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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 23

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

- (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Members of the Assembly will recall that it was decided that this item should be considered in plenary meetings in order that the Assembly may be able to consider the question of the implementation of the Declaration in general. All the chapters of the report of the Special Committee on specific Territories have been allocated to the Fourth Committee. When the General Assembly comes to consider the reports of the Fourth Committee, those representatives wishing to speak on specific Territories will be given an opportunity to do so. At this time, we shall begin our consideration of item 23 as a whole. Hence all matters related to that item may be raised.

2. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria), Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: As the Rapporteur of the Special Committee, I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of that Committee covering its work during 1973. The report, which relates, *inter alia*, to item 23 of the agenda, is submitted in accordance with paragraph 11 of resolution 2908 (XXVII) of 2 November 1972, by which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee:

“... to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolu-

* Resumed from the 2139th meeting.

tions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) in all Territories which have not attained independence and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism”.

3. The full report of the Special Committee is contained in document A/9023/Rev.1. An account of the Committee's examination of the situation in individual Territories is set out in chapters VII to XXVIII. An account of its consideration of the other specific items referred to it in the relevant General Assembly resolutions is set out in the remaining chapters of the present report.

4. At the outset of the Special Committee's work for the year, many members expressed their serious concern regarding the fact that the goals set forth in the Charter, the Declaration and the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*] concerning the peoples still living under colonial domination had not been realized with respect to most of the Territories. In that connexion, the majority of members condemned the colonial and racist régimes for their continued oppression of, and war waged against, the peoples in the colonial Territories in Africa and their national liberation movements. By pursuing their policies, those régimes had created a most serious situation in southern Africa, which continued to pose a threat to international peace and security. In the view of those members, the policies of those régimes, aimed at forcibly suppressing the legitimate and inalienable right of the peoples of the colonial Territories in Africa to be free and independent were incompatible with the Charter and the Declaration and constituted a crime against humanity. Members also deeply deplored the continued defiance by the colonial and racist régimes of the relevant United Nations decisions and the refusal of certain States—especially the major military allies and trading partners of those régimes—to co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of those decisions. They considered it imperative that the international community should urgently exert pressure on the colonial and racist régimes, as well as those States which continued to provide them with assistance and support, in order to obtain their compliance with the relevant decisions of the United Nations and to ensure the realization without further delay of the legitimate aspirations of the peoples still living under colonial domination. Members also expressed their satisfaction with the progress achieved by the national liberation movements of the peoples in the colonial Territories in Africa, both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes, towards the national independence of their countries. A number of members also stressed the importance of the duty of the Special Committee to continue to mobilize active support for the national liberation struggle in Africa, and to strive more energetically and with greater determination to continue to deprive the colonial and racist régimes in

Africa of the large-scale military, political, diplomatic and economic support which they were receiving from their allies.

5. Notwithstanding the increasing complexity of these problems, the Committee was able, by adhering to a heavy schedule of meetings between January and August, to give adequate consideration to, and submit recommendations on, most of the items on its agenda. As regards the remaining ones, the Committee decided to transmit information to the General Assembly which should facilitate their consideration at the current session.

6. In the course of its work during the year, the Special Committee, bearing in mind in particular the specific requests contained in General Assembly resolution 2908 (XXVII), reviewed the implementation of the Declaration and the programme of action as well as the various United Nations resolutions relating to the colonial Territories and, in the light of developments, formulated recommendations for the application of further measures by States, by the competent United Nations organs and by the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in order to accelerate the pace of decolonization and the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples concerned. In so doing, the Committee had the benefit of receiving highly valuable information on several Territories through the active participation in its work of the representatives of the national liberation movements concerned. The Special Committee, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity [OAU], and through it, invited the representatives of those national liberation movements to participate in its proceedings for the first time as observers, when matters relating to their respective countries were discussed, in accordance with the decision approved by the General Assembly at its last session. In addition, the Special Committee was able to take fully into account the views expressed by the representatives of those national liberation movements who participated, along with several Committee members, in the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa, which was held at Oslo in April 1973 under the auspices of the United Nations and OAU. Furthermore, the Committee was guided in its work by the statements made during the 913th meeting it held on 23 May 1973 to mark the Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights.

