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President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM
(United Republic of Tanzania)

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Koh (Singa-
pore), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 28

**Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa
(continued):**

- (a) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*;
- (b) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting
of an International Convention against *Apartheid*
in Sports;
- (c) Report of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT: We shall now continue to hear explanations of vote after the voting on this item.

2. Mr. MURATA (Japan): My Government has long and firmly adhered to a position of strong opposition to all forms of racial discrimination and has time and again demanded that the Government of South Africa abolish its abhorrent policies of *apartheid*. This position, which has its basis in our own historical experience, has led the Government of Japan to support a number of resolutions on this item and to extend the maximum co-operation possible to the efforts of the world community to eradicate *apartheid*. We cannot support, however, the view that holds the legitimacy of the Government of South Africa in doubt and

considers that the problem of *apartheid* should be resolved in the context of decolonization. As a matter of principle, we also find it impossible to endorse the notion of the United Nations encouraging armed struggle of any kind by anybody. We also believe that assistance to a national liberation movement should not include military assistance. In our view, it is essential to seek a peaceful solution of the problem through talks among all racial groups in South Africa and, in order to induce changes within South African society, to apply to South Africa as much international pressure as possible in a realistic and practical manner. Furthermore, we cannot accept some of the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/34/22/Add.1] and the report of the United Nations Seminar on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa.¹

3. My delegation abstained in the vote on the draft resolution entitled "Situation in South Africa", contained in document A/34/L.21 and Add.1, because it has many elements that are incompatible with our basic position on this issue. Operative paragraph 9, in particular, condemns our country by name, in spite of all the efforts Japan has made to limit its relations with South Africa to the minimum, in conformity with the relevant United Nations resolutions. Therefore we deeply regret, and regard as unfair, the fact that this practice of arbitrary condemnation by name has once again found its way into a United Nations resolution. My delegation wishes to remind the Assembly that these elements alone would be sufficient reason for our voting against it. But, because of our strong dissatisfaction with the situation in South Africa and the importance we attach to the main objectives of this resolution, we chose not to vote against it and merely abstained. On this occasion, we wish to urge the General Assembly to adopt a different and more constructive approach at the next session.

4. My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution entitled "Arms embargo against South Africa", contained in document A/34/L.24/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1, because we support its main objective. However, we are obliged to maintain reservations on some paragraphs that are, in our view, somewhat unrealistic and, therefore unfeasible.

5. As for the draft resolution entitled "Political prisoners in South Africa", contained in document A/34/L.28 and Add.1, adopted by consensus, we wish to record our reservations on the fourth preambular paragraph and on operative paragraph 4, because of certain legal questions involved in them.

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13157.

6. With regard to the draft resolution entitled "Role of the mass media in international action against *apartheid*", contained in document A/34/L.32/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1, we voted in favour of that draft because we support its main objective. However, the Constitution of Japan guarantees broad freedom of the press and prohibits government authorities from infringing upon it. Therefore, the implementation of some paragraphs may prove difficult in Japan.

7. Mr. DUNFEY (United States): My Government's position on the policies of *apartheid* has been clearly stated by President Carter, by Secretary of State Vance and, most recently, in my delegation's address in this body on 8 November last [59th meeting]. We believe *apartheid* violates the most fundamental human values and principles, and we oppose all that it stands for. At the same time, we do not want to deny the possibility that peaceful change can still be brought about in South Africa, and we are committed to affirmative policies which promote genuine social and political change.

8. Because the United States attaches importance to international activity to persuade South Africa to abandon its policy of *apartheid*, we are pleased to have joined in the consensus on six of the resolutions adopted yesterday. The unanimity with which these resolutions have been adopted will send another clear message to South Africa of the abhorrence of the international community for *apartheid*. The international community insists that *apartheid* be abandoned and that all South Africans be given an equal voice and equal opportunity in their society.

9. My delegation must note, however, that with regard to the resolution entitled "Women and children under *apartheid*" we reserve our position on the conclusions of the International Seminar on Children under *Apartheid* [A/34/512, annex] and on the accuracy of certain portions of the third preambular paragraph. With regard to the resolution entitled "Bantustans", our observation of the request in paragraph 6 will conform to existing United States law.

10. Although we joined in the consensus on the resolution entitled "Political prisoners in South Africa", we note that, by its own terms, Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 can apply to liberation movements and their personnel only if they have met the requirements of article 1, paragraph 4, and transmitted a declaration in accordance with article 96 of the Protocol.²

11. Although we joined in the consensus on the resolution entitled "Declaration on South Africa", reflecting our agreement with the thrust of the resolution, we wish to make clear our position on two points.

12. First, we interpret the expression "nuclear Power" in paragraph 6 to mean nuclear military Power. Secondly, it is our position that the means of struggle which are sanctioned by this Assembly in paragraph 2 of the Declaration on South Africa must not include actions in contradiction to the letter or spirit of the United Nations Charter. We are, of course, specifically concerned that this body not endorse actions such as

those which have in recent weeks affronted the international community.

13. In addition to the resolutions for which we voted, the United States strongly supports the over-all thrust of four additional resolutions. We abstained in the vote because of disagreement with specific aspects of those resolutions. Our reservations include the following.

14. Our laws make it impossible for the United States to carry out some of the requests included in the resolution entitled "Role of the mass media in international action against *apartheid*".

15. Our position on the participation of private individuals and organizations in sporting events remains unchanged.

16. The recommendation contained in the resolution entitled "Investments in South Africa" does not accord with United States policy.

17. The United States has opposed eight of these resolutions. My delegation regrets that it is unable to support fully all of the anti-*apartheid* resolutions because we fear that South Africa may derive false encouragement from this position.

18. Let us make it clear that United States opposition to some of the resolutions stems from specific elements within those resolutions and indicates no weakening of our opposition to *apartheid* or our resolve to see a free, fair and equal society emerge in South Africa.

19. Although we have voted against the resolution entitled "Nuclear collaboration with South Africa", I wish once more to state United States policy. We ceased exports of nuclear materials and equipment to South Africa in 1975. Moreover, the United States Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978, which will come fully into effect in March 1980, will cause the United States to withhold all forms of nuclear co-operation from those States, including South Africa, which have refused to accept international safeguards for all their nuclear facilities. Elsewhere, the United States strongly objects to the provision of United Nations funds, either from voluntary contributions or from the assessed budget, to South African liberation movements themselves. We also disapprove of the recommendation that a special annual allocation be made to the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We shall oppose these proposals in the Fifth Committee.

20. Furthermore, the United States has four broad reservations concerning the resolutions on which this Assembly voted yesterday. First, we object strongly to any attempts to politicize the specialized agencies of the United Nations. Secondly, we reiterate our opposition to provisions of the programme for "international mobilization against *apartheid*". Thirdly, we understand the term "the national liberation movement" contained in several resolutions to refer to the entire anti-*apartheid* movement and not to specific organizations. Finally, we do not interpret the term "acts of aggression" as it appears in several resolutions to be used in the same sense as in Article 39 of the Charter.

² See document A/32/144, annex I.

21. It is unfortunate that the determined opposition of my Government and people to *apartheid* could not be fully reflected in the position which we have, of necessity, taken on certain of the anti-*apartheid* resolutions. This situation came about because some provisions of the resolutions have been included without regard to facts, without regard to whether the views expressed are widely shared and without consideration of whether the resolution outlines a feasible programme of action to combat *apartheid* or, in some cases, whether certain provisions are in conformity with the United Nations Charter. The adoption of resolutions that are patently unrealistic and that elicit no action tends to bring into disrepute the United Nations in general and the General Assembly in particular. I urge that in the future a special effort be made to prepare draft resolutions worthy of broad support. Then the United Nations can indeed be united in the face of the challenge to assure the rights of those now oppressed by *apartheid*.

22. Mr. FRANCIS (New Zealand): New Zealand rejects utterly South Africa's system of *apartheid*. It deprives the majority of South Africans of basic human rights simply because of their colour. It is totally contrary to those principles of equality, partnership and co-operation on which our own multiracial society is based. New Zealand believes that South Africa must dismantle its *apartheid* system law by law, measure by measure, until every citizen enjoys those fundamental rights which are a central principle of the Charter of this Organization.

23. The international community has powerful means which it can use to bring pressure to bear on the South African Government. New Zealand believes that those efforts must be directed towards achieving a peaceful and a just solution. We are ready to support any effort which would attract an international consensus in applying pressure on the South African Government. We regret, therefore, that some of the draft resolutions before us this year were not well calculated to attract such a consensus.

24. My delegation supported 11 of the draft resolutions, abstained on 5, voted against 1, and we will support conditionally draft resolution A/34/L.34/Rev.1 when it comes to the vote. While we supported the majority of the draft resolutions in keeping with our declared opposition to the system of *apartheid*, we found difficulties in certain passages with the legal and practical implications of the obligations they place upon States. In particular, my delegation had a specific reservation with respect to the reference in resolution 31/6 I in operative paragraph 4 of draft resolution A/34/L.29/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1, and we have a reservation regarding operative paragraph 11 of draft resolution A/34/L.34/Rev.1. Although we supported the Declaration on South Africa as a whole in draft resolution A/34/L.36/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1, we did have difficulties with some parts of the text. New Zealand joined in the consensus on draft resolution A/34/L.33 and Add.1. We maintain, however, that Governments have the undoubted right to decide which non-governmental organizations need and deserve support.

25. As has been the case in the past, my delegation was unable to support draft resolutions which sought

to pre-empt the functions of the Security Council. Accordingly, we abstained on draft resolutions A/34/L.23 and Add.1, on the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa; A/34/L.26 and Add.1, on oil embargo against South Africa and A/34/L.25/Rev.1, on nuclear collaboration with South Africa. With regard to draft resolution A/34/L.25/Rev.1, New Zealand certainly agreed with the general thrust of the draft resolution. We should have preferred, however, to see a much more general approach rather than one which sought to single out certain countries for criticism.

26. My delegation also abstained on draft resolution A/34/L.32/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1, on the role of the mass media in international action against *apartheid* because, as far as New Zealand is concerned, we do not accept the concept of a direct Government role in the affairs of the mass media.

27. We also abstained on draft resolution A/34/L.21 and Add.1, on the situation in South Africa, as it contained paragraphs which we find unacceptable.

28. While we continue to believe that it is the sole prerogative of the Security Council to decide on the nature of mandatory measures, New Zealand this year voted in favour of draft resolution A/34/L.24/Rev.1, and Rev.1/Add.1, on an arms embargo against South Africa. In practice, New Zealand has for many years strictly maintained a voluntary arms embargo against South Africa.

