to us, individually as well as collectively on the part of the co-sponsors, to reconsider our position. Although our motives were sincere and were aimed not at taking anything away from the worthiness of this historic document but rather at giving more strength to it—because it is not our desire to bring about any conflicts or misunderstandings or ill will between delegations or groups of delegations or regional groupings—my delegation has been requested by the representatives of the co-sponsors seriously to consider the possibility of not pressing for a vote on the amendment that we have put forward.

161. In consideration of the views that they hold collectively as a group, although we ourselves are not entirely persuaded, my delegation—in the interests of goodwill, understanding, friendship, solidarity, and with the real desire to work with them as a delegation, as individuals, as groupings, as people—gave an undertaking a few minutes ago to the representatives of the co-sponsors that we will not press for a vote on the amendment that we had put forward.

162. However, my Asian colleagues have also approached me and said that, unfortunately, owing to the timing, as it were, of the move that we made, there may be a very undesirable reading of this affair, that there may be people who think that something is happening that perhaps goes to the root of Afro-Asian solidarity. Now I have been requested by my Asian colleagues to go further, to withdraw the amendment, if by that act we can once and for all wipe out any suspicion or any feeling that there has

been any attempt on our part to try to play a little trick because of events that have happened in the past, and so on. I should like to take this opportunity, while taking the advice of my Asian colleagues, to assure everybody concerned that our action today has in no way been motivated by any idea or thought of the kind that might have occurred to some people. The stand we took was based on a firm belief that this Manifesto ought to be publicly subscribed to by everybody, that the United Nations would be guided by the spirit of this Manifesto when acting in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity in the efforts to find a solution to the present grave situation in southern Africa.

163. But I do not want to retain the Assembly any further. I should like to close by reiterating what I have said, namely, that my delegation has decided, with your permission, Madam President, to withdraw the amendment we have put forward out of deference to our colleagues who sponsored this draft resolution and whose view is that, far from being helpful, this amendment is not desirable. At the same time we should like to have on record that we have said and we remain convinced of the rightness of our action.

164. Mr. KIBINGE (Kenya): I have taken the floor to speak on behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.575 and Corr.1, and also on behalf of the African group. I wish to thank the representative of Malaysia for his accommodating spirit. This is yet another manifestation of the spirit of the United Nations and also of the spirit of the Afro-Asian group, where we work by consensus, accommodation, negotiation, give and take. In fact the Lusaka Manifesto [A/7754] was discussed by Heads of State at Lusaka, in the Organization of African Unity and here in the United Nations. The African Group discussed it for many hours, for long days. When we discussed this draft resolution we felt we must have a text that would accommodate everyone, not only within the group but also the world over. We are all committed to the liberation of people under colonial rule. We are all committed to, we all believe in, the equality and dignity of man, and therefore it is the earnest hope of my delegation and of the sponsors of this draft resolution that the United Nations today will adopt it unanimously.

165. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representatives who wish to explain their vote.

166. Mr. MIDDELBURG (Netherlands): The delegation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands will vote for draft resolution A/L.575 and Corr.1. We welcome the moderation and the spirit of conciliation apparent in the Manifesto of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [A/7754].

167. The delegation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands supports the principles of human dignity and equality of all men and of self-determination which are integral parts of the Manifesto. Our stand—and our deep concern—with regard to the problems of southern Africa are well known. Accordingly, my delegation has studied the Manifesto with great interest.

168. As stated by President Ahidjo of Cameroon when presenting the document to the present Assembly in the

name of the African leaders [1780th meeting], the Manifesto appeals to the universal conscience and demonstrates an attachment to peace and human brotherhood.

169. On that occasion the President also stressed the desire to contribute, through dialogue and negotiation, to a solution of the world's great problems. You also, Madam President, welcomed the Manifesto as a new approach to the solution of the problems of southern Africa.

170. An imaginative and flexible approach could well open new possibilities for realistic solutions in a seemingly deadlocked situation. It is the hope and the sincere wish of my delegation that the Manifesto will contribute to a settlement by peaceful means of the situation in southern Africa, in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

171. For this reason it will be readily understood that my delegation does not regard the adoption of violence as proper means for solving the situation in southern Africa. We are convinced of the necessity of such a solution being a peaceful one. In seeking such a solution we agree with the principle of a dialogue, as advocated in the Manifesto. Increased isolation of the countries concerned would tend to frustrate such a dialogue.

172. One of the aspects of the present situation which gives us reason for hope is the widespread appreciation of the spirit of the Manifesto as shown in this Assembly.

173. My delegation is of the opinion that this Manifesto indicates the direction we should properly follow: a course towards the opening of a dialogue. Establishing such a dialogue will not be an easy matter; it will tax the ingenuity and goodwill of all concerned. My delegation, however, expresses the hope that such a course of action will contribute to a greater understanding between all parties concerned. We also hope that the Assembly will see fit to promote such efforts and, true to the purposes of the United Nations, will serve, where possible, as a centre for harmonizing necessary action.