7. In the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly, the Special Committee gave further intensified consideration to the important questions concerning Southern Rhodesia, the Territories under Portuguese domination, and Namibia. In this respect, the Special Committee reaffirmed the inalienable right of the colonial peoples to self-determination and independence, and the legitimacy of their struggle. It also reaffirmed the position of the United Nations that the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories in Africa, as recognized by OAU, are the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the peoples of those Territories. The Special Committee condemned the continued oppression of the peoples of those Territories by the racist and colonialist régimes, as well as the recently disclosed atrocities and massacre perpetrated

by the Portuguese troops in Mozambique. In the same context, the Committee also deplored the support and assistance provided to the colonialist and racist régimes in southern Africa by their allies, bilaterally and within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], which enable those régimes to prosecute their oppression and domination of the Territories. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 2979 (XXVII), the Special Committee also continued its study of the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination, and efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa. In addition, in the light of the relevant provisions of resolutions 2908 (XXVII) and 2984 (XXVII), the Special Committee continued its consideration of the military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration that are impeding the implementation of the Declaration and are incompatible with the provisions of General Assembly resolutions.

8. With regard to the relevant provisions of resolution 2980 (XXVII), the Special Committee also gave extensive consideration to the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations, and last June sent a special four-man mission for consultations with the executive heads of several agencies at their respective headquarters. Further, taking into account the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, it examined the question of sending visiting missions to colonial Territories. In its consideration of the question the Special Committee was especially mindful of the constructive results achieved by previous United Nations visiting missions in enhancing the capacity of the United Nations to assist the colonial peoples in attaining the goals set forth in the Declaration and in the Charter. In that connexion the Committee noted the co-operation of two of the administering Powers, namely, New Zealand and Australia.

9. In the light of the request addressed to the Secretary-General by the General Assembly in its resolution 2909 (XXVII) to continue to take concrete measures through all the media at his disposal to implement its previous decisions on the matter, the Special Committee once again examined the question of the publicity to be given to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. In the same context the Special Committee held consultations during the year with various non-governmental organizations and took part in a number of international conferences and meetings convened by these organizations. On the basis of the above-mentioned consultations, as well as of its own extensive consideration of the question, the Special Committee noted that the past year had seen an appreciable increase in the level of co-operation between the Committee and many non-governmental organizations with regard to the large-scale dissemination of information on colonial issues.

10. During the year the Special Committee also devoted considerable attention to the problem of decolonization of other Territories. It conducted an exchange of views and approved recommendations and proposals with regard to

individual Territories, among them those in the Pacific; in the Caribbean region, the Seychelles, the Comoro Archipelago, the Malvinas and others. It welcomed the attainment of independence of the Bahamas and noted the progress made towards the goals of the Declaration with respect to Papua New Guinea and Niue. It also discussed its resolution of 1972 on Puerto Rico¹ and adopted a further resolution on the subject [*A/9023/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 84*].

11. Finally, the Special Committee discharged a number of specific responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly in various resolutions, as well as other tasks arising from its own previous decisions, including in particular that of examining the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable.

12. As Members are aware, several chapters of the report of the Special Committee concerning specific items have been placed before the Fourth Committee and the recommendations of that Committee covering these items will be submitted to the General Assembly in due course.

13. In the section of its report dealing with its future work [*A/9023/Rev.1, chap. I, paras. 193-205*] the Special Committee expresses the hope that the General Assembly, in its consideration of the question of the implementation of the Declaration, will take into account the recommendations that are reflected in the various sections, and in particular that the proposals outlined in the aforementioned section entitled "Future work", will meet its approval so as to enable the Special Committee to carry out the tasks it envisages for next year. Moreover, the Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly should renew its appeal to the administering Powers to take immediately all the necessary steps for the implementation of the Declaration and the relevant United Nations resolutions. In that connexion, in the light of the results achieved as a consequence of the participation of some of the administering Powers in its work, it recommends that the General Assembly should once again request the administering Powers concerned to participate actively in its work relating to the Territories under their respective administration. Bearing in mind the affirmation by the General Assembly that direct association of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies is an effective means of promoting the progress of the peoples of these Territories towards a position of equality with Member States of the United Nations, the Special Committee also recommends that the Assembly should invite the administering Powers to allow representatives of the Territories concerned to participate in the discussion in the Fourth Committee and the Special Committee on the items relating to their respective countries. The General Assembly might also wish to renew its appeal to all States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to comply with the various requests addressed to them by the United Nations in its resolutions on the question of decolonization. The Special Committee further recommends that in approving the programme of work set out in that section the General Assembly should also make adequate financial provision to cover the activities envisaged by the Committee for 1974. Finally, the

Committee expresses the hope that the Secretary-General will continue to provide it with all the facilities and personnel necessary for the discharge of its mandate.

