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Chairman: Mr. Théodore IDZUMBUIR
(Democratic Republic of the Congo).

*Tribute to the memory of Mr. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke,
President of the Somali Republic*

1. The CHAIRMAN said that it was with great sorrow that he had heard of the death of the President of the Somali Republic. On behalf of the Fourth Committee and in his own name, he offered his condolences to the family of the deceased and to the people and Government of Somalia.

On the proposal of the Chairman, the members of the Committee observed a minute's silence in tribute to the memory of Mr. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke, President of the Somali Republic.

2. Mr. ISSRAELIAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the deceased President of Somalia had been an eminent figure and a personality commanding great respect in the USSR, since under his guidance the Somali people had advanced to independence and freedom. On behalf of his own delegation and the delegations of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Poland, Bulgaria and Cuba, he expressed sincere condolences to the Somali delegation and asked it to convey them to the Government of Somalia and to the family of the deceased.

3. Mr. GATUGUTA (Kenya) said that the death of the President of Somalia, a champion of African unity and freedom, was a loss not only to his own country but to the African continent and the whole world. On behalf of his own delegation and that of Ethiopia, he expressed his condolences to the representative of Somalia.

4. Mr. CASTALDO (Italy) spoke of the ties of friendship and co-operation between his country and Somalia and

expressed the grief felt by his delegation, the delegation of Ireland and that of the United Kingdom at the death of Mr. Shermarke.

5. Mr. CALINGASAN (Philippines), Mr. ASIROGLU (Turkey) and Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) expressed their sorrow at the death of the President of Somalia.

6. Mr. SHAMMAS (Kuwait), speaking on behalf of all the Arab delegations, expressed their deepest sorrow to the people and Government of Somalia at the death of their President, which was a great loss to all the Afro-Asian countries. The Arab countries would never forget the help that that great statesman had provided in times of adversity. He asked the Somali delegation to convey their most heartfelt condolences to the family of the deceased and to the Somali people.

7. Mr. FERNANDEZ (Argentina), speaking on behalf of his own delegation and the delegations of Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Venezuela, Ecuador, Colombia and Bolivia, said that he thought he was interpreting the feelings not only of those delegations but all the delegations of Latin America in associating them with the words in which the Chairman of the Committee had expressed the sorrow of all members at the death of the President of Somalia. He hoped that the example of that great man would serve as an inspiration to his country and to the whole of Africa and he asked the Somali delegation to convey their feelings of grief to the family of the deceased President and to the Government of Somalia.

8. Mr. KACOU (Ivory Coast), speaking on behalf of his own delegation and the delegations of the African countries, expressed their most sincere condolences on the death of the President of Somalia, whose passing was mourned by all the countries of Africa. He asked the delegation of Somalia to convey their deepest sympathy to the family of the deceased President and to the Government and people of Somalia.

9. Mr. ABDILLEH (Somalia) said that he was deeply moved by the expressions of sympathy he had heard. He assured the Chairman and members of the Committee that their words would be conveyed to the people and Government of Somalia and to the family of the deceased.

Requests for hearings (continued)

REQUEST CONCERNING NAMIBIA (AGENDA ITEM 64)
(A/C.4/721/ADD.2)

10. The CHAIRMAN said that, if he heard no objections, he would take it that the Committee decided to grant the

request of Mr. Gottfried Hage Geingob, of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), for a hearing on the question of Namibia.

It was so agreed.

AGENDA ITEMS 64, 65 AND 102

Question of Namibia (*continued*) (A/7623/Add.2 and Corr.1)

Question of Territories under Portuguese administration (*continued*) (A/7623/Add.3, A/7694)

Question of Southern Rhodesia (*continued*) (A/7623/Add.1)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

11. Mr. SIMBANANIYE (Burundi) observed that, whereas the majority of the African countries were now masters of their own destiny, that was unfortunately not the case in South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese administration. Burundi's position in that respect had been clearly expressed by its President in 1967, when he had said that his country was resolved to support the Organization of African Unity, to intensify the struggle against colonialism and to give every possible encouragement to those who were fighting for freedom and independence. The Burundi delegation considered that solidarity in the struggle was the only effective weapon that could put an end to the nazism practised by South Africa, the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and the Lisbon Government.