174. Mr. BOTHA (South Africa): I wish first of all to record my Government's position that both draft resolution A/L.575 and Corr.1 and the Manifesto on Southern Africa [A/7754] refer *inter alia* to South Africa's internal policies. We do not accept that this or any other organization has the right to involve itself in matters which fall within South Africa's domestic jurisdiction. To do so—and this we have stated repeatedly in the General Assembly—is in conflict with Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter.

175. As far as the Manifesto is concerned, I would recall what my Foreign Minister stated on another occasion, namely, that there is much in it with which we agree but also much that is based on misconceptions. In the present debate, again, we have listened to criticisms of the policies of the South African Government which are based on a complete misunderstanding of our policies and aims and of the actual economic, social and political conditions in my country. We have often, and with all the earnestness that we can muster, explained in this Assembly hall what our policies and our true objectives are in the solution of a unique and complex situation, but, regrettably, these explanations have been dismissed and all the progress in

South Africa and all our accomplishments in the field of race relations have been ignored.

176. In this regard and in view of the allusions to talks both in the present debate and in the Manifesto, I wish to state that the South African Government has always been and remains in favour of dialogues with Governments which are genuinely interested in informing themselves on conditions in South Africa and on its policies.

177. As far as South West Africa is concerned, I would refer the Assembly to Security Council document S/9463² of 3 October 1969, in which my Foreign Minister submitted detailed and up-to-date information on conditions in the Territory and of the policy pursued by my Government, aimed at leading all the peoples of the Territory to self-determination.

178. In regard to the draft resolution before us, I have already stated our position that its references to South Africa's internal policies contravene Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. In addition, the draft resolution seeks to assert that there is a grave situation prevailing in southern Africa. I must reject this assertion as being unfounded and unsubstantiated.

179. In view of this and in the light of the misconceptions in the Manifesto concerning South Africa, as well as the objectionable proposals and objectives stipulated in the Manifesto and in the draft resolution, in so far as they relate to South Africa, my delegation will have no alternative but to vote against the draft resolution.

180. Mr. MOLEFHE (Botswana): When my President addressed the General Assembly in September [1764th meeting], he stated Botswana's position with regard to South Africa, and drew attention to the positive emphasis of the Lusaka Manifesto [A/7754] upon negotiations rather than force. Botswana hopes that this appeal will not fall on deaf ears. We therefore support the draft resolution.

181. We are, however, obliged to make one reservation. Our position makes it impossible for us to join those countries which seek to ostracize South Africa.

182. Mr. CAPUTI (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.575 and Corr.1 in accordance with its tradition of repudiating all forms of colonialism and racial discrimination. However, it reserves its position with respect to the passage in the Lusaka Manifesto referring to the use of violence, because Uruguay does not believe in the efficacy of such measures as a means of settling either domestic social conflicts or international conflicts, save for the exceptions sanctioned by international law.

183. The PRESIDENT: As the delegation of Malaysia has withdrawn its amendment [A/L.577], the Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution before us [A/L.575 and Corr.1], which the delegations of Barbados, Pakistan and

² Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fourth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1969.

Trinidad and Tobago have also sponsored [A/L.575/Add.]. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Burundi, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Cuba, Malawi.

The draft resolution was adopted by 113 votes to 2, with 2 abstentions (resolution 2505 (XXIV)).

184. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives wishing to explain their votes.

185. Mr. GELBER (Canada): Recently, in the Fourth Committee, I had occasion to say that my delegation was impressed by the enunciation of wise and humane principles and by the unambiguous rejection of racism in the Manifesto of the Organization of African Unity on Southern Africa. I added that my delegation had been impressed as well by the manner in which this document had been presented to the General Assembly by President Ahidjo of Cameroon [1780th meeting]. The humanism expressed in the Manifesto is particularly welcome at this time when man's inhumanity to man seems so often to be the prevailing force.

186. Accordingly, my delegation, with so many others, has welcomed the Manifesto and joined in recommending it to the attention of all. I must add, however, that in voting for the resolution my Government cannot bind itself with respect to any specific course of action which the Manifesto may suggest.

187. Mr. TSURUOKA (Japan): My delegation would like to explain briefly the affirmative vote it has cast on the resolution just adopted.

188. The problems of *apartheid*, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa certainly are among the most difficult questions facing the United Nations and they require the most serious and unrelenting consideration.

189. My delegation appreciates the initiative of the Heads of State and Government of the African countries in bringing the Manifesto on Southern Africa before the General Assembly. In this important document the leaders of the African countries clearly express their fundamental ideas and positions on the very complex problem of southern Africa.

190. We find in the Manifesto a number of very stimulating thoughts on the problems of eliminating racial discrimination and colonialism in that area. Therefore we believe that all Members of the United Nations should accord to this document the serious consideration it demands. We must seek to find concrete ways and means of achieving concerted action in our efforts to attain the objectives set forth in the Manifesto. We, for our part, while we may not necessarily agree with all the points in the Manifesto, will study it carefully in this spirit and will continue to participate in the efforts of the international community to find the solution of the present grave situation in southern Africa.