14. On behalf of the Special Committee I commend the report to the serious attention of the General Assembly.

15. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the Rapporteur of the Special Committee for his introduction of the report.

16. Before I call on the speakers on the list I would request those delegations wishing to speak in the debate to be kind enough to have their names put on the list as early as possible. It is the intention of the Chair to close the list of speakers on 15 November at 12 noon.

17. The Chair would also request those delegations wishing to submit draft resolutions to do so as soon as possible.

18. I shall now call on the first speaker on the list, the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Salim, who is also the Chairman of the Special Committee.

19. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania), Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: It is not my intention to give a detailed account of the work of the Special Committee during 1973, a task which has been very ably and eloquently discharged by the Rapporteur of our Committee, our friend from Bulgaria. I would like, however, in my capacity as Chairman of that Committee, to refer to some of the principal developments that have occurred in the field of decolonization during the past year and to make a few brief observations regarding the major problems that still confront us.

20. First of all, I would like to point out that the problems with which the Special Committee has had to deal in its efforts to hasten the process of decolonization are among the most difficult and, at the same time, the most critical and urgent ones facing the United Nations today. At a time when the world community is searching earnestly for ways and means of reducing tension, when the major Powers are turning from a policy of confrontation to one of negotiation, the perpetuation of colonialism, in whatever form, remains the greatest barrier to world peace. As the Foreign Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania pointed out when he spoke from this rostrum earlier in the session [*2133rd meeting*], lasting peace can only be built on a foundation of justice everywhere, and as long as injustice exists in any part of the world, it jeopardizes all our efforts for the attainment of peace.

21. The most glaring example of injustice is, of course, the continued denial to more than 28 million people in the colonial territories of their basic right to self-determination and independence—a right which we in the United Nations are explicitly pledged to uphold, both by the Charter and by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. As long as this basic right is still denied to masses of people in many parts of the world, as long as whole populations in southern Africa are enslaved

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23, chap. I, para. 85*.

and are subjected to the worst conceivable conditions of exploitation, oppression and the most barbarous wars of repression by the forces of colonialism, there can be little hope of creating the conditions for a real and lasting détente. For this reason, it is absolutely imperative, if the United Nations is to succeed in its principal task, that we do all in our power to bring about full and complete decolonization with the least possible delay.

22. A few weeks ago, the world learned of the proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau. For those of us in the Special Committee who have followed very closely the heroic struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands led by the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [PAIGC], and who know so well the tremendous sacrifices, which they have had to make in order to reach this goal, this was undoubtedly a moment for rejoicing. I take this opportunity to salute here the valiant combatants and leaders of Guinea-Bissau for their truly magnificent victory.

23. But we also know that this is not the end of their sufferings and that they, like their brethren in Angola and Mozambique, must continue to struggle until the forces of Portuguese aggression are finally defeated. As the tide of liberation grows in the Territories still under Portuguese domination, the colonialist forces have become more desperate and more ruthless. The massacre at Wiriyaumu is only one example of the genocidal warfare being waged by Portugal against the African peoples and their national liberation movements.

24. But it is not enough that we in the United Nations condemn these inhuman acts. We must manifest our support for and solidarity with the colonial peoples in their legitimate struggle for freedom and independence in practical forms by providing them with the moral and material assistance that will enable them to bring the struggle to a rapid conclusion. Above all, we must concert our efforts to withhold from Portugal all assistance that enables it to carry on its colonial wars.