12. It would seem that, nearly twenty-five years after the establishment of the United Nations, the circumstances in which the Organization had been brought into being had been forgotten. He referred to the purposes set forth in the United Nations Charter and to the contents of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. Like Hitler, the authorities of South Africa, Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia—the last-named supported by the United Kingdom—were in the name of racial superiority practising a policy which called for the extermination of the freedom fighters, the deportation and murder of innocent civilians and the exploitation of the wealth of the African continent, in disregard of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

13. Although the question of Namibia had been before the United Nations since 1946 and countless resolutions had been adopted on the subject, including Security Council resolution 269 (1969) of 12 August 1969, those resolutions had not been put into effect; South Africa was still occupying the Territory and, what was more, applying its policy of *apartheid* there.

14. In the past year, more than 2,000 people had left Namibia and sought refuge in Zambia to escape the repression to which the South African troops were subjecting the freedom fighters. South Africa, which could rely on the support of the very States that vehemently denounced

it in the United Nations, and which seemed to have converted to its ideology the very Powers that had fought nazism, would never respect the decisions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council; in fact, that country and its allies had succeeded in undermining the authority of the United Nations.

15. It might be asked whether the countries which had founded the United Nations had abandoned their determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". The Africans, who had fought against nazism side by side with the United States, France, the United Kingdom and their allies, would not tolerate the acceptance of the policies of Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon by the Western world. All Members of the United Nations must understand that the policy of extermination and spoliation practised in southern Africa was a negation of human values and dignity and that it seriously endangered future relations between the continents.

16. The delegation of Burundi called upon the United Nations to adopt the Manifesto on Southern Africa adopted at Lusaka,¹ in which it was proposed that South Africa should be expelled from the United Nations and from the specialized agencies. Moreover, in implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations should take vigorous steps to liberate southern Africa and to that end should give the peoples of that region greater moral and material support. The Security Council, for its part, should take effective action to put an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. In Southern Rhodesia, the United Kingdom could not disclaim its responsibility as administering Power; it should acknowledge that it was in its own interest not to abandon the people of Zimbabwe. The United Nations should apply all the provisions of Article 41 of the Charter, over and above the economic measures it had already adopted.

17. Mr. KHASSAWNEH (Jordan) said that the statements made by the various representatives had reflected common points of view regarding decolonization and the manner in which the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be applied. He also paid a tribute to the petitioners who had given testimony concerning the situation in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), and he reassured the peoples of those Territories that they had the support of all peace-loving countries. His own delegation would unreservedly support any proposal that would further the struggle of the peoples of those African countries.

18. The Jordanian delegation believed that the United Nations must find some means of implementing its resolutions to ensure the immediate withdrawal of the South African authorities from Namibia. The people of that Territory must be able to exercise their inalienable right to independence and self-determination. The main problem was not the lack of resolutions but their ineffectiveness. All States Members of the United Nations must respect the will of the Organization, and particularly those States that had been entrusted with a special responsibility within the structure of the United Nations.

¹ The text of the Manifesto was subsequently circulated as document A/7754.

19. With regard to the racist régime of Ian Smith, his delegation shared the idea expressed in the Committee that more effective measures should be taken simultaneously by the administering Power and the United Nations itself.

20. He also expressed his delegation's support for the liberation movements of the peoples under Portuguese domination, and he emphasized the paradox of great achievements being accomplished in space while many sufferings were still being inflicted upon the African peoples on the earth.

21. He further pointed out that, in the struggle for the independence of his own country, it had been observed that the colonial forces maintained a kind of co-ordination among themselves even though they sometimes paid lip-service to the oppressed peoples. That might be an important factor in the failure of the United Nations to have its resolutions implemented in various parts of the world.

22. It had been the experience of Jordan that the resolutions of the Security Council and General Assembly calling for the withdrawal of the forces of occupation from its territory had not met with any response. The Israel forces of occupation were encouraged to continue their defiance of the United Nations. All freedom and peace-loving peoples must therefore present a united front in order that colonialism might be eliminated.