191. Mr. SHAW (Australia): I wish to speak briefly in explanation of the affirmative vote which my delegation cast in favour of the resolution which the Assembly has just adopted on the Manifesto on Southern Africa.

192. We have studied with great care and interest the declaration adopted by Heads of Government meeting in Lusaka and what has been said about it by the Organization of African Unity. The Manifesto is set out in clear language and simple style. It comprises a lucid exposition of how the Organization of African Unity sees the problems of enabling peoples to enjoy their rights of self-determination in southern Africa. It is rare to have such a large number of States agree upon an analysis and a common position in regard to such a complex problem. We are particularly encouraged by the emphasis on conciliation and peaceful settlement which is a feature of the document. That is essentially the spirit of the Charter.

193. As regards the section dealing with the Republic of South Africa, my delegation has on many occasions made clear its views on *apartheid*. I should like to quote a short extract from a statement made in this hall by the then Minister for External Affairs of Australia, who, on 27 September 1966, said:

"Australia believes that a society and form of government cannot, and should not, persist where a minority dominates a majority and where basic human rights and opportunities are denied to any of the population. We [in Australia] believe in basic human rights and participation for all persons in the life of a country. We believe that neither a majority nor a minority should be oppressed, or denied human rights, or shut off from opportunities of participation in government." [1418th meeting, para. 89.]

194. Those, in short, are our views on the basic issue of *apartheid*. However, we disagree with the statement con-

tained in the Manifesto to the effect that South Africa should be excluded from the specialized agencies and from the United Nations itself. Also, our affirmative vote does not in any way imply agreement with those sections of the report which might be taken as justifying the use of force in any of the areas discussed in the Manifesto, including Namibia, or further Security Council sanctions as a means of settling these difficult problems of southern Africa.

195. Those reservations will no doubt be shared by other Members of this Assembly which, despite their concern for these grave problems, believe that solutions sought through violence would not produce the ends which this Assembly desires and which our Charter enjoins all its Members to seek.

196. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation has duly studied the Lusaka Manifesto. We understand the motives which inspired it, but it contains certain ideas on which we wish to enter reservations, in particular, in paragraph 13 to 15, the political philosophy of which we can in no way support. However, the draft resolution makes an appeal for peaceful solutions and thus enabled us to vote in favour of it.

197. Mr. DE MIRANDA (Portugal): Before I proceed with the explanation of the vote of my delegation, may I briefly exercise the right of reply of my delegation?

198. A little while ago the Indian delegation came to this rostrum trying to twist the meaning of the clear words I spoke in my statement this morning [*1814th meeting*]. My delegation is not surprised. Twisting and distorting are characteristic of the Indian delegation. Moreover, the Indian delegation has no moral authority to criticize my country. The world has not forgotten that the Indian Union committed a premeditated crime of aggression against my own homeland, Goa, and then came to the Security Council to declare brazenly that the aggression would go on "Charter or no Charter, Council or no Council".³ Those words give the measure of the crass insincerity of the Indian delegation when it tries to preach law and morality in the United Nations. That is why my delegation is always suspicious of drafts which are sponsored by the Indian Union.

199. My delegation would now like to explain the negative vote it cast on the draft resolution. In the statement we made earlier in this debate we expressed our views on document A/7754. We reiterate those views.

³ *Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, 987th meeting, para. 40.*

200. Much has been said about the spirit of that document. But my delegation has taken note of the fact that the Malaysian amendment, which sought to add to the second paragraph of the draft resolution words which cited the spirit of that draft resolution, had to be withdrawn because those words were not wanted in the draft resolution by certain delegations directly concerned with the document. It should be clear from our statement that we have serious reservations in regard to some essential parts of the document. It should, on the other hand, be clear that we entirely agree with the principles of equal human dignity set out in the earlier part of the document. The principles have been incorporated in our legislation for centuries and they have guided our actions in all parts of the Portuguese national territory. Had we been called upon to vote on them in a context other than that of the document in question we would have supported them without hesitation.

201. However, besides the objections we have stated with regard to the other parts of the document, we must also point out that the document is linked with the Organization of African Unity, a body of which Portugal is not a member and which has been so avowedly hostile to Portugal as to have set up a committee to encourage and aid violence against Portuguese Territories in Africa in contravention of international law, as well as the fundamental principles of the United Nations. My delegation therefore is unable to accept any resolution which entrusts to the Organization of African Unity any tasks connected with Portuguese Territories.

202. My delegation is also unable to accept any insinuation to the effect that Portugal's presence in its Territories in Africa can be in any way a disturbance to peace and security in that continent. Furthermore, the conclusions one reads in the document under consideration are so far removed from its premises, as well as from the realities, that my delegation is unable to accept those conclusions.

203. Finally, my delegation would like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the admission clearly made in the document that there is no racial discrimination in Portuguese Territories. My delegation expects that the General Assembly will take due note of this admission and draw the right conclusions.

204. In making this statement I should also like to formulate the express reservations of my delegation about the resolution that has just been adopted.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.