29. My delegation this year voted in favour of the draft resolution on *apartheid* in sports, A/34/L.35 and Add.1. The New Zealand Government and New Zealand sporting bodies have strictly adhered in spirit and in practice to the Gleneagles Agreement¹ and the commitment to eliminate racial discrimination in sports. We welcomed the inclusion of operative paragraph 3, in which recognition was given to the efforts that have been made in this regard by all Governments. We do, however, have reservations about the first preambular paragraph. As my delegation has stated in the past, some of the provisions of the International Declaration against *Apartheid* in Sports [resolution 32/105 M, annex] require Governments to restrict the freedom of their citizens in ways which are contrary to our administrative practices and to the principles on which they are based.

30. Mr. VERGAU (Federal Republic of Germany): The representative of Ireland has already commented, on behalf of the Federal Republic of Germany as well [58th meeting], on the draft resolutions adopted by recalling some of the political principles shared by the nine member countries of the European Community. I fully endorse his statement and should like to make the following additional observations.

31. My delegation abstained on draft resolution A/34/L.24/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1 on an arms embargo against South Africa. When it was a member of the Security Council, the Federal Republic of Germany

¹ Commonwealth Statement on *Apartheid* in Sports. See *Final Communiqué of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in London, 8-15 June 1977* (London, Commonwealth Secretariat, 1977), pp. 21-22.

gave its full support to Security Council resolution 418 (1977). We consider the adoption of the arms embargo in 1977 a necessary and adequate measure against the acquisition of arms by South Africa. Beginning in 1963, we had applied the voluntary arms embargo against South Africa, and since 1977 we have strictly abided by the mandatory terms of Security Council resolution 418 (1977). This resolution was an important and far-reaching achievement of the United Nations. As things stand, I cannot see how a draft resolution such as draft resolution A/34/L.24/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1 can take us any further.

32. The delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany regrets that a paragraph has been added to the texts of both draft resolution A/34/L.29/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1, on assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement, and draft resolution A/34/L.34/Rev.1 on the programme of work of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, with which we cannot associate ourselves. This applies in particular to the remark contained in the last two lines of that paragraph. We appreciate the work of the New York offices of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress and the contribution they are making to the discussions on the policies of *apartheid*. However, the obligations of South Africa and its Government under the United Nations Charter are clear. These obligations should not be mitigated by language which casts into doubt the rights and obligations of a Member State of the United Nations.

33. My delegation has supported the consensus on draft resolution A/34/L.36/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1, concerning the Declaration on South Africa. We believe that this draft resolution is of utmost importance for the future consideration of the policies of *apartheid* by the international community. The call for "the establishment of a non-racial society guaranteeing the enjoyment of equal rights by all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or creed", contained in paragraph 1 of the Declaration, and the emphasis on the commitment of African States "to the establishment of a democratic government of South Africa based on the will of the people as a whole, regardless of race, colour or creed," contained in paragraph 3, are of great significance. They reaffirm principles which form an essential part of the policy of the Federal Republic of Germany concerning *apartheid*.

34. We maintain, however, that under the Charter the United Nations cannot recognize in this context the right to use violence. We note that paragraph 2 of the Declaration is unacceptably imprecise on this issue, and we therefore have to place on record our reservations on that paragraph.

35. We regret that elements have been introduced into several draft resolutions which make it difficult for us to demonstrate through the vote our firm support for the endeavours of the international community to put an end to racial discrimination everywhere in the world and, in particular, our solidarity with all those who are working for an early abolition of the inhuman system of *apartheid*.

36. Mr. SUWONDO (Indonesia): My delegation has voted in favour of all the resolutions just adopted and had sponsored most of them, but when operative paragraph 9 of draft resolution A/34/L.21 and Add.1 was put to a separate vote my delegation abstained for the following reasons.

37. While my delegation supports the objectives of the resolution, it does not believe that the singling out of certain States for condemnation in the said resolution is conducive to the solution of the problem. This position also applies to other resolutions containing similar provisions. Had those resolutions also been put to a vote paragraph by paragraph, my delegation would not have been able to support those paragraphs that single out certain States.

38. Mrs. de PATIÑO (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Peru voted in favour of the draft resolutions on agenda item 28 because we considered that they represent yet another positive step in the efforts made by the international community to stamp out the *apartheid* régime for good.

39. However, my delegation, in accordance with its well-known position on this subject, wishes to express its reservations in regard to certain paragraphs which specifically singled out countries. This is discriminatory and does not help to achieve the aims of the international community. In this respect, we abstained in the separate vote on operative paragraph 9 of draft resolution A/34/L.21 and Add.1.

40. Mr. VAYENAS (Greece): The Greek delegation has voted in favour of draft resolution A/34/L.24/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1 together with other draft resolutions on agenda item 28 that have been adopted by the General Assembly. We wish, however, to place on record our disagreement with the wording of its fourth preambular paragraph singling out a group of countries.

41. On the other hand, my delegation has abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/34/L.21 and Add.1 because of the formulation of certain paragraphs, whereas the substance of the draft resolution corresponds fully to our views on the matter. Specifically, if operative paragraphs 12 to 15 had been put to a separate vote, the Greek delegation would have been forced to cast a negative vote.

42. Furthermore, I wish to clarify and to confirm that our abstention on draft resolution A/34/L.25/Rev.1 does not imply any change of our position on Security Council resolution 418 (1977) about the implementation of which my country has informed the Secretary-General.

43. Before concluding, I wish to stress once more that our condemnation of *apartheid* is, and remains, unchanged.

44. Mr. GONZÁLEZ DE LEÓN (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Mexico voted in favour of 16 of the 17 draft resolutions on agenda item 28 that were adopted at yesterday's meeting, because we are in complete solidarity with the sponsors of all those draft resolutions in their endeavours to bring to an end the Government of South Africa's

apartheid policy, not only because it is and always has been a crime against mankind but also because its survival represents a serious threat to international peace and security.

45. Furthermore my delegation had sponsored draft resolution A/34/L.39 and Add.1 on investments in South Africa, because, consistent with our support of and total compliance with United Nations resolutions and recommendations of the various bodies on the subject, we consider that the investment of resources in South Africa by any Government constitutes a hostile act towards the people of South Africa and a challenge to the United Nations and to the international community as a whole.

46. In spite of that, however, the delegation of Mexico was not able to join those who supported draft resolution A/34/L.37 and Add.1. On relations between Israel and South Africa, not because my delegation can possibly agree with any political, military, nuclear, economic or other co-operation by any Government with the racist South African régime, since any collaboration strengthens that régime. In this case, my delegation abstained because we feel that failure to comply with the resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations on this subject is always objectionable and censurable whatever the source of such failure, and not just in the case of a single country.

47. Mr. NEVREKAR (India): My delegation fully supports and has voted in favour of all the draft resolutions. We had, in fact, joined in sponsoring most of them. My delegation has, however, abstained in the separate vote on operative paragraph 9 of draft resolution A/34/L.21 and Add.1 as my delegation does not approve, as a matter of principle, the singling out of specific countries for condemnation, as has been done in that paragraph.

48. Mr. CAMPS (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation, consistent with our traditional international policy of condemning any kind of racial discrimination, and therefore the policy of *apartheid*, voted in favour of all the draft resolutions on agenda item 28, with the exception of draft resolutions A/34/L.21 and Add.1 and A/34/L.37 and Add.1 entitled, respectively, "Situation in South Africa" and "Relations between Israel and South Africa", because we believe that both contained wording that condemned specific countries while overlooking equal or greater offences by others. They were thus selective and detracted from the universality that we are seeking to achieve in General Assembly resolutions.

49. Furthermore, the matter we are considering has nothing to do with decolonization and we therefore wish to place on record our firm reservation on having the General Assembly declare support for the armed struggle that the South African liberation movement might carry out. Therefore, the affirmative vote of Uruguay for those draft resolutions which contain such concepts are not to be interpreted as expressing assent to them.

50. We also have reservations with regard to the competence of the General Assembly to establish mandatory obligations on Member States of the kind

provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. We consider that such General Assembly resolutions have no validity when enforcement is within the exclusive competence of another organ such as the Security Council.

51. Finally, we should like to urge caution in using United Nations funds for purposes which, though they may be praiseworthy, are beyond the competence of this Assembly.

52. The PRESIDENT: We have heard all the representatives who wished to explain their votes after the vote. As members are aware, the General Assembly will vote on draft resolution A/34/L.34/Rev.1 at a subsequent meeting.

AGENDA ITEM 90

Question of Southern Rhodesia: 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

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/34/820)

53. Mr. MORRIS (Australia) Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: I have the honour of presenting to the General Assembly the report of the Fourth Committee on item 90 of the agenda, entitled "Question of Southern Rhodesia". The report is contained in document A/34/820, which has been distributed in all languages.

54. Unlike reports of previous years on this item, the document is reasonably short and, also unlike previous reports, it contains no draft resolution adopted by the Committee on the question. This merits a brief explanation.

55. It will be recalled that, from 1 to 7 August this year, Commonwealth heads of Government met at Lusaka, Zambia, and agreed on six principles that might underlie a peaceful all-party settlement of the Rhodesian problem [A/34/439-S/13515]. A constitutional conference on Rhodesia, convened at Lancaster House in London, was the outcome of the Commonwealth agreements. Delegations will be aware that, while the Fourth Committee has been in session, so too has the Lancaster House Conference. I shall not rehearse here the developments of the Lancaster House Conference. Various reports have been made to the Fourth Committee by representatives of the Patriotic Front and by the representative of the United Kingdom. Other delegations have added to these their own contributions. All of these are contained in the documents of the Committee, to which reference is made in the present report.

56. A large majority of delegations considered the Lancaster House Conference to be a significant, if not the most significant, development in the long history of the decolonization of Southern Rhodesia. Most welcomed the progress being made in London while acknowledging that the final stage of the Conference was now perhaps in its most critical and delicate phase. In this regard, as number of delegations

expressed the view that the Committee should avoid actions that might risk upsetting what had already been negotiated by the parties directly concerned, or jeopardize the Conference's successful conclusion.

57. Accordingly, at its 37th meeting on 11 December, the Fourth Committee, on the proposal of the Chairman, decided to conclude its consideration of the item without adopting any draft resolution or substantive decision, it being understood that a decision on the item could be taken by the General Assembly directly in plenary meeting, as appropriate, in the light of the related developments with respect to the Territory. This decision is reflected in paragraph 10 of the Committee's report.

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

58. The PRESIDENT: The positions of delegations with respect to the recommendation contained in the report of the Fourth Committee to the Assembly are reflected in the relevant summary records of that Committee. As the Rapporteur has just stated,

"at its 37th meeting on 11 December, the Fourth Committee, on the proposal of the Chairman, decided to conclude its consideration of the item it being understood that a decision on the item could be taken by the General Assembly directly in plenary meeting, as appropriate, in the light of the related developments with respect to the Territory" [paragraph 57 above].