23. Mr. OUEDRAOGO (Upper Volta) pointed out that the situation in Rhodesia, Namibia and the Territories under Portuguese administration was linked to a plan of international capitalism to hold back the emancipation of the African continent. Ever since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the welling-up of the irresistible wave of decolonization which had made it possible for many countries of Africa to obtain their sovereignty, the foreign monopolies had been trying to strengthen the last bastions of colonialism in southern Africa in order to continue their shameless plundering of its resources. The corner-stone of the capitalist plan was the racist minority régime of Pretoria. Through its policy of *apartheid*, it kept the indigenous peoples at a level which prevented them from directing the destinies of their countries; it pursued a systematic policy of white settlement of the most valuable lands, an example being the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam which would open the way for the settlement of about a million Whites; and it was concentrating all policy-making powers in the hands of the Whites, as was demonstrated by the recent adoption of the new constitution of Southern Rhodesia.

24. Ian Smith himself had said that he did not take seriously the system based on the principle of "one man, one vote" and that the difference between the Europeans and the Africans would indefinitely postpone the time when the latter could expect to achieve universal suffrage. It was thus unrealistic to hope that the cliques of Ian Smith, Vorster and other neo-nazis would contribute towards the emancipation of the peoples living under their domination.

25. Another element in the imperialist plan was the creation of a powerful military bloc in southern Africa in

order to contain the armed struggle of the liberation movements and even to threaten the territorial integrity of the neighbouring African States and thus weaken the firm resolve of the Organization of African Unity to give full support to the cause of the freedom fighters.

26. In 1969, the defence expenditure of South Africa would amount to \$380.2 million, which was seven times as much as in 1959 and \$28 million greater than in 1968. According to the news agency *Agence France-Presse* the value of South African arms purchases for the current year would be \$133 million. South Africa had launched its first guided missiles and had announced that it would strengthen its air power through the purchase of fighter, reconnaissance, bomber and other aircraft.

27. There could be no doubt about the military co-operation that existed between Portugal and South Africa. The Portuguese Minister of Defence had announced, after a discussion with his South African colleague, that Portugal, together with Angola and Mozambique, could join with South Africa in order to create a powerful bloc against outside aggression and thus contribute to the achievement of peace in that region of Africa. Everyone knew of the merchants who were arming South Africa against the African States so as to protect the interests of the foreign monopolies in southern Africa. They were attempting to profit from an arms race between the States of the region and thus help to hold back the economic development of those States.

28. The key figure in the plot of the foreign monopolies in southern Africa was South Africa itself, which was illegally occupying Namibia despite the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. His delegation rejected the arguments put forward by the Pretoria Government concerning Security Council resolution 269 (1969),² in which South Africa had been urged to withdraw from the Territory of Namibia before 4 October 1969.

29. The régime which had been imposed upon Southern Rhodesia by Ian Smith, and which was similar to the Pretoria régime, benefited from the complicity of the United Kingdom and, especially, from the support of South Africa. Various delegations, and in particular that of the United Arab Republic (1829th meeting), had clearly explained that the failure of the economic sanctions was due to the refusal of South Africa to respect them.

30. The action of South Africa in the Territories under Portuguese administration had likewise been exposed, owing, in particular, to the information provided by Mr. Khan (1828th meeting).

31. Pointing out that South Africa had been unmasked, he said that the members of the Committee must give evidence of their sincerity, because no one could at the same time be in favour of the aggressor and the aggressor's victim. His delegation appealed to all the fraternal States of Africa, Latin America and Asia not to allow themselves to be swayed by South Africa's present policy of broadening its diplomatic horizons and diversifying its alliances.

32. His delegation was concerned by rumours of the possibility of a southern-hemisphere defence pact under the

² See document S/9463, annex I.

auspices of South Africa in which Argentina, Brazil, Madagascar, New Zealand and Australia would participate. In that connexion, he quoted a news dispatch of the news agency *Agence France-Presse* concerning a visit by the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs to Brazil and Argentina. Reference was made in that dispatch to the prospect of a southern-hemisphere defence pact and to the visit to South Africa of Admiral Pedro A. Gnavi, the Commander-in-Chief of the Argentine Navy.

33. He expressed the hope that those rumors were without foundation, and he reiterated his country's unflagging support for the freedom fighters and its faith in the victory of those who were struggling to achieve recognition of their dignity and the independence of their countries.

34. Mr. ASIROGLU (Turkey) said that, although the next year would mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations and the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in southern Africa the sponsors of racism and *apartheid* refused to recognize the principles and ideals of the United Nations Charter, including the principle that all men were equal and had a right to dignity and respect, without distinction as to race, creed or colour.