25. The regrettable fact is that there are still certain Western Powers among the military allies and trading partners of Portugal which, disregarding the resolutions of the United Nations, are continuing to supply Portugal with the assistance that it requires to pursue its military aggression. As has been repeatedly pointed out here in the Assembly, a country as small and under-developed and impoverished as Portugal could not possibly carry on colonial warfare on several fronts without assistance, and those Powers and financial interests that support Portugal and supply such aid must share with Portugal the responsibility for the crimes that it is committing.

26. These remarks apply with equal force to those who continue to violate the sanctions imposed by the Security Council in respect of Southern Rhodesia, or who continue to collaborate with the South African régime in Namibia. In both those Territories—the one under the domination of a rebellious minority régime and the other occupied illegally by South Africa in defiance of the United Nations—the situation differs little from that prevailing in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique and in the occupied areas of Guinea-Bissau. In each case, white racist régimes,

aided and supported by selfish foreign economic interests, are fighting a rearguard action, seeking to perpetuate their domination so that they can continue to plunder the riches of these countries.

27. In Southern Rhodesia, the minority régime has not only increased its oppression of the African people, but in desperation has sent its armed forces to fight in Mozambique and has threatened the neighbouring Republic of Zambia. Internally, it has engaged in the increased repression of the people of Zimbabwe, resorting to intimidations, banishments, killings, and collective reprisals in its attempts to stem the mounting successes of the freedom fighters. Clearly, there is not the slightest possibility that these methods will succeed. The people of Zimbabwe have suffered too long at the hands of the white minority to be deterred from their resolve to win freedom and independence at any cost. It is our duty in the United Nations to hasten the inevitable result, above all by not only demanding from the Government of the United Kingdom that it fulfil its responsibilities as administering Power, but also by carrying out our obligations to respect the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council.

28. It is a source of deep regret that during the past year we have witnessed the wholesale violation of these sanctions by a number of States, including a permanent member of the Security Council. This gross violation of sanctions, whether by States or by their nationals, through overt or covert ways, serves not only to strengthen the forces of racism and colonialism, but undermines the authority and credibility of the United Nations—and, in particular, of the Security Council, which has repeatedly affirmed that the situation in Southern Rhodesia poses a serious threat to international peace and security.

29. I need hardly add that, having recognized the legitimacy of the struggle for freedom and independence of the people of Zimbabwe, it is incumbent on the international community to take all necessary steps to aid and support them in their struggle. It is for this reason that we in the Special Committee consider that sanctions should be comprehensive and total and should, above all, be extended to the Portuguese colonies in Africa, as well as to South Africa, which have been the worst “sanction-busters”.

30. Another serious problem confronting this Organization in the field of decolonization is the situation in Namibia. With respect to that international Territory, South Africa continues to violate its obligations under the Charter and persists in its refusal to comply with the decision of the General Assembly terminating the Mandate [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*], or with the demand which the Security Council made in its resolution 264 (1969) that it withdraw from the Territory without delay. This situation, which seriously undermines the authority of the United Nations, is further aggravated by South Africa's persistent extension to Namibia of its criminal policies of *apartheid*, its continued Balkanization of the Territory into “bantustans”, and its increasing resort to intimidation and arbitrary arrests in its efforts to perpetuate its illegal occupation. The South African authorities in the Territory have, moreover, openly joined forces with Portugal and with the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia to suppress the African peoples and

their national liberation movements and have created a state of armed tension on the border with Zambia.

31. A year ago, in an attempt to resolve the deadlock over Namibia, the Security Council meeting in Addis Ababa adopted resolution 309 (1972) inviting the Secretary-General to initiate contacts with the parties concerned, including South Africa, with a view to establishing conditions that would enable the Namibian people to exercise their rights to self-determination. It is a source of very deep regret that, despite all the efforts of the Secretary-General—efforts that certainly deserve our appreciation—this initiative by the Security Council has had little positive result. Not only did the South African authorities refuse to give clear and unequivocal answers to the questions put to them, but they showed their lack of good faith by going ahead with the implementation of *apartheid* measures in Namibia. I refer in particular to the creation of “bantustans” in Ovamboland, in Kavangoland and Eastern Caprivi and to the establishment of the so-called advisory council against the express wishes of the Namibian people. The outright opposition of the people of Namibia to these measures was most eloquently demonstrated by the failure of the so-called elections in Ovamboland, which were boycotted by all but a handful of the electorate, and by the widespread demonstrations of protest and police repression. It must be evident to us all in retrospect that the aim of the South African authorities was to confuse and possibly deceive the international community and world opinion as to their true interests. This position failed because of the steadfast opposition of the people of Namibia to South Africa’s continued occupation of the Territory and to its evil policies of *apartheid*.