It is the President's understanding that consultations are going on with a view to the submission of a draft proposal in the next few days so that a decision could be taken by the Assembly before the end of the current session. As I hear no objection, I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to take note of the report of the Fourth Committee contained in document A/34/820.

It was so decided (decision 34/424).

AGENDA ITEM 18

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

59. Mr. NAVA CARRILLO (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The United Nations has done a great deal of praiseworthy work in connexion with the question of decolonization. Since its creation, our international Organization has been author of and witness to the independence of almost 60 countries, the vast majority of which are today represented in the United Nations. We have no doubt that the Organization will be successful in eliminating colonialism. However, the item is still before us and, 34 years after the establishment of the United Nations, we must meet once again

to seek an answer to the question of what we can do to remove the item from our agenda, to seek the reason why there has been a substantial decrease in the accelerated pace that characterized the activities of the United Nations in the 1960s, after the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], designed to put an end to colonialism.

60. The President of the General Assembly is well aware of both the achievements and the limitations connected with this important subject. From his outstanding participation as 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, he is also well aware of the work done by that Committee.

61. Various administering Powers have worked in good faith, guided by the principles contained in the Declaration. Others have taken important steps in order that independence could be granted to some Territories under their administration. Regrettably, we are faced at present with some cases in which the decolonization process has been obstructed or delayed because of the economic, strategic or military interests of certain countries which temporize with powerful transnational corporations, often associated with hateful racist practices. For all those reasons, the sacred objective of promoting the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Territories under their control has not been achieved. The prolongation of such situations obviously jeopardizes the credibility and effectiveness of the decisions of our Organization.

62. We are particularly concerned about the future of the peoples still under colonial domination in southern Africa. We have sponsored and promoted peaceful solutions to the situations in Namibia and Zimbabwe. We are well aware that, in the case of Namibia, both the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and the front-line States desire a peaceful solution. Regrettably, so far every initiative taken by the United Nations to implement fully General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) has been frustrated throughout the years by the interests to which I have already referred, making it impossible to find a solution meeting the aspirations and interests of the majority and posing a constant threat to international peace and security.

63. If the ambitions of South Africa, encouraged by certain industrial Powers, continue to be placed above the legitimate aspirations and rights of millions of human beings living under colonial and racist domination in southern Africa and to prevent the achievement of a just and equitable agreement through negotiation, the United Nations will have no alternative but to decide finally on enforcement measures to ensure compliance with the decisions that have been adopted and to support the efforts of the movements represented by these peoples, in order that they may exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

64. In respect of the problem of Namibia, we cannot allow a situation to continue in which the creative

capacity is used to shirk responsibility; this certainly cannot ensure the elimination of *apartheid*. We cannot allow reservation of positions on General Assembly resolutions to be used in order to hide or underestimate the fact of the indescribable suffering and the bloodshed of peoples that seek only to regain their dignity and their right to self-determination.

65. In the debate in the Fourth Committee on the activities of foreign economic and other types of interests impeding the process of decolonization, we set forth the views of the delegation of Venezuela on these inadmissible practices, and we shall not repeat them now. Today we wish to refer to another type of activities, which are just as reprehensible because of their various effects on the dignity and the rights of the peoples under the colonial yoke and, in addition, because they relate to the very survival of mankind. We have in mind the activities related to the existence of military bases in various Territories, as indicated in the report of the Special Committee on decolonization. We can hardly agree that a military presence does not affect or limit the progress of these peoples towards the exercise of their right to self-determination. These installations are obvious elements of various kinds of domination or influence; they cannot be viewed in any other way.

66. At the same time, we are greatly concerned that, as we proceed in the decolonization process, new and more refined forms of colonial domination are springing up which jeopardize the self-determination and independence of the developing peoples.

67. This is a domain in which the United Nations must not cease to exercise responsibility; on the contrary, there must be more active technical and financial cooperation and assistance in order to strengthen the new States institutionally, in accordance with the unique conditions of each of them.

68. The delegation of Venezuela attaches great importance to the role of visiting missions to Non-Self-Governing Territories. This sound practice makes it possible for the United Nations community to observe *in situ* not only political progress but also—and this is of particular importance—the extent to which the administering Powers are discharging their responsibilities for the economic and social development of these peoples.

69. In ensuring the achievement of the objectives set forth in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), all the States represented in this Assembly have an obligation to fulfil, an obligation derived from the commitments entered into under the Charter. We cannot continue to be impassive about these cases of non-compliance. What is at stake is not only the prestige of the United Nations, our most important international forum, but also international peace and security. We cannot permit the work of our Organization to be paralysed or to crumble because of the power of the transnational corporations and the vagaries of strategic and military interests. The United Nations must strive ceaselessly for the achievement of peace and justice. In that process, the conduct of certain Governments is vital. If those Governments would renounce the obstinacy they have demonstrated for many decades

now, an obstinacy based on economic, military or strategic considerations, many hotbeds of tension in the world would, we are sure, be eliminated.

70. Venezuela has invariably had an anti-colonialist tradition. Indeed, that is firmly inscribed in our political history and development. Venezuela's participation in the Committee on decolonization, of which it was a founding member and whose work it shared for 14 years, was valid proof of this. Venezuela has already indicated a desire to rejoin the Special Committee in order to attempt to contribute once again, and more directly and immediately, to the fulfilment of this capital responsibility of the United Nations.

71. We share the satisfaction expressed by Mr. Thomas Boya, the Chairman of the Fourth Committee, in his closing statement to the Committee,⁴ that, finally, the process of the transfer of power to the majority in Zimbabwe seems about to be achieved. Venezuela has attentively followed the long and difficult course of the London Conference, which is to culminate in prompt and genuine independence. The Assembly must devote great attention to the future of that Territory, whose situation has developed from illegal independence to a return to the colonial status, and take into account all the related developments, just mentioned by the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee and taken note of by the Assembly a few moments ago.

72. In conclusion, we wish to extend Venezuela's sincere congratulations on the forthcoming independence of other Caribbean States—which will add a large number of members to the family of the Latin American region—as well as that of the New Hebrides, and on the completion of the decolonization process in Kiribati, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, new States which we hope to see occupying their rightful place in this Assembly.

73. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia): This year the General Assembly is reviewing the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples at the turn of a decade which has witnessed further progress in the field of decolonization. The 1970s were marked by impressive achievements of the forces of liberation and democracy in the former Portuguese colonies and by the further growth of the national liberation movements on the African continent, particularly in the southern part of Africa.

74. It is indeed a matter of satisfaction that, since the adoption of the historic Declaration on decolonization, dozens of formerly dependent and colonial territories, with populations in the millions, have gained freedom and national independence and have joined the family of the United Nations, comprising at present one third of its membership. Last year alone witnessed the emergence of three more independent States, the Solomon Islands, Dominica and Tuvalu. This year, all of us welcomed Saint Lucia to membership of the United Nations.

⁴ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Fourth Committee, 37th meeting, paras. 3-7, and ibid., Fourth Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.*

75. Next year, the United Nations and the progressive forces all over the world will mark the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which has served for two decades as a guideline and source of inspiration for the oppressed and subjugated peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence. The best way to celebrate this historic date would be by the complete liquidation of the last vestiges of colonialism and racism.

76. At present the anti-colonial national liberation movements in Africa have embarked on the final stage, namely, the eradication of the remaining colonial and racist régimes in the south of Africa and the elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

77. Among the outstanding issues, the problems of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia remain most critical and continue to cause serious concern to the international community. Both in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia the racist régimes and the imperialist forces, faced with the ever-growing resistance of the patriotic forces inside the countries and under the pressure of world public opinion, are trying to impose a neo-colonialistic solution upon the indigenous peoples, against their will and aspirations, in order to preserve their former positions in one form or another and thus to perpetuate the illegal colonial rule of a racist minority in those Territories.

78. The recent developments in Zimbabwe and Namibia are a clear testimony to these attempts by the racist and colonialist forces and their patrons.

79. The speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples acquires still more importance, in the context of preserving international peace and security, in view of the repeated acts of aggression perpetrated by the racist authorities of Pretoria and Salisbury against the independent African States and the flagrant violation of human rights in their territories.

80. The racist régimes, along with their massive military build-up with the military collaboration of certain countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] bloc, are engaged in recruiting mercenaries for service in their armed forces to wage war against the patriotic forces and front-line States that are rendering legitimate support to the just struggle of the indigenous peoples of Africa. In this connexion, my delegation fully supports the request for the inclusion on the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly of the additional item entitled "Drafting of an international convention against activities of mercenaries" [item 129].

81. The situations in the small colonial territories continue to cause concern to the world community. We cannot but deplore the attempts of the administering Powers to turn these territories and islands into military bases instead of preparing them for the exercise of their right to self-determination. With regard to these territories, we hold the view that questions of territorial size, geographical isolation or limited human and material resources should not affect their inalienable right to self-determination and independence

in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

82. In order to ensure the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration, all the obstacles lying in the way of achieving this goal should be removed and effective measures should be taken to stop the activities of foreign monopolies, which not only ruthlessly exploit the resources of the colonial territories but in every possible way support and strengthen the oppressive colonial and racist régimes. The colonial Powers should unconditionally withdraw their military bases and installations from colonial territories in order to create conditions for the exercise of the right to self-determination by the peoples of the territories concerned. All those States—particularly the major Western Powers members of NATO—that continue to collaborate with the racist and illegal régimes should heed the repeated appeals of the world community and discontinue their collaboration with and support of those régimes. The Security Council should be asked to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, as provided under Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to ensure South Africa's immediate compliance with the relevant decisions of the United Nations. In this connexion, my delegation attaches great importance to resolution 34/93 C, on the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, that was adopted yesterday by the General Assembly [100th meeting]. Following the United Kingdom's unilateral refusal to observe the Security Council sanctions against Rhodesia, the United States Government intends to lift the sanctions, according to information in the press. In this regard, our delegation wishes to state that the Security Council's compulsory sanctions may be lifted only by the Security Council itself. The decision of the United Kingdom Government is therefore an illegal one and should consequently be condemned by the world community.

83. We also share the opinion that the peoples struggling for their freedom and independence and their national liberation movements have the full right to expect every possible assistance, both moral and material, from the world community, including the United Nations and the organizations within its system.

84. My delegation would like to pay a tribute to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and especially to its Chairman, Ambassador Salim, for the enormous work carried out since the last session of the General Assembly and to express our support of the recommendations contained in the Committee's reports.