35. The unceasing efforts of the United Nations to persuade the South African Government to change its attitude had been of no avail, owing to the inflexible attitude of that Government.

36. Likewise, the minority régime of Salisbury was intensifying its measures for the repression of the indigenous inhabitants, who constituted the majority of the population.

37. In Namibia, the situation was growing steadily worse and the South African Government stubbornly refused to recognize the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. In 1969, the South African Government had promulgated the South West Africa Affairs Act, which transferred the administrative, legislative and financial powers of the local authorities to the Republic of South Africa and made the Territory a province of South Africa.

38. The United Nations Council for Namibia, of which Turkey was a member, was unable to discharge its functions owing to the South African Government's defiance of the United Nations and its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia.

39. No positive action had been taken in the Territories under Portuguese Administration in response to General Assembly resolution 2395 (XXIII) of 29 November 1968. It was to be hoped that the Portuguese Government, which had supported the United Nations in other spheres, would ultimately apply the provisions of that resolution.

40. His delegation deplored the fact that, despite the efforts of the United Nations, human rights continued to be violated in various parts of the world. Turkey had always opposed racial discrimination and firmly supported the cause of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Likewise, it believed that good relations between States and the maintenance of peace depended essentially on universal

respect of human rights and recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination.

41. His delegation had carefully studied the Lusaka Manifesto,³ which had been approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and submitted to the General Assembly (1780th plenary meeting) by the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon. The realism, wisdom and spirit of conciliation of the Manifesto constituted an assurance for the white inhabitants of southern Africa, because the Governments proclaiming it had solemnly reaffirmed a policy which rejected racism and discrimination and which respected human dignity without distinction as to race, creed or colour.

42. Consequently, the Manifesto refuted the argument that the policy of *apartheid* was justified by the Whites' fear that they would be exterminated if the majority took power.

43. If the example of African countries where Whites and Blacks lived in complete harmony and equality did not suffice to dispel that fear, it was to be hoped that it would be dispelled by the wisdom and the spirit of conciliation of the Lusaka Manifesto, which was based on confidence and understanding. His delegation hoped that the common sense reflected in that document would enlighten those who were pursuing the policy of oppression and would do away with the hateful concept of *apartheid*, so that Africans, black and white, could build a better world, without discrimination or bitterness.

44. Mrs. JIMENEZ (Cuba) said that there was a close understanding between the three racist régimes, which served as a tool for a collective imperialism that was obviously directed from North America. In that region colonialism and racism were redoubling their efforts and conspiring to carry out the most heinous acts in order to retain their position and to close ranks in order to prevent self-determination by the colonial peoples. While South Africa and Southern Rhodesia were strengthening their alliance in order to despoil and exploit the African people, Portugal and its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) continued to defy the United Nations and were murdering Africans in Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), in a genocidal crusade reminiscent, although on a smaller scale, of that which the Yankee imperialists were carrying out in Viet-Nam. In both regions, imperialists and racists defied all the moral principles and international laws which they claimed to defend.

45. The racist minority of South Africa was extending the sinister doctrine of *apartheid* to Namibia and ignoring the provisions of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations, with a total disregard for international public opinion. Nothing deterred South Africa from its purpose of keeping the Namibian people under the inhuman régime of colonial exploitation.

46. Economic expansion in the Territory continued, to the advantage of the racist white minority. For the African majority, that economic boon meant only exploitation,

³ See foot-note 1.

suffering, illiteracy, racial discrimination and endless humiliation. All doors were closed to the people of Namibia, and to those of Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies, for an equitable solution of the problems resulting from colonial domination, which was supported by the economic interests and the military force of imperialism. The racist régimes were not the only exploiters of the peoples of southern Africa; the origins of foreign companies such as Tidal Diamonds, owned by Consolidated Diamond Mines and the Getty Oil Company, the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company, a subsidiary of the United States Gulf Oil Corporation and other undertakings revealed the forces hidden behind the colonialists of southern Africa.

47. Referring to the situation of the colonialist régimes, she said that, according to the report by Professor Elliot Zupnick (A/AC.115/L.267), between 1962 and 1968 the value of South Africa exports had increased by 57 per cent and that of imports by 85 per cent. According to the *Financial Times* of 15 January 1969, the total value of foreign investments in South Africa at the end of 1966 was \$5,313 million, which represented an increase of 10 per cent over 1965. Of that total amount, approximately 84 per cent consisted of investments by the private sector and the rest represented government obligations and investments by the banking sector; profits accruing from direct investments by the private sector which had subsequently been reinvested accounted for 37 per cent of the total amount.