32. While South Africa’s response to the initiative of the Security Council has confirmed our worst fears and we consider that the contacts should not be continued, we would at the same time wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts, which are a reflection of his genuine concern for the people of Namibia. What is needed now is for the United Nations to reassess the situation, to charter a new course and to intensify its support for the people of Namibia and their national liberation movement. It is no less important that all States abide by the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and assist the latter in carrying out measures that would put an end to South Africa’s continued occupation of Namibia.

33. During the past year, the Special Committee has devoted much attention to seeking practical ways and means of increasing international support and concrete assistance for the people of the colonial Territories in southern Africa, at both the intergovernmental and non-governmental levels. At the same time, it has strengthened the ties with the national liberation movements of those Territories, whose representatives have participated in its work in the capacity of observers, as they have also in the meetings of the Fourth Committee this year. This is, in my opinion, the course of action which we must continue to follow if we are to contribute effectively to hastening the day of freedom and independence for the people of southern Africa.

34. I have in mind in particular the need to make appropriate arrangements at all levels in the work of the United Nations, especially in the specialized agencies, for the

representation of the peoples of the Territories concerned by their national liberation movements that have already been given the status of observer by the Special Committee and the General Assembly, whenever the matters relating to their countries are being dealt with.

35. While the Special Committee necessarily devoted much of its time to the urgent and complex questions relating to the colonial Territories in Africa it also gave considerable time to other colonial problems, particularly concerning the Territories in the Caribbean and the Asian-Pacific regions. While it is not my intention to mention all the many decisions and recommendations adopted by the Special Committee in respect of individual Territories, I wish to note with particular satisfaction the marked progress towards self-rule achieved by the peoples of Papua New Guinea and Niue recently. In the same context, I would once again refer to the common theme which the Special Committee has so often reiterated, namely, the importance of sending visiting missions as a means of securing adequate and first-hand information regarding the conditions in those Territories and the views and aspirations of their peoples. In this respect, I feel I should mention the co-operative attitudes of the Governments of Australia and New Zealand regarding the sending of missions to the Territories under their administration. It is regrettable that their fine example has so far had little influence on the negative attitude of certain other administering Powers with respect to the requests addressed to them repeatedly by the General Assembly and the Special Committee to permit access by the United Nations visiting groups to the Territories under their administration.

36. I should like once again to address an earnest appeal to those administering Powers, especially the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland—the Government which is responsible for the administration of the majority of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories—to extend their full co-operation to the United Nations in its endeavours to eradicate the last vestiges of colonialism. I would urge them again to reconsider their attitude and join in the efforts of the Special Committee to seek the best ways and means of fulfilling the yearning and aspirations of the colonial peoples.

37. As reflected in its report, the Special Committee continued its review of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable. In the same context, the Committee, in reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence, requested its Rapporteur to collect all pertinent information on this matter for the purpose of facilitating its consideration of the question in 1974 [A/9023/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 84].

38. As the Rapporteur of the Special Committee has already pointed out, the relevant chapters of the Special Committee’s report to the General Assembly contain a number of concrete recommendations concerning the various problems of decolonization. I wish to echo the sentiments expressed by the Rapporteur that the General Assembly should give its most serious attention to the recommendations adopted by the Special Committee. In doing so, I have particularly in mind the recommendations of the Special Committee relating to the compliance by

Member States with relevant resolutions of the United Nations. I am confident that the approval by the General Assembly of these and other important recommendations will enhance the capacity of our Organization to deal and deal effectively with the remaining vestiges of colonialism.

39. Mr. ZENTAR (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): The day when the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted resolution 1514 (XV) on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, a decisive step was taken, at least in principle, towards the ultimate elimination from the whole world of the colonialist and racist systems, systems of which humanity had no right to be proud.