85. Mr. KOCHUBEY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The second half of the twentieth century has become a decisive stage in the liberation of colonial countries from imperialist domination. The shameful system of colonialism has practically receded into the past. Hundreds of millions of people have won the right to self-determination and an opportunity to decide on their own future.

86. States that have liberated themselves from the colonial yoke are now playing an ever more important

role in international affairs and making a worthy contribution to the cause of strengthening and deepening international détente and of the total and final elimination of colonialism. All that was to a large extent the result of the adoption, following the initiative of the Soviet Union,⁵ of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

87. The coming into being of young independent States continues, as in the past, to take place in situations of acute conflict between the forces of national liberation and progress and those of imperialism and reaction, which are striving to delay that inevitable process and even mounting a counter-offensive. That is borne out by the situation which has evolved in southern Africa, where the racists, supported by imperialist interests, are making desperate efforts to break the will to victory of the patriots of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia and to implant wherever they can their puppet neo-colonialist régimes and secure international recognition for them, thus turning that area into a preserve of racism and oppression, a permanent source of threat to independent Africa.

88. Now, in the twentieth century, it seems an absurdity that the indigenous African people of the Republic of South Africa virtually have the status of slaves.

89. Nevertheless, that is a sad fact, to which we cannot close our eyes. Completely rejecting the principles and ideas contained in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, grossly trampling underfoot the United Nations Charter and disregarding the many resolutions and decisions adopted by the United Nations and the protests of world public opinion, the Pretoria régime is continuing to practise the shameful and criminal policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in respect of the entire "non-white" population of the country.

90. Obviously abetted by their imperialist accomplices, the white minority régime of Pretoria is carrying out armed attacks unprecedented in their brazenness and cruelty on neighbouring sovereign African countries in an attempt to destabilize the process of free progressive development there and impede the efforts of the peoples of those countries to build their new independent societies.

91. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR decisively declares that it is high time to put an end to the criminal policies of blackmail and intimidation pursued by South Africa vis-à-vis independent African States. Our delegation decisively condemns the activities of those circles and States which, while making high and mighty statements about their allegiance to the principles and purposes of the Declaration on decolonization and the need for the speedy elimination of colonialism and racism, are in fact actively and directly abetting the crimes of the South African racists.

92. In speaking of the situation prevailing in southern Africa, we cannot disregard the present situation in Southern Rhodesia, where every effort is being made to ensure that the white minority in Zimbabwe holds on to power at all costs.

93. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR once more reaffirms its profound conviction that, unless the interests of the indigenous population of the country—whose sole legitimate representative is the Patriotic Front—are taken into account, no "settlement" of the Rhodesian problem will be legitimate. We have set out our position on this in detail in the Fourth Committee.

94. The attempts by the racists to hang on to their supremacy on African soil can be seen in Namibia, which has for many years now been illegally occupied by Pretoria. Our position on this question is well known to the Assembly. We are staunchly on the side of the patriots of SWAPO and we consider that the Namibian problem can and without question should be resolved first and foremost by taking scrupulous account of the interests of the Namibian people, which implies the speedy withdrawal of all the South African occupation forces, police and administrative personnel from Namibia, the transfer of full power to the people of Namibia through their representative, SWAPO, and the guaranteeing of the territorial integrity of that country.

95. Our delegation decisively condemns the activities of certain Western circles that speak of their readiness to promote the attainment of a really just solution to the Namibian problem, but in fact support the racist delaying tactics aimed at nullifying United Nations decisions on this matter and preventing the attainment of genuine independence by that country.

96. Unfortunately, we have to note that the provisions of the Declaration are not being fulfilled as regards not only southern Africa but also several other Territories, including the Pacific Territories which are still under colonial domination, notwithstanding the interests and desires expressed by the indigenous populations, and that is only to please the monopolies and meet the strategic interests of certain Western countries.

97. Such activities run counter to the lofty ideals of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and contradict the irreversible process of the positive restructuring of the whole system of international relations.

98. It is our conviction that the United Nations should do its utmost to ensure that the provisions of that historic Declaration are speedily implemented, which would be a significant contribution to the cause of the complete elimination of the vestiges of the shameful system of colonialism. Our delegation is ready to support any proposal aiming at that goal.

99. Mr. PEŇAŽKA (Czechoslovakia): When on 14 December 1960 the General Assembly, at its fifteenth session, adopted the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, new prospects were opened up for the

⁵ *Ibid.*, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 87, document A/4502.

national liberation movement, since, with that Declaration, the United Nations placed itself fully and unequivocally on the side of the oppressed colonial peoples, recognized as legitimate their aspiration to freedom and declared inevitable and irreversible the liberation struggle which the colonizers had for years referred to as "subversive activities", while treating patriots and freedom fighters like criminals. The United Nations solemnly proclaimed the necessity for the speedy and unconditional liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations and strongly condemned the repressive actions of the colonialists, as well as their various other manoeuvres aimed at preserving their domination over colonial peoples. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples created favourable prerequisites for the peaceful elimination of the antiquated colonial system, without further bloodshed, provided the colonial Powers responded, without any delay or procrastination, to the urgent appeal by the United Nations to grant independence to all oppressed peoples.

100. The adoption of the Declaration represented a significant qualitative turning-point within the United Nations in the struggle against colonialism. It became an important political and moral stimulus to the national liberation struggle. The degree to which the Declaration reflected developments throughout the world is attested to by the fact that, since its adoption, a great number of former colonies, especially in Africa, have embarked on the path of independent development, and the order of the day now is the liquidation of the last remnants of colonial domination throughout the world.

101. In this connexion, the Czechoslovak delegation would like to reiterate its appreciation of the role played in the process of decolonization by the United Nations and, in particular, by the Special Committee on decolonization. We highly value the significant contribution to the joint efforts for the elimination of colonialism made by the Chairman of the Special Committee, Ambassador Salim A. Salim. We should like to express once more our most sincere gratitude for his competent, able and devoted guidance of the work of the Committee.

102. Despite the successes achieved, it is quite obvious that the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization is far from being finished since as yet the global task has not been accomplished: that is, the complete elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. This is borne out on the one hand by the existence of colonialism in a number of the so-called small territories, and on the other, and especially, by the existing unresolved situation in the large territory of the whole southern part of the African continent, a continent which throughout its history has suffered most from colonialism. In Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa today we witness such a concentration of problems that it represents a source of immediate danger not only to the neighbouring independent African States, but also to international peace and security in general. With all-round support by the Western allies, the colonial racist régimes in southern Africa strive to maintain their domination, refuse stubbornly to respect the just demands of the African

majority, try by all possible means to suppress the legitimate national liberation struggle of the African peoples, under the leadership of their genuine representatives, and undertake armed attacks against independent African States. During this session of the General Assembly the Czechoslovak delegation has already had an opportunity to explain in detail its position in respect of the problems of these Territories and to stress also the principles that must serve as a basis for their just solution.

103. I shall therefore limit myself to quoting from the statement made in the general debate by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, Bohuslav Chňoupek:

"We emphatically reject the fresh attempts by the colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa to perpetuate themselves and to postpone their historically inevitable elimination. We actively, effectively and consistently support the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for freedom and independence. We express our solidarity with SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people. We reaffirm our full and all-round support for the sole genuine representative of the people of Zimbabwe—the Patriotic Front. We advocate a comprehensive intensification of the struggle against *apartheid*, including uncompromising economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, which finally should compel the régime of the Republic of South Africa to respect the United Nations. We shall continue to make efforts to bring our Organization to use its entire authority to prevent the barbaric attacks by the racists against neighbouring States which are still continuing with impunity". [10th meeting, para. 245].

104. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic supports the full application of the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to all the other Territories the peoples of which are still, under various pretexts, being denied the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. We reject any neo-colonialist tendencies aiming merely at formal respect for the right to self-determination, as well as the unlawful practice of annexing some of the so-called small Territories and the maintenance of military bases and installations by colonial Powers in those Territories, which, as repeatedly stated in General Assembly resolutions, represent a serious obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration.

105. We are of the view that the General Assembly must denounce this unlawful practice of the colonial Powers, and once again appeal to them urgently to take immediate measures for the transfer of all power to the peoples of the Territories under their administration, in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration.

106. The current situation in southern Africa, as well as that in some of the so-called small Territories, confirms the fact that many obstacles are still standing in the way of the complete attainment of the goals set out in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Those obstacles are, above all, represented by the forces of interna-

tional imperialism and neo-colonialism, which are trying in all possible ways to prevent the exercise by all peoples of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, and thus to maintain their unlimited domination in the remaining colonial Territories.

107. For these reasons we believe that it is of the utmost importance that all anti-colonialist forces mobilize their support for the national liberation struggle and the efforts to ensure the eradication of all the remnants of colonialism throughout the world. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is determined to take an active part in the fulfilment of this task, which is shared by all Members of the United Nations.

108. Mr. RASON (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): The principles stated in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples are too well known for me to dwell on them at length once again. The most important of them concern: the right of all peoples freely to determine their political status and their economic, social and cultural future; the granting of independence without delay; the transfer of powers without conditions or reservations and without any distinction as to race, creed or colour; transition towards real independence, without repression or armed opposition; and finally, respect for the national unity and territorial integrity of peoples and countries.

109. All these principles constitute a coherent indissoluble whole, and have a well-defined purpose, which is to allow all colonial peoples and countries to enjoy complete independence and freedom. They constitute an inalienable body of political law, which is absolute in nature and cannot be split up or interpreted restrictively, much less challenged.

110. The purpose of our debate is to analyse the events that have occurred in the course of the year and to evaluate the progress made towards the attainment of one of the fundamental objectives of our Organization, namely the elimination of colonialism and respect for the right of peoples to self-determination. Thus, our debate is justified, because we have not yet arrived at a final result involving the full application of the fundamental principles of the Declaration and of the Charter.

111. Our delegation listened attentively to the detailed account of the work of the Special Committee during the past year. That account was presented most eloquently by the Committee's Rapporteur, Mr. Haydar of the Syrian Arab Republic [*99th meeting*]. We can appreciate the immense progress made when we recall that more than 70 million people have acceded to independence since the coming into being of the Special Committee.

112. Nevertheless, we are bound to note and recognize that millions of people still live under the yoke of colonialism. More than once the desire for independence of colonial peoples has been subordinated to the needs and laws of confrontation among great Powers. Conflicts have developed over the evolution of certain of those peoples towards complete self-government. The defence of spheres of influence or of

specific strategic points, the preservation of vested principles, the determination to safeguard and perpetuate ideologies allowing free rein to the lust for exploitation and political and economic domination, these are the reasons that justify the maintenance of the *status quo* or attempts to seize power for the benefit of individuals in the pay of powerful economic foreign interests, colonialism, imperialism, and even international racism. The right of peoples to independence has been denied for the sake of a questionable need to restore the national unity of some countries and sometimes because of a crude will to annex or occupy. The future of countries is sometimes determined by what it is claimed are popular assemblies set up under foreign military occupation régimes which prevent nationalist forces from freely or fully participating in elections. Indeed, at times when the overwhelming majority of the people is in favour of independence, the administering Power goes back on its commitments, interprets the results of the vote according to its whim and takes advantage of the situation to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of countries, in flagrant violation of the Charter and paragraph 6 of the Declaration.