48. The imperialist and colonialist front continued to strengthen its political, economic and military power in that part of Africa through the traditional method of monopolistic investments. The General Assembly and the Security Council had adopted various resolutions which the racist régimes had treated as a joke and which had caused the Organization to lose prestige. Thus it was pointless to take decisions asking Member States to break off their economic and political relations with those régimes, if the main exporting and importing countries disregarded those decisions. According to Professor Zupnick, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan provided the market for some 60 per cent of South African exports and supplied South Africa with 60 per cent of its imports. Despite the appeals of the United Nations, foreign investments in South Africa had increased. For example, the flow of capital from the United States between 1964 and 1966 amounted to \$212 million, which brought the value of North American assets in South Africa to \$697 million.

49. Her delegation considered that the imperialist interests that were exploiting Africa's natural resources contrasted with the good intentions of some Member States which wished to settle the questions of Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese administration by peaceful means, through the United Nations. It was convinced that the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes would not put an end to their policy, because there were more important vested interests which were opposed to any attempt by the Organization to emulate the heroic freedom fighters. The freedom and independence of those peoples *would not be won by United Nations resolutions*, which were ineffective, as the experience of recent years had shown. Armed force was the only means by which the

inalienable right to self-determination could be exercised. The legal way had been closed to the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), and it was the guerrilla fighters who were making progress in the struggle for freedom.

50. Her delegation unconditionally supported those peoples' struggle for freedom and called upon all Africans and upon the free countries of the world to give moral and material support to the fighters, whose motto was victory or death.

51. Miss IMRU (Ethiopia) said that in southern Africa the cause of liberty, equality and justice, which her country had always upheld, was being stifled in order to satisfy the wishes of racist régimes such as those of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and to accommodate the anachronistic ideas of the Portuguese Government. The endeavours to persuade those Governments to change their attitude had proved futile; the coercive measures which had been attempted had also failed and the collective will of the United Nations to ensure peace, freedom and independence appeared to reach its lowest ebb when it was a question of eliminating one of the last vestiges of colonial rule. Yet all the indigenous peoples of those Territories wanted was the restoration of the fundamental rights of which they had been deprived.

52. By all the standards established under international agreements, Namibia should have become an independent and sovereign State in its own right long ago. Instead, the international community could see that South Africa had failed to implement the Mandate which had been entrusted to it and the international obligations which it had contracted, and was systematically applying its policy of *apartheid* in the Territory, crushing all attempts at resistance by its people in an effort to exercise their fundamental rights, and destroying all the hopes they might have for the future.

53. Portugal's response to the legitimate demand for independence of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) had been to send more guns, and to increase the pillaging and bloodshed. There was no sign whatever that Portugal intended to lead the African peoples of those Territories to independence.

54. In Southern Rhodesia, the minority white settlers had taken the law into their own hands and were terrorizing the Africans, since the United Kingdom Government refused to face up to its responsibilities and was following a vacillating and equivocal policy. The mandatory economic sanctions imposed on Southern Rhodesia in an attempt to put an end to the illegal régime had failed and the reports of the Committee established under Security Council resolution 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968 showed that, generally speaking, the sanctions were not being applied. Otherwise, a small territory such as Rhodesia, which depended entirely on its import and export trade, could not have survived such a serious blow to its economy.

55. Her delegation had never entertained any hopes that South Africa and Portugal would collaborate with the United Nations in that respect, despite their obligation to do so under the Charter. The Committee's reports had also

shown that various countries, while appearing to apply the sanctions, were failing to prevent some of their nationals from carrying out transactions with Rhodesia through intermediaries. In that connexion, it should be pointed out that some members of the international community, including some important members of the Security Council, continued to maintain consular representation in Rhodesia. Those relations did not assist the cause of the African population of the Territory. Even if those countries had genuinely hoped—against all reason—that by some miracle the Salisbury régime could have been prevailed upon to change its policy, the imposition in Southern Rhodesia of a system of *apartheid* and the increasingly repressive measures which the illegal régime was taking against the freedom fighters showed that those hopes were in vain. The situation obtaining in southern Africa thus represented a complete denial of the principle of human dignity and equality by racist minority groups which were endeavouring to perpetuate the worst forms of colonial rule; its outcome would depend on the measures taken by the United Nations to discharge the responsibility which it had assumed towards the colonized peoples.