40. Since that memorable decision, the United Nations has endeavoured, by all means in its power, to bring to fulfilment as rapidly as possible this profound wish of all the peoples of the world. Action should proceed in two main directions: first, the provision of various types of assistance needed by the liberation movements, in order to enable them to undertake their responsibilities when the time is ripe and, in addition, to help them face up to the complex human problems that have emerged in the liberated zones. The second course of action should be pressure on colonialist or racist régimes and Governments to induce them to abandon their policy and philosophy which our Organization has mercilessly condemned.

41. Alas, only too often have we had to complain from this rostrum of the slowness with which action has been accomplished and of its ineffectiveness. We have entertained the erroneous belief that the last bastions of colonialism would fall the more rapidly in that they were condemned by all humanity and had become mere islands surrounded by the rising tide of young and free nations. Hence we were all the more disappointed and surprised at the increased vitality and vigour of certain systems rendered obsolete by the welcome evolution of our community towards the freedom and equality of peoples and nations.

42. To what do these systems owe their surprising survival, their constantly renewed energy, considering the heavy blows dealt them by the liberation movements? It is true that United Nations resolutions on the recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the liberation movements have had the welcome result of enlisting considerable moral and material support on behalf of the freedom fighters; many countries from different continents, imbued by sentiments which do them honour, have extended and continue to extend a brotherly hand to the peoples still suffering in their struggle against these backward colonialist régimes. Many people of goodwill have spontaneously placed themselves in the service of this cause, which, after all, is the cause of all mankind. The OAU has always played the major role in this action, both in eliciting support in Africa and elsewhere, and in co-ordinating that support and in seeing to it that it is rationally and effectively used.

43. We have often welcomed here the spirit of broad and sincere co-operation which has always characterized relations between the OAU and the United Nations. This co-operation has above all benefited—as it should—the peoples still fighting for their independence. The specialized agencies and the international organizations associated with the United Nations, having been prompted by our

Organization, have followed one another in providing valuable and greatly appreciated assistance—even though this assistance may not have been sufficient as yet to meet all needs.

44. We welcome these joint efforts and hope that such action will be more general and more extensive in order to accelerate the process of liberation of peoples and territories, in order to put an end to suffering so uselessly prolonged.

45. While it is true that our action as countries or as organizations is far from negligible as regards assistance to the liberation movements, we cannot say as much for our action regarding or against the racist and colonialist countries and régimes and their allies. Many decisions of the United Nations call upon the international community and its financial and commercial organs, and even its military bodies, to withhold all assistance or co-operation from the enemies of our Organization. It will come as no surprise to representatives in the Assembly to hear me say that we have failed miserably. If we have not, how is it that Portugal, or the Salisbury régime, or even rich South Africa have been able to live and even to prosper for so long when the tide is running against them? These countries and régimes benefit from official or hidden alliances and from complicity, both economic and military, on the part of many countries which, because of their interests—in this case sordid interests—cannot or do not wish to comply with United Nations resolutions. This is a very dangerous situation, and our community would gain considerably if it were to come to an end. Co-operation, prosperity and international peace in that area would benefit from it. Therefore, I believe that our Assembly should give the closest attention to this disconcerting aspect of international action.

46. It is no longer sufficient for us to point our finger at the Powers which have placed themselves in the camp of the colonialists, racists and aggressors. We have done so for years, but without any notable effect. Now we have to reason with ourselves and look for a real way to convince, even more thoroughly, those who deliberately, through the years, have become the accomplices of régimes which hold on to our territories and our wealth and impudently insult our dignity and our self-respect.

47. I also wish particularly to draw the attention of this august Assembly to the conclusions of the conference of experts held this year in Oslo. These conclusions, if adopted and generally applied, would certainly enable the cause of the peoples still under colonial or racist domination to take a major step on the road to liberation.

48. In conclusion, I should like to pay a tribute and to express our profound esteem to the Secretary-General and the members of the Special Committee, especially its Chairman, the Ambassador of the United Republic of Tanzania, for their indefatigable efforts to ensure that the resolution on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples is implemented as quickly and as successfully as possible for the greater well-being of our community. I hope that they will find here among all of us the support and co-operation which they need to discharge their immense but surely ennobling task.

The meeting rose at 4.20 p.m.