113. We must note that there are centres of resistance to the attainment of the objectives of the Declaration. Racist and colonialist occupation and subjugation continue. Thus the United Nations is still seized of cases of decolonization in Asia; in Latin America, where Belize and its people see their efforts to accede to independence countered by territorial claims which are contrary to the principle of self-determination; in the Pacific, where Trust Territories are cut up and divided by the administering Power to preserve its strategic and military domination; and in Africa, where the peoples of southern Africa, in particular, are denied their right to genuine independence and where the denial of that right is aggravated by open racism, so that colonialism and racism have become a force for repression and domination.

114. There is no need to analyse here the situations prevailing in Rhodesia and Namibia. The Fourth Committee and our Assembly did so a few weeks ago.

115. In our opinion, the problems of Rhodesia and Namibia illustrate the tragedy of our Organization which is powerless, because of divergent interests at odds within it, to obtain the full application of the principles, the scope and acceptance of which appear *a priori* to be universal. It is powerless also to impose decisions in conflicts which some attempt to withdraw from its competence, with the aim of submitting to so-called negotiations what is not negotiable or of pursuing objectives which are hardly in accord with the freedom and genuine independence of peoples.

116. In that region, the main causes of military tension are essentially the forces of racism, imperialism and foreign economic interests which exert pressure, make threats and resort to blackmail or even force to halt and divert the political and economic emancipation of peoples.

117. Such a situation requires vigilance on our part. We must give our support to national liberation movements. We must concentrate our efforts on finding all

means of pressure to put an end to all policies of domination.

118. In our opinion, the United Nations should reaffirm its authority and insist on the strict implementation of its resolutions. In no case should it allow the principles of the Declaration to be distorted in their application or diverted from their purpose, or the decisions it has taken for the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) to be interpreted to support certain aspirations or illegal claims over territories—thus thwarting the desired objective.

119. We are consistently in favour of the legitimate struggle of colonial countries and peoples to obtain independence, and it is the Organization's duty to move resolutely forward in the process which has started on the international level towards the elimination of colonialism.

120. The results already obtained, however important, do not lessen our joint responsibility in this respect, since the needs of the new, more democratic and just international order have broadened our responsibilities, made them greater and now compel us to persevere until equality among all men and nations becomes a living and irreversible reality.

121. Madagascar's position on decolonization is clear. It was defined by Mr. Didier Ratsiraka, the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, as follows:

“Our policy of independence, sovereignty and dignity, our socialist choice, all lead us as a matter of course to be on the side of progressive countries, to assist the just movements of national liberation which are struggling for their independence, sovereignty, freedom and dignity. We shall continue to do so whatever may be the defections of some or the political inertia of others.”

122. To conclude, my delegation is pleased to extend its warmest congratulations to all members of the Special Committee, and especially to its Chairman, and wishes to draw particular attention to the personal authority and devotion with which the Chairman guided the work of that Committee during the past year.

123. It cannot be denied that what has been accomplished within the international community with regard to decolonization is largely due to the tireless efforts of the Special Committee since its establishment. This year Saint Lucia and Saint Vincent have acceded to independence too. We cannot but feel gratified.

124. Mr. ANDERSON (Australia): Our consideration of the item before us completes the debate on questions concerning specific Non-Self-Governing Territories which have already been dealt with in the General Assembly this year. Accordingly, the Australian delegation believes that this is an opportune time to set out our general position on decolonization, with particular reference to the work of the Fourth Committee.

125. Australia's position on the question of decolonization is a clear one which has been demonstrated

by our active role in the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and in the United Nations Council for Namibia, by our participation in debates on decolonization and by our voting record on resolutions addressed to this question. In short, Australia supports the right of peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories to exercise freely their right to self-determination. We have, therefore, welcomed the emergence of an increasing number of countries to full-fledged independence in the post-war situation. At the same time, we have respected the wishes of the people of those Territories that have felt they were not yet ready to exercise that right.

126. Decolonization, given the historical experience of some developing countries, is often a subject which evokes heated and emotional responses. This has been true of some of the debates at this session of the General Assembly, as it has been at preceding sessions. Inevitably, intemperate, accusatory and recriminatory language sometimes occurs in statements and even in resolutions. We appreciate and respect the depth of the concern that lies behind many of these statements, but the point we should like to make is that often the will to co-operate, to engage in dialogue, to approach rationally the search for solutions is obstructed by harsh rhetoric and uncompromising language. We do not ask those countries which have genuine grievances to put aside their complaints, but we would emphasize that the United Nations is a unique and valuable forum in which to reach a measure of understanding, to find a way forward. The United Nations has a proud record of achievement in advancing the process of decolonization. Yet we have found that some of the draft resolutions which the Fourth Committee has been asked to consider have had this failing, that strong and condemnatory language has been used where more tempered and balanced phrases would have been closer to the reality of a particular situation and would have better facilitated a solution to the problem.

127. Decolonization can sometimes be a difficult and delicate process. Above all, it is a serious enterprise which requires a strong sense of co-operation and a real exchange of views. For this reason, we reject proposals which would offer a single solution to all cases of decolonization. It is our view that each case has to be taken on its merits. It follows that there can be no specific time-table which says when and how a particular Non-Self-Governing Territory should be decolonized. It must be for the people of a particular Territory to decide for themselves when and how the process of self-determination must occur. It is the role of the United Nations to assist them in exercising their own freely expressed wishes.

128. Having registered some views on a number of aspects of the work considered at this session of the General Assembly, we are pleased to note that the issue of decolonization has generally been considered in a positive and constructive manner. We are pleased that the tradition of reaching agreement by consensus has been maintained in the work of the Fourth Committee, a fact reflected in the number of resolutions adopted without a vote. We have also noted the measure of accommodation which has been indicated

in the language of some of the resolutions we have been asked to consider. For example, we believe that there was, in the resolution on foreign economic interests, a positive attempt by the sponsors of the draft to take into account objections which a number of countries had registered about the blanket condemnation of all foreign economic interests. We trust that this willingness to take account of valid criticism will continue to mark the future work of the Fourth Committee.

129. An important aspect of the consideration of questions of decolonization is the need for all Member States to be kept fully informed of significant developments in individual Non-Self-Governing Territories. In this respect, we have felt that the parties directly concerned in the administration of specific Non-Self-Governing Territories have facilitated the work of the Organization by keeping the United Nations fully informed of relevant developments in accordance with their obligations under Article 73 *e* of the Charter. My delegation believes that this is an essential ingredient in the monitoring function which the United Nations continues to play. Another important element of this process is the dispatch of United Nations missions to observe directly conditions obtaining in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. We are pleased that this, too, has been facilitated by the administering Powers. With specific reference to the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, the Australian Government has extended an invitation to the United Nations to send a visiting mission to the Territory in 1980 at a mutually convenient time.

130. It is a mark of the success with which the process of decolonization has been carried out that the number of Territories considered by the Fourth Committee has been, over the years, progressively reduced. More countries have achieved independence and this is a trend which we welcome and support. My delegation looks forward to the day when the process of self-determination will have been applied to all Non-Self-Governing Territories and when all the Territories will have freely chosen their own future. The steps which have been taken, both within and outside the United Nations system, to bring more Territories to self-determination in the past year are themselves ample testimony to the effectiveness of the system and to the goodwill of the administering Powers. It is indeed fair to say that the decolonization process initiated by this Organization will stand as one of the great achievements of the current political era.

131. Mr. HADAS (Hungary): The historically short period since the smashing of the Fascist régimes, as the most extreme forms of imperialism, in the Second World War and the subsequent rise of the world socialist system, which ushered in a new era in mankind's history, also witnessed unprecedented changes in the former colonial world. The collapse of the shameful colonial system of imperialism and the advancement of peoples languishing under oppression were begun, dealing the colonizers a heavy blow from which they would never be able to recover, for they had to awaken to the impossibility of preventing the liberation of peoples under their domination. An inexorable process of development was started that was not to be curbed.

132. Resolution 1514 (XV), of historic significance, which was adopted almost 20 years ago, gave a new

impetus to the struggle against colonialism, and the process of decolonization gathered momentum. It would take a long time to list all the countries that have gained independence since 1960. The adoption of that resolution inaugurated a new period also in the history of the United Nations, which, by working in the spirit of that resolution, became better able to help the struggle of oppressed peoples more effectively, compelling the colonial Powers to make concessions. However, the most reactionary circles of the imperialist Powers are trying to stop or even to reserve the course of history by all possible means. That is why the white minority in Zimbabwe and the racist régime in South Africa and Namibia are still able to rule as the last strongholds of the colonial system.

133. If we go into detail and try to analyse the reasons for the survival of those régimes, we find the question of foreign economic interests to be of crucial and fundamental relevance, since colonization began for economic reasons and the last remnants of the colonial system are also based on economic interests. This was recognized by the United Nations long ago, and the Fourth Committee focused its attention on this issue at the current session as well. The result has been the adoption of ever better draft resolutions by the Fourth Committee, such as the one most recently adopted by this Assembly as resolution 34/41, which indicates the proper way of completing the process of decolonization. Nevertheless, some assume that the multinational corporations are not in all cases impeding the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions on decolonization, as pointed out in the reports of the Fourth Committee and in this resolution. On the contrary, we cast doubt on any attitude whatsoever of those so-called good corporations, since we know perfectly well that they are by no means social welfare institutions, that they subordinate the destinies of whole countries to their profit interests and that they are far from caring about the interests of any country or people affected by their actions.

134. In most cases these foreign economic interests have been unable any longer to oppose the formal granting of political independence, but in an attempt to adjust their standards to the new set of circumstances, they bind the peoples of the Territories concerned to the metropolitan countries with economic and financial ties so strong as to make it impossible to talk about genuine independence for a long time to come.