56. One of the important points made by the Manifesto on Southern Africa,⁴ adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU at the beginning of September 1969 at Addis Ababa and submitted to the General Assembly (1780th plenary meeting) by the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, was that the hostility of the African countries towards the colonialism and racial discrimination practised in southern Africa was based on their commitment to human equality and dignity, and that on the basis of that commitment they appealed to other members of the human race for support. In view of that Manifesto, his delegation urged the members of the international community to review their stand on the question of southern Africa and to assist the defenceless people of those Territories to regain the dignity which they deserved. His delegation was ready, for its part, to co-operate with the members of the Committee to find the most effective ways of putting an end to the deplorable situation which had existed in that region for over a century.

57. Mr. SEROBABA (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the Territories under Portuguese administration was well known. The South African régime and the Southern Rhodesian and Portuguese racists refused to comply with the decisions of the United Nations, were forming a military and colonialist bloc and, with the support of Western imperialism, were harshly exploiting the peoples of those Territories. That was borne out by various United Nations documents, the Manifesto on Southern Africa submitted to the General Assembly by the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon and the statements of the petitioners.

58. An international symposium had recently been held at Alma Ata (USSR) on Lenin's ideas on national liberation movements and the present stage of social progress in the developing countries, at which many anti-colonialist and anti-racist organizations, including the Organization for the Solidarity of the Asian and African Peoples, the Frente de

Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) and the Party for the Angolan National Liberation Movement, had been represented, and the information on the heroic struggle of the peoples of southern Africa against colonialism had aroused great interest in the Ukraine.

59. The United Nations should isolate the racist and colonialist régimes and should see that they complied with its resolutions. At the same time, all troops should be withdrawn from foreign territories and all measures aimed at suppressing liberation movements should cease, in accordance with the draft appeal to all the States of the world submitted to the First Committee at the present session by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/C.1/L.468).

60. On the other hand, it was well known that the outcome of liberation struggles depended upon the support provided by world public opinion. The United Nations should therefore supply information on the present situation in southern Africa and make it clear who was responsible. It should be made known to everybody that the napalm and other weapons used to repress the peoples of Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) came from the arsenals of NATO, and it should be stated clearly that the United States, the United Kingdom and other States Members of the United Nations were playing a double game; for example, the United States maintained a consulate in Salisbury, and the information published in the American and British press showed the assistance provided by the Governments of those countries to the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia. Publicity should also be given to the activities of the liberation movements in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) to shed light on the struggle for liberty in those territories; that would also be of considerable assistance to the cause for which the African peoples were fighting.

61. Information coming from the United Nations would be of special value as it would not be distorted, and it was therefore necessary to carry out the relevant decisions that had already been adopted, but which, it would seem, were not being fully implemented. That type of information was given full dissemination in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

62. In 1970 in particular—the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples—the peoples of the world should be informed about the progress of decolonization and about the situation prevailing in the Territories still subject to colonial rule; the United Nations should therefore issue special communiqués and hold press conferences.

63. The Ukrainian SSR had always taken a clear and consistent position in that field. Together with the other socialist countries, the Ukrainian SSR was putting into practice the Leninist doctrine of supporting the struggle for liberation from colonialism and racism. The United Nations must request the countries members of NATO, particularly the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, to cease providing any assistance to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa until they had abandoned their present policies; it should also publicize the activities of the international monopolies,

⁴ *Idem*.

while the specialized agencies, for their part, should stop the flow of assistance to South Africa and Portugal and direct it, on the contrary, to the liberation movements. In that connexion, he pointed out that, although the United Nations had recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the liberation movements, the specialized agencies were not granting them assistance. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the sanctions applied to Southern Rhodesia alone had not been successful and that, in order to be effective, they would have to be applied to Portugal and South Africa as well.

64. The Ukrainian SSR, which had supported and would continue to support movements for national liberation, hoped that the time would soon come when colonialism would come to an end and when the peoples now subjugated could enjoy their rights

65. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) said that the Committee was considering the most acute colonial problems, the positive solution of which would help to accelerate the process of decolonization as a whole. The problems of Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies required an urgent solution because they involved not only a violation of human rights but also a threat to international peace and security.