135. It would be hard to exaggerate the omnipotent role of the foreign economic interests. When the imperialist-colonialist Powers have their backs to the wall, they do not hesitate to use military power. In Namibia, the South African Government has continued to expand its network of military bases and has carried out a massive build-up of its military forces in the Territory to perpetuate its illegal occupation and to prevent the achievement of genuine independence by Namibia. In Zimbabwe, yesterday's rulers—the illegal minority régime—resorted to desperate measures in order to frustrate by force the legitimate aspirations of the people and to maintain its control over the Territory. In escalating its war against the Zimbabwean people and their national liberation movement, which are struggling for freedom and independence, the illegal régime repeatedly commits acts of armed aggression

against the neighbouring States of Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia and Angola. Since Zimbabwe is still under colonial domination, the white minority has not yet been deprived of power and the people of the Territory still suffer from exploitation under neo-colonialist oppression.

Mr. Illueca (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.

136. As far as the other colonial Territories are concerned, the Special Committee on decolonization "deplores the establishment and maintenance by colonial Powers and their allies of military bases and other installations in the colonial Territories under their administration" and "reiterates its condemnation of all military activities . . . detrimental to the interests and rights of the colonial peoples".⁶ The General Assembly has adopted several resolutions on this item, but in vain, because the Special Committee, according to the same document, again "deplores that the Colonial Powers . . . have taken no steps to implement the request which the General Assembly has repeatedly addressed to them".⁷ Moreover, the Special Committee had to deplore "the continued alienation of land in colonial Territories for military installations".⁸

137. At this stage, we reject the arguments of some who maintain such military installations and assert that those military bases do not impede the implementation of the resolutions on decolonization but, on the contrary, are benefiting the inhabitants of the Territories by creating employment for them. The Special Committee has already pointed out that

"the large-scale utilization of local economic and manpower resources for this purpose diverts resources which could be more beneficially utilized in promoting the economic development of the Territories concerned and is thus contrary to the interests of their populations".⁹

138. The Government and people of the Hungarian People's Republic firmly believe that the first two steps in the process of decolonization must be the solution of the problems of Namibia and Zimbabwe through the full implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, which, in particular, impose an economic embargo and a total arms embargo against the racist régimes. We believe that after those provisions have been implemented the swift completion of the decolonization process will be possible. The means of achieving this end are also indicated in the relevant decisions of the United Nations. The crucial issue remains, nevertheless, the economic and other interests and the military activities and arrangements which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

139. Mr. NEYTCHEV (Bulgaria): Next year will mark the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence

to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This Declaration was adopted in spite of bitter resistance by racist, colonialist and imperialist forces. For two decades now that Declaration has played a very important role in the just struggle of the peoples of colonial and dependent Territories for their liberation and independence. This historic document reaffirmed the equal right of all oppressed peoples throughout the world to determine their political status on the basis of their own free will and free choice, and to pursue the socio-economic and cultural development of their countries.

140. The current stage of the development of the national liberation struggle in southern Africa is characterized by the aggravation of the struggle between the national liberation movements and progressive forces and the forces of racism, colonialism and imperialism which strive to check this irreversible process and even to reverse it. The present situation in southern Africa is causing serious concern and alarm among the entire community in all nations of the world. The racist régimes, assisted by those in the most reactionary circles in certain well-known Western countries, are undertaking desperate efforts to break the will for victory of the Zimbabwean and Namibian patriots, to set up colonial puppet régimes and to ensure the international recognition of those régimes so as to turn the region into a lasting stronghold of racism and oppression. It is quite clear that all those subterfuges are nothing more than poorly concealed plots concocted by the Salisbury and Pretoria racists in concert with their sponsors and directed against the freedom and independence of the peoples of southern Africa.

141. This has been corroborated by the latest raids carried out by Southern Rhodesian troops into Zambia and Mozambique. Despite the assurances coming from certain Western circles on the cease-fire agreements, those raids again left behind them a trail of blood and destruction. Indeed, this is yet further proof of the true intentions of the colonialists and the realities associated with the implementation of the so-called peaceful settlement of the Southern Rhodesia question.

142. We do not consider ourselves either opponents or proponents of the plans of those in certain circles to impose their solution to the question of Southern Rhodesia. However, we cannot but point to the dangerous situation which is being created as a result of the efforts and pressures exerted from within those circles, which are made up of those who until recently were the dominant force in that part of the world. We are witnessing overt attempts to compel the Patriotic Front to submit to a solution of the problem which would be conducive to preserving the existing order in Southern Rhodesia on a neo-colonialist basis.

143. The Bulgarian delegation supports the idea that it is necessary to turn power over to the people of Zimbabwe as soon as possible, and I take this opportunity to re-emphasize that for us in the People's Republic of Bulgaria there is only one legitimate representative of Bulgaria there is only one legitimate representative of the Zimbabwean people, the Patriotic Front. At the same time, we express our firm conviction that the best way to settle the Southern Rhodesian problem has been and continues to be by ensuring the strict and precise implementation of the relevant

⁶ See A/AC.109/584, paras. 11-12.

⁷ *Ibid.*, para. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, para. 13.

⁹ *Ibid.*

resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations.

144. The illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, the policy of wanton pillage of the rich resources of that Territory carried out by the Pretoria régime and the inhuman exploitation of its indigenous population by no means constitute the totality of the criminal misdeeds that have been perpetrated by the South African racists in Namibia. The African population in that Territory has been virtually deprived of its homeland, which the colonizers in South Africa took from it by force, and of its rich resources from which for many years now the colonizers, together with the foreign multinational companies, have been drawing a livelihood.

145. The intention of the Pretoria régime to create in Namibia a puppet régime that would act at the behest of South Africa is simply an attempt to establish in that Territory a neo-colonialist régime under which the depredations against the country and its African population could continue unimpeded.

146. Genuine independence for Namibia can be secured only if, in accordance with United Nations decisions, South Africa withdraws its occupying forces from that Territory. When all those who have for so many years considered Namibia as their private domain and a storehouse from which to extract tremendous profits and those who, with the racists in Pretoria, continue to perpetrate crimes against the indigenous population have left Namibia, the problem of that Territory can be solved in a peaceful way, but only with the participation of SWAPO and on the basis of the proposals that have been put forward by that organization. The United Nations must assist in such a solution of the problem in Namibia.

147. In the light of what we have said, the Bulgarian delegation is firmly of the view that only the complete international isolation and a general boycott of the régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, coupled with strict observance of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council by all Member States, without any exception, can make a real contribution to eliminating the last hotbeds of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* in southern Africa.

148. This year, too, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has decisively condemned the economic, military and other activities of the colonialist Powers in the Territories under their administration, as well as the recruitment of mercenaries for the Rhodesian army. The Committee has also condemned the assistance that the foreign economic, financial and other circles have been rendering to the racist régimes in the pursuit of their attempts to continue the rapacious plunder of the natural and human resources of Zimbabwe and Namibia. We fully support these pronouncements of the Special Committee.

149. Turning now to the so-called small Territories, I should like to emphasize that there are a score of examples that show that the legitimate rights of the peoples of those Territories to self-determination and

independent national existence are either denied outright or are questioned on various pretexts.

150. Contrary to any logic or good sense, the administering Powers in many cases maintain that the peoples themselves do not want independence and prefer association, or even integration, with the metropolitan countries. But those Powers do not dare put these theories to a test in conditions of full freedom and under the control and auspices of the United Nations.

151. The reason for this attitude of the colonial Powers is, above all, their interest in using the small Territories for their global strategic aims. The scores of military bases in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans and in the Caribbean region form a comprehensive network of military forts, strongpoints and staging platforms for the maintenance of many African and other peoples in subjugation, for the suppression of the national liberation movements and for other aggressive purposes against independent countries throughout the world.

152. The elimination of colonialism in the small Territories is no less urgent a task than its liquidation elsewhere. The peoples of those Territories have the same inalienable rights as the peoples of the large Territories, and the Declaration on decolonization should be fully and unconditionally applied with respect to them.

153. Another important aspect of the Special Committee's work that calls for well-deserved recognition is its mobilizing of world public opinion in support of the national liberation struggle and in defence of the inalienable rights of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence. The Special Committee has also recorded good results in its efforts further to expand its relations of co-operation with the influential intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and to involve them in rendering more effective and complete help to the national liberation struggle of the colonial countries and peoples.

154. In conclusion, I should like once more to emphasize that my delegation, as a member of the Special Committee, will continue its endeavors in that Committee. This position of principle of my delegation stems from the consistent and principled policy of the Bulgarian Government to render, within the scope of its power and ability, full support to the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe and of all other colonial Territories for the total and final elimination of colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

155. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): It is possible that in the future such an extensive discussion of the problem of decolonization as we are having at this session will no longer be taking place. I think this is a good omen.

156. Next year will be the twentieth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and in this comparatively short historical period—as has been noted by many speakers—enormous positive

results have been attained in the struggle to eliminate the system of colonial oppression. Colonial empires have fallen. There are fewer and fewer black marks of colonialism on the map of the world. About 100 young States have embarked on a course of independent development.

157. The overwhelming majority of States which have liberated themselves from colonial domination are actively working for the consolidation of their independence and for peace, against aggression and alien oppression. The role played and the influence exerted by the liberated countries in international affairs have grown significantly. They have become active in foreign policy and their impact on decision-making on important international problems has increased. The solidarity of their stand against imperialism and colonialism has become stronger.

158. The process of improving the international climate is creating additional favourable conditions for the complete and final elimination of all vestiges of colonialism and racism and for the strengthening of the equality and independence of peoples.

159. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has become an effective instrument of the United Nations in the process of decolonization. Efforts made to bring about the full implementation of the Declaration include the important role played by the Special Committee on decolonization, the United Nations Council for Namibia and the General Assembly itself.

160. In speaking about the positive results that have been reached in implementing the Declaration, we must recall, however, that, although the struggle of peoples to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* has entered its final phase, those shameful manifestations have not yet been utterly wiped out. Colonialism, racism and *apartheid* still continue to poison the international atmosphere and constitute a dangerous source of tension, conflict and threat to international peace and security.

161. The particular concern of all progressive and peace-loving peoples is aroused by the situation obtaining in southern Africa. That region of the African continent continues to witness the existence of colonial, racist régimes in the Republic of South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia. The racists have not yet abandoned their plans to use force to prevent the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia from gaining their legitimate right to freedom and independence.

162. As many people have noted, the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa is grossly trampling underfoot the elementary human rights of the indigenous population of that country. In South Africa, *apartheid* policies, which have several times been condemned by the United Nations as a crime against humanity, continue with a vengeance. The South African authorities are implementing a campaign of mass terror against the indigenous population of the country and are waging a struggle to destroy the national liberation movements. Those fighting against *apartheid* are subject to arrests, tortures and executions.