66. Racist régimes were receiving assistance from world imperialism, which hoped to make southern Africa a bastion of colonialism and racism against the onslaught of African liberation movements.

67. The racist régime of Ian Smith was not being overthrown; the racist Government of South Africa continued to occupy Namibia despite the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations, and the Portuguese colonialists were intensifying their war against freedom fighters and were endangering the territorial integrity of neighbouring States.

68. He quoted the statement made by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization concerning the gravity of the situation prevailing in southern Africa, which presented "a most serious challenge to the collective will and, indeed, to the very authority of the United Nations" (A/7601/Add.1, para. 161).

69. The problems of Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese administration had much in common. The régimes in power were presenting a united front against the African liberation movements and were not implementing the resolutions of the Security Council or the General Assembly calling for the freedom and independence of the peoples of those Territories, or the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

70. Likewise, the assistance given those régimes by the imperialist countries was undermining all efforts aimed at freedom and independence. That was to be explained by the great profits which those countries were drawing from southern Africa and by the strategic value of leaving bases in that region.

71. According to information in the press, the investments of monopolies of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany amounted to some \$5,000 million annually. Yearly profits ran as high as 20 per cent. The racist régimes were encouraging such activities because through them they financed their efforts to put down the liberation movements.

72. Despite the decisions of the General Assembly to request Member States to refrain from providing military assistance to the régimes of southern Africa, companies in the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the United States were providing South Africa and Portugal with arms and war materials. South Africa, for its part, with the assistance of the Federal Republic of Germany, was producing armaments and poison gas.

73. It had been pointed out 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 that Southern Rhodesia and Portugal were combining their military operations; that was further proof that the colonial régimes were acting in unison against the liberation movements.

74. The situation of the Territories under Portuguese administration was becoming steadily worse. The change of Government in Portugal had not altered the situation, and the rumours of liberalization were nothing but a smoke-screen. He referred to an article appearing in the *New York Times* of 7 October 1969, entitled "Both Sides on Mozambique War Still Determined After 5 Years", according to which the Prime Minister of Portugal, Mr. Caetano, had said that his country would never waver in its determination to carry on the fight and to spare Portuguese Africa the calamities of a phony independence.

75. Of Portugal's army of 180,000 men, 130,000 were in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). The great number of military bases and the presence of those troops constituted a threat to the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of the independent States of Africa.

76. With regard to Southern Rhodesia, his delegation agreed with the Secretary-General (A/7601/Add.1, para. 164) that the attitude of Southern Rhodesia, which had continued to defy the administering Power and the international community, further aggravated the existing threat to international peace and security in southern Africa and called for a positive response from both the administering Power and the United Nations. The new constitution of Southern Rhodesia affirmed Ian Smith's policy of racial segregation. Even Sir Roy Welensky, former Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, had criticized the adoption of the constitution and said that it had closed the door to Africans for ever.

77. The authorities of South Africa were not only continuing illegally to occupy the Territory of Namibia, but were trying to annex it permanently, in flagrant violation of its international status. The United Nations must adopt radical measures to ensure the immediate withdrawal of South Africa from the Territory and remove the obstacles that were preventing the people of the region from attaining freedom and independence and, in particular, to

check the harmful activities of the monopolies, ensure the withdrawal of foreign forces and liquidate the military bases. The Organization should also take measures to compel the colonialists to comply with its decisions with regard to the Territories.

78. His delegation believed that if assistance of all kinds was given to the peoples who were struggling to exercise their right to self-determination, if a complete boycott was carried out against the racist régimes and if the support they received from some States Members of the United Nations was ended, the peoples of those Territories would be able to attain the freedom to which they had so long aspired.

79. He reaffirmed the solidarity of the people and Government of Mongolia with the valiant inhabitants of the

Territories of southern Africa, whose legitimate struggle to free themselves from colonial domination they supported. His delegation was prepared to assist in the drafting of measures designed to bring a favourable solution to the question of southern Africa.

Organization of work

80. The CHAIRMAN said he had received a letter from the President of the General Assembly, by which she had transmitted a letter from the Chairman of the Committee on Conferences referring to operative paragraphs 7 (b) and 9 of General Assembly resolution 2239 (XXI) of 20 December 1966, and drew the attention of the Committee to the provisions of those paragraphs.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.