163. Notwithstanding the decisions taken by the United Nations, the rulers of South Africa continue their illegal occupation of Namibia and rapacious pillage of that Territory and are trying to rout the national liberation movement of the people of Namibia, whose sole legitimate representative is SWAPO. The Pretoria authorities, under cover of conducting negotiations about a different kind of initiatives, are creating a puppet régime in Namibia, are continuing to flood the Territory with their troops and police forces and are undertaking various manoeuvres and tricks, so that, while pretending readiness to hold the well-known "talks on a Namibia settlement", they can prevent the people of Namibia from attaining full independence. The aim of this is to channel the development of Namibia along neo-colonialist lines.

164. No less serious a situation prevails in Southern Rhodesia, where the illegal Muzorewa-Smith régime, which is recognized by no one, is, with the help of South Africa and even at this eleventh hour, cruelly repressing the national liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. The system of force and repression in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, the illegal occupation of Namibia, the merciless and rapacious pillage of the natural resources which belong in truth to the real masters of that Territory—the indigenous population of the country—are only one side of the situation as it has evolved in southern Africa. The other side consists in the ceaseless aggressive acts of the South African and Southern Rhodesian racists against neighbouring African countries. The racist rulers of the Republic of South Africa and of Southern Rhodesia continue to subject the independent neighbouring African States to systematic barbarous armed raids.

165. The armed acts of aggression by South Africa and Southern Rhodesia against the African States have created in that region of the world a situation which constitutes a direct threat to international peace and security.

166. The information submitted to the Assembly in the reports of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [A/34/23/Rev.1, chaps. V, VIII and IX], the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/34/22] and the United Nations Council for Namibia [A/34/24 and Corr.1] points quite unambiguously to the real culprits in the continuing explosive situation in southern Africa. These documents testify to the irrefutable fact that if South Africa and Southern Rhodesia had not enjoyed extensive political, military and economic protection from the Western Powers, particularly the States members of NATO and their transnational monopolies and banks, they would not have been able to resist for so long the onslaught of the national liberation movement of the peoples of southern Africa.

167. Over the last two years the well-known plans for a settlement of the Namibian problem through negotiations have emerged. They were put forward by those countries which have rather considerable influence in South Africa and could, if they wanted to, promote the implementation of the just decisions of the United Nations on Namibia. However, all efforts

within the context of the United Nations have so far proved fruitless and have come up against the stubborn resistance and manoeuvrings of the Pretoria authorities.

168. Now one can hear reports about the conclusion of the London talks on the settlement of the Zimbabwe question. The course of those talks, even from the spare reports in the press is very clear to us. From the very outset of the talks, the representatives of the Patriotic Front were subjected to pressure, blackmail, threats and ultimatums. We can see from the American press that the representatives of the Patriotic Front at various stages in the talks were simply told: either accept the proposal on the table or get out. This was what happened in the constitutional talks; it happened when they were discussing the conditions for the transitional period; and it almost happened again during the negotiations on the conditions for a cease-fire.

169. The General Assembly is entitled to know what the conditions of the agreement are going to be. Will South African armed interference in the affairs of Rhodesia come to an end? Will the patriots have a guarantee of their right to undertake political activity in the pre-election period on equal terms with those who are already in position and will be in charge up to the last moment? We are very surprised by the absence in the Assembly of a draft resolution which would enable the United Nations to put its own valuation on events and to demand guarantees which would ensure that the interests of the patriotic forces of the peoples of Zimbabwe would not be damaged in the pre-election period.

170. It is quite natural to say that, the question of Zimbabwe having been discussed for 14 years in the United Nations, in both the Security Council and the General Assembly, it would be reasonable for the Security Council and the General Assembly, which have adopted so many resolutions on this matter, to know such things. We might ask another question. Will the aggressive attacks by the racists on neighbouring "front-line" States be ended? There is nothing in their actions up to now to reassure us that this will be so.

171. We learn from the press that the administering Power, which has regained colonial domination over Rhodesia after putting up for so many years with the so-called "rebellion" of the racist Smith, has suddenly become decisive and intends in two months' time to confer on the people of Zimbabwe the benefit of "free elections". That is all very well, but there is still no final agreement on this and the administering Power, having suddenly remembered that it is responsible to the United Nations for the decolonization of Rhodesia, has decided to begin its activity by sending a Governor and immediately lifting sanctions against Rhodesia. Is this not a little hasty? The Security Council, in its resolution 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968, called upon the administering Power

"to take urgently all effective measures to bring to an end the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia, and enable the people to secure the enjoyment of their rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)".

172. That demand by the Security Council was repeated several times in subsequent resolutions.

173. As for the sanctions imposed on the racists of Southern Rhodesia, these are mentioned in a later Security Council resolution, resolution 314 (1972), in which the Council

"Reaffirms its decision that the present sanctions against Southern Rhodesia shall remain fully in force until the aims and objectives set out in resolution 253 (1968) are completely achieved."

174. That demand of the Security Council was reaffirmed several times in subsequent resolutions.

175. So the question in this: has the right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) already been achieved? And how will it be achieved? I repeat to members of the General Assembly that it would not be without interest for the Security Council to learn these facts at first hand, not merely from the pages of the newspapers.

176. It seems to us that during the negotiations, more could have been done to clear up the situation. How is it possible without a new Security Council decision—and such decisions, as several speakers assured us only yesterday, are binding—to lift the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia unilaterally when the other conditions related to the introduction of sanctions have not been fulfilled?

177. It is all the more strange that the substitute puppet leader of the recent Government, Muzorewa, stated at almost the same time as the news of the end of the talks was published, that he did not intend to give up his powers as head of the Government of Southern Rhodesia.

178. In these conditions, all those who are concerned about a just settlement of the problem of Southern Rhodesia by political means—and I think that not a single delegation here would be against a political settlement of the Southern Rhodesian problem—are entitled to full clarification. All those who are interested in precisely such a solution of the problem that would enable the people of Zimbabwe to attain genuine independence under the guidance of their legitimate representative, the Patriotic Front, should be at their most vigilant and should give maximum and comprehensive support to the Patriotic Front.

179. The Soviet Union believes that there are real and objective possibilities for achieving an effective political solution to the vital problems of southern Africa. The basis for such a solution is enshrined in many United Nations resolutions on the question and is founded on the isolation which has been created around the racist régimes of southern Africa. As always, the Soviet Union continues to favour a political settlement to the problems of southern Africa. We must, however, state most decisively that such a settlement can be effective and just only if it is in the interests of the genuine independence of the peoples of southern Africa.

180. The Soviet Union is prepared to support the proposals by African countries which have been made during the discussion of this item for the adoption by the Security Council of effective sanctions against the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter. The Soviet Union most decisively supports the national liberation movements and the independent African countries in their counter-offensive against the efforts of the imperialist forces and the racist régimes to impose a neo-colonialist solution of the problems of southern Africa.

181. There are other problems relating to decolonization which demonstrate that the decolonization process has not yet been completed. It has not yet been completed in many of the so-called small colonial Territories and enclaves in various regions of the world. We rejoice that the Special Committee on decolonization and the Council for Namibia, as well as other organs established within the United Nations, have not forgotten about these Territories.

182. The documents of the Special Committee and of other bodies of the United Nations show quite clearly that the administering Powers not only have not taken effective measures to grant independence and transfer power to the peoples of those Territories, but, in a number of cases, are trying to perpetuate their colonial domination over the Territories. In an attempt to justify their position, they adduce various "reasons" which have already been refuted by United Nations decisions: they say that the territories of these countries are very small; that the populations are small in number; they refer to their remote geographical position, which they say complicates their situation. Using the argument of the small size of the Territories, their limited populations, their geographical remoteness, their economic dependence, the administering Powers are impeding the implementation of the Declaration vis-à-vis these Territories. Often these Territories, which are under foreign trusteeship or administration, serve military purposes. A number of Powers are obviously very interested in continuing to use these small Territories for their global strategic purposes. Dozens of military bases in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans and in the region of the Caribbean Sea are bulwarks and base camps. And for what purpose? Of course, for the purpose of suppressing the national liberation movements and of perpetuating the presence of these Powers there. But their presence does not in any way respond to the interests of strengthening international peace and security.

183. The Soviet delegation is firmly convinced that the peoples in the small colonial Territories have a full and inalienable right, in accordance with the Declaration on decolonization and the United Nations Charter, to self-determination and independence.

184. In regard to the remaining colonial Territories, the delegation of the USSR wishes to point out once again to the members of the General Assembly the problem of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands—or, as it is also called, Micronesia.

185. As a member of the Trusteeship Council, the Soviet Union has already drawn the attention of Member States of the United Nations to the critical situa-

tion in Micronesia, which hampers the enjoyment by the people of Micronesia of the inalienable right to self-determination and independence. It is now 32 years since the United States began administering this Pacific Island Territory, and far from being a united Territory prepared politically, economically and socially for self-determination and independence, as required by the relevant chapters of the United Nations Charter, the Trusteeship Agreement¹⁰ and the Declaration on decolonization, the Territory is in mediocre—to speak mildly—shape economically and socially. The spirit of separatism has been implanted there. A policy designed to perpetuate domination by the administering Power is being implemented.

186. Military activities by the administering Power in the Territory of Micronesia are a serious threat not only to the Micronesians themselves but to the peoples of the countries of Asia and Oceania. I shall not adduce here many facts confirming this, as they are sufficiently well known to you.

187. As we draw closer to the time-limit arbitrarily established for the end of the trusteeship in Micronesia, the administering Power is increasing its efforts to dismember the Territory and to impose on parts of its various statuses of dependence. This policy is being implemented under the guise of the holding of various forms of "referendums" in the Territory. Responsibility for this is being shifted to the shoulders of the Micronesians themselves, who are blamed not only for not wishing to maintain the unity of Micronesia but also for wanting to remain under foreign domination.

188. Under the United Nations Charter, only the Security Council can decide on any change in the status of strategic Trust Territories, such as Micronesia. Unilateral actions by the administering Power in respect of a Trust Territory or parts thereof cannot be recognized as legitimate and having the force of law.

189. The Soviet Union is convinced that the people of Micronesia, like the peoples of other small colonial Territories, must as soon as possible be able to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The United Nations must take measures to ensure strict, unswerving compliance by the administering Power with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on decolonization. It must defend the inalienable right of the people of Micronesia to self-determination and independence. It must maintain the unity of the Territory.

190. The Soviet Union considers that, first and foremost, we must demand that States Members of the United Nations stop giving any economic and financial assistance to the racist régimes and comply with all previous decisions of the United Nations on this question. The Soviet Union supports the demands of the African States that there be strict compliance with the

¹⁰ For the text of the Agreement, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Second Year, Resolutions and Decisions, 1947, resolution 21 (1947)*.

arms embargo against the Republic of South Africa, that South Africa should be prevented from acquiring the nuclear weapon, and that the Security Council should adopt all the sanctions provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter against the Pretoria racist régime.

191. It is also indispensable that any interference in the affairs of small insular colonial Territories should be roundly condemned. We are convinced that these measures should be supported by all countries sincerely interested in the completion of the decolonization process and in the strengthening of peace and security.

192. The Soviet Union decisively supports the struggle for the peace and security of countries, for disarmament and for the strengthening of the political and economic independence of the developing countries. The Soviet Union is in favour of the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and equitable basis. The Soviet Union will continue to fight for the elimination of the remaining vestiges of racism and colonialism, for the attainment of genuine independence by the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and for the elimination of the policy and practices of *apartheid*. In connexion with the observance next year of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the historic Declaration on decolonization, we believe that 1980 should be celebrated with new successes in the struggle for the complete and final elimination of colonialism from the earth.

193. Mr. VUNIBOBO (Fiji): Members will recall that earlier in this session, on 2 November, the General Assembly adopted resolution 34/10, in paragraphs 7 and 8 of which the Assembly welcomed the joint commitment of the two administering Powers, namely, France and the United Kingdom, to the independence of the New Hebrides and noted their invitation to the Secretary-General to dispatch a mission to observe the elections in the Territory. The Assembly requested the Secretary-General, after consultation with the Chairman of the Fourth Committee, to "appoint a mission to observe the forthcoming elections in the Territory and to report thereon".

194. At the same meeting [52nd meeting], the President of the Assembly announced that, in accordance with the provisions cited, the Secretary-General had appointed Australia, the Ivory Coast, the United Republic of Cameroon and Fiji to the Mission. Subsequently, Mr. Ron S. Morris of Australia, Mr. Lobognon Pierre Yere of the Ivory Coast, Mr. Nkwelle Ekaney of the United Republic of Cameroon and myself from Fiji were designated by our respective Governments, with myself serving as Chairman.

195. In spite of other commitments during the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the members of the Mission, by pressing on and meeting at every opportunity, were able yesterday to complete the drafting of their report to the Secretary-General. We have of course begun the process that will lead to its submission to the Secretary-General and his subsequent issuance of the document.¹¹ Unfortunately,

given the brief time which remains, this may not be done before the General Assembly completes its work. Members of the Mission are of the view that it is incumbent upon them to make known, at least in essence, the conclusions we have reached following our trip to the Territory from 6 to 21 November of this year. The document will be made available in due course and will be open to discussion in the appropriate forums of the United Nations.

196. Given its mandate, the Mission held consultations with representatives of the administering Powers and prepared its itinerary departing on 6 November for Paris, where it was briefed by representatives of the French Government. It was prevented from flying to London to hold similar meetings with members of the United Kingdom Government, and therefore proceeded to Frankfurt by train to pick up its air transportation to the Territory, where it arrived on 11 November. It remained in the New Hebrides until 19 November. While there, it split into two groups to travel from the capital, Port Vila, to other principal islands in the archipelago, namely, Espiritu Santo, Malekula and Tanna, to observe the elections to the Representative Assembly and to the Regional Economic Councils in Santo and Tanna, which were held on 14, 15 and 16 November. Upon completing its tour of the New Hebrides, the Mission returned to Suva to begin work on the outline of its report. It departed from Fiji for New York on 21 November.

197. The Mission's report consists of five sections, one giving a brief introduction, a second setting out general information on the Territory, and a third on the consultations which the Mission held with representatives of the administering Powers, with the interim Government in the Territory and with representatives of the major political parties in the New Hebrides. This chapter ends with the Mission's observations and conclusions based on its consultations. A fourth chapter concerns the organization of the elections and the Mission's observation of their conduct.

198. Finally, there are general observations and conclusions formulated by the Mission concerning the elections which should be read in conjunction with other observations that the Mission makes throughout the report.

199. Given the nature of the terrain and the difficulty of transport and communications in the Territory, the Mission would like to pay a tribute to the representatives of the administering Powers, including the Resident Commissioners in the Territory, to the Government of National Unity and to the electoral officers for organizing the elections so efficiently.

200. The Mission was impressed by the absence of tension in those areas it was able to visit, as well as by the orderly nature of the proceedings it saw at the polling stations. The Mission was further impressed by the political awareness of the people of the New Hebrides, who clearly understood the issues involved and their importance for the future. The Mission was advised that its own presence contributed significantly to the peaceful manner in which the elections were held.

¹¹ Subsequently circulated as document A/34/852.

201. The Mission considers that the elections were fairly and freely conducted according to the electoral regulations set forth and is satisfied that the results truly reflect the will of the people. Although allegations have subsequently been made that pressures were brought to bear by interested parties, the Mission had no time to verify the truth or otherwise of these, and in any event it considers such pressures not uncommon in such situations.

202. In the course of its consultations with the political parties, the Mission was informed that a decision on the timing of independence would be taken by the newly-elected Government. The Resident Commissioners have indicated that the duration of the transitional period will be in accordance with the wishes of that Government. The preferred time, according to indications from all concerned, would seem to be the middle of 1980.

203. On behalf of the Mission, I should like to express its deep appreciation to the Governments of the administering Powers for the full co-operation and efficient assistance accorded it in New York, in Paris and in the Territory. The Mission wishes to convey its particular appreciation to the Resident Commissioners and their respective staffs in the Territory for their kindness and assistance in facilitating our task. It wishes to record its deep gratitude to the interim Government of Father Gérard Leymang, particularly since its visit came at a time when all were concerned with the critical period of the electoral campaign. The Mission's thanks go also to the various representatives of the political parties with which we met. Their helpful attitude and knowledge of the Territory and its problems contributed greatly to the Mission's understanding of issues during its brief stay in the Territory.

204. It is not usual in such a forum to pay a tribute to individuals, but I should like to pay a particular tribute, as Chairman of the Mission and on behalf of my colleagues who were members of the Mission, to the Secretariat staff—and especially to Mr. Wathen, the Principal Secretary, who is a veteran of this type of mission, and Miss Seymour, the Political Affairs Officer—and on my own behalf to Mr. Yere, Mr. Morris and Mr. Ekaney, for their competence and selfless devotion to duty and for their smiling and ebullient spirits—albeit somewhat dampened by the Pacific. We worked as a team and without their full support I would never have been able to complete the arduous assignment entrusted to me so satisfactorily and in such a brief span of time.

205. Mr. ORAMAS (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Today in the General Assembly we are considering the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [A/34/23/Rev.1, chap. I].

206. Because of the late hour, I would not wish to take up the time of my colleagues by stating the well-known position of Cuba in regard to all the problems of decolonization. Nevertheless, among the many colonial cases which the Special Committee considered during 1979, my delegation deems it necessary to draw attention to one, which is particularly painful

and sensitive for the peoples of Latin America. I refer, obviously, to the case of Puerto Rico, whose inalienable right to self-determination and independence continues to be denied by the colonial Power and which is referred to in the report of the Special Committee [*ibid.*, paras. 61-69].

207. From 13 to 15 August last, the Special Committee heard many petitioners representing various Puerto Rican organizations, who in their statements simply confirmed the status of dependency and colonialism prevailing in the sister Caribbean island.

208. The evaluation made by the Special Committee, on the basis of those statements and other evidence, was reflected in draft resolution A/AC.109/L.1342/Rev.1, which was later adopted by the Special Committee on 15 August 1979 as resolution A/AC.109/589.

209. My delegation deems it necessary to refer to two main features of the present situation in Puerto Rico. The first is beyond doubt the clear progress which the cause of the independence of Puerto Rico, in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV), has been making internationally and, in particular, in the Latin American continent.

210. Quite recently the people of Puerto Rico received a well-deserved accolade from the heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries, who held their sixth Conference from 3 to 9 September this year at Havana. After expressing, in their political declaration, "the conviction that colonialism in all its forms and manifestations must be eradicated from the Caribbean area", the heads of State or Government of more than 100 nations called upon the Government of the United States "to refrain from any political or repressive manoeuvres that tend to perpetuate the colonial status of Puerto Rico" [*see A/34/542, annex, sect. I, para. 160*]. At the same time, they demanded of the colonial authorities "the transfer of powers to the people of the territory so that they can freely determine their future political status" [*ibid.*, para. 163].

211. I wish to emphasize the unanimity of the Latin American countries members of the non-aligned movement on the question of Puerto Rico during the sixth Conference, held at Havana. The same was the case some weeks later when 18 social-democratic parties of Latin America, meeting at Oaxaca, Mexico, expressed their support for the holding of the second International Conference for Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico, which was held from 30 November to 2 December also in the brother Aztec country.

212. The spiralling support for the cause of the independence of Puerto Rico has been gaining intensity. The most recent proof of this was that second International Conference for Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico, successfully concluded in Mexico on 2 December last, with broad international representation.

213. A message of gratitude to the non-aligned movement for its solidarity and support, addressed to President Fidel Castro by the representatives at the Conference, emphasized

“the broad solidarity which attracts increasing numbers of sectors to support the struggle of the Puerto Rican people, a solidarity which is essential if we are to demand of the United States that it comply with the decisions of the United Nations Committee on decolonization”.

214. The results of that solidarity, in which our Special Committee has been playing a major role, have begun to be seen. One significant result has been the release of four nationalist Puerto Rican political prisoners, wrenched from the imperialist dungeons after a quarter of a century, thanks to the vast solidarity campaign organized for their release.

215. The second feature of the present situation to which I wish to refer is the increase in the repressive policy practised by the colonial Power in the Territory of Puerto Rico.

216. The Government of the United States has not taken a single concrete action to facilitate the exercise by the people of Puerto Rico of their right to self-determination and independence.

217. The sixth Conference of the non-aligned countries, held at Havana, condemned the manoeuvres to create a security force in the region, reiterated its condemnation of foreign military bases in the Caribbean and expressed its support for

“the Puerto Ricans who face prison sentences because of their resistance to the United States Navy’s occupation of the island municipality of Vieques and demanded that the Government of the United States cease this repressive action” [*ibid.*, para. 164].

218. The people of Puerto Rico, its humble farmers and fishermen, reject the occupation of Vieques by the United States Navy and claim their right to live and work in peace in that municipality without being affected by the naval manoeuvres of the colonial Power.

219. Several persons from Vieques who were detained have been transferred to American gaols, where they are still being held. One of them, a youth named Angel Rodríguez Cristóbal, was found dead on 11 November in strange circumstances in a gaol at Tallahassee, Florida. My delegation expresses fear for the physical well-being of two other young men, Ismael Guadalupe and Ramón Alicea, who for the same reason as the deceased Cristóbal are now imprisoned in a Philadelphia gaol.

220. The United Nations, and in particular its Special Committee on decolonization, must closely follow the development of recent events and continue to manifest unequivocal solidarity for the cause of the decolonization of Puerto Rico.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.