

2127th meeting

Friday, 10 October 1975, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. Ladislav ŠMÍD (Czechoslovakia).

A/C.3/SR.2127

In the absence of the Chairman, Mrs. Burnley, United Republic of Cameroon, Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 77

Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights: report of the Secretary-General (continued) (A/10156 and Add.1)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. BROAD (United Kingdom), replying to the comments made by the representative of the Libyan Arab Republic concerning Brunei at the Committee's preceding meeting, pointed out that only two days earlier, in a broadcast speech, the Brunei Head of Government had once again emphasized that Brunei had full internal self-government and that no outside bodies had any right to meddle in its affairs. He had gone on to say that Brunei had peace and prosperity but that there were those on the outside who were envious and gave shelter to those who wished to disturb its peace. The people of Brunei, he had also stated, must therefore remain watchful against trouble-makers. The remarks made by the representative of the Libyan Arab Republic had therefore been out of place and erroneous, and his delegation referred that representative to the letter dated 26 September 1975 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the Secretary-General,¹ which set out Brunei's constitutional status very clearly.

2. The United Kingdom believed that equal rights and self-determination of peoples meant that all peoples had the right to determine their political status without external interference and to pursue their economic, social and cultural development. Moreover, sovereign States had the right to develop as they wished without the constraints of alien domination or the threat of the use of force against them. Similarly, it should not be forgotten as was mentioned in the reply of the USSR in the addendum to the report of the Secretary-General (A/10156/Add.1), that minorities and separate States within States could need protection and special provisions. The United Kingdom fully recognized the rights of peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories to determine their own constitutional future, and its policy had been based on the principle of assisting the progressive and orderly development of free political institutions in dependent Territories.

3. The United Kingdom had rightly been most concerned about the situation of African peoples which had still to exercise their right to self-determination. At the preceding

session his delegation had given, at the 2088th meeting of the Third Committee on 12 November 1974, a detailed account of United Kingdom policy on Southern Rhodesia, and, in a statement to the Fourth Committee at its 2134th meeting on 30 September 1975, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations had emphasized that his Government was pledged to accept no solution to the Rhodesian constitutional problem which was not acceptable to the African majority. Accordingly, his Government had expanded dramatically its assistance and awards to Rhodesian African students to prepare them for the posts of responsibility which would be theirs when majority rule was achieved.

4. With reference to the question of Namibia, he referred to the statement made by the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs at the 2358th plenary meeting of the Assembly on 20 September 1975, in which he had expressed his country's deep concern that the inhabitants of that territory as a whole should be given an opportunity to express their views freely on their political and constitutional future, with all political groups being allowed to take part peacefully in the process of self-determination. He had further indicated that there were some signs that the South African Government was taking a new look at its policies towards Namibia, although it was clear that movement in that direction was not taking place quickly enough, and his Government looked to South Africa to make clear and positive progress without delay.

5. The United Kingdom welcomed Portugal's efforts to hand over political power to her dependent Territories, and recognized the difficulties it faced in Angola. To help ease those difficulties, his country was willing to contribute in practical ways, for example, in the provision of relief and medical aid for refugees and in assistance with the evacuation of those members of the Portuguese community who wished to leave. However, the responsibility of trying to ensure a smooth and peaceful transfer of power remained with Portugal, and he expressed the hope that the Portuguese could persuade the liberation movements to settle their political differences.

6. Referring to smaller Territories which were on the path to self-determination, he said that in certain circumstances self-determination was not synonymous with independence. A large number of the remaining United Kingdom Territories were small, and some extremely isolated. The development of their free political institutions must take place in accordance with the particular circumstances of each Territory. The United Kingdom therefore stood ready to grant independence to any of those Territories which had asked for it, but would not force independence on those which had not. It was for the people themselves to decide whether their interests would be best served by full independence or whether they would be better served by

¹ See A/10269.

some other formula. As stated in the Charter, the interests of the inhabitants must be paramount. That principle also applied with regard to one United Kingdom dependency whose people were held back from longed-for independence by the persistence of a neighbour in asserting an unwarranted claim over its territory. In the Territory to which he referred, 12 years had passed since the introduction of full internal self-government, which had been intended to be no more than a transitional stage before early independence and the final realization of the people's right to self-determination.

7. His Government wished to co-operate with the United Nations in securing the application of the principle of self-determination. If United Nations resolutions were to be effective, they must be based as much as possible on mutual co-operation between the Government concerned and the relevant United Nations body, so that the resolutions could be realistic and take into account the actual situation in each Territory. The United Kingdom had always provided the Organization with the information called for under Article 73 *e* of the Charter, and it had a policy of full co-operation with the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In accordance with that policy the United Kingdom Government had invited a United Nations visiting mission to go to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands in August 1974 to observe the referendum on the constitutional future of the two groups of islands. For information on the mission, he referred to the comprehensive report in annex I to chapter XXI of 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 covering its work during 1974,² and drew attention in particular to paragraphs 5 and 10, the latter of which expressed the mission's deep appreciation to the United Kingdom Government for the close co-operation and assistance it had received throughout its visit.

8. In May of the current year the United Kingdom Government had invited a similar mission of the Special Committee to visit Montserrat. A wealth of detail on the mission was provided in chapter XXVIII of the report of the Committee covering its work during 1975 (A/10023 and addenda); paragraph 16 of the report of the mission also recorded its deep appreciation to the United Kingdom Government for its close co-operation and assistance.

9. In each of the above-mentioned cases the paragraphs referred to clearly showed that the outcome of the missions was entirely successful, which confirmed his delegation's view that, given political goodwill and willingness among all parties to co-operate in a fair, impartial and objective manner, a visiting mission concerned with furthering human rights could make an effective contribution not only to promoting the fundamental human right of self-determination but also to furthering the equally fundamental human rights mentioned in Article 55 of the Charter and spelt out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That was of the utmost importance in relation to other items on the agenda, and in particular item 12, in

connexion with which his delegation would participate in the discussion on the question of human rights in Chile.

10. Mrs. TAIROVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the Soviet Union's position on the question under discussion was based on the teaching of Lenin, who had paid great attention to the problems of the national liberation movement and the realization of the right of peoples to self-determination. Recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination was part of the very foundation of the Soviet State. The "Declaration of the rights of the peoples of Russia" adopted in November 1917 had proclaimed the equality and sovereignty of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the right of each of them to free self-determination. The Soviet Union had persistently and consistently striven to confirm the right of peoples to self-determination as one of the fundamental principles of international law. It had initiated the move to include a provision on the right of peoples to self-determination in the charter of the United Nations as one of the basic principles of the organization. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)) had been adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union and contributed to the liberation of many colonial countries and peoples. No one could any longer deny that the right of the peoples to self-determination constituted the foundation of human rights and fundamental freedoms and was one of the norms of contemporary international law. The confirmation of that principle had required determined efforts by the socialist and non-aligned States in United Nations bodies. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights had been weakened because the opponents of that principle had prevented the inclusion of a reference to it in the text. It was important to note that it had been through the joint efforts of the socialist and non-aligned countries that a provision on the right of peoples to self-determination had been included in common article 1 of the International Covenants on Human Rights (General Assembly resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex).

11. The collapse of the colonial system and the formation of independent sovereign States as the result of the national liberation struggle of the peoples was inspiring evidence of the triumph of the principle of self-determination. The year 1975 would go down in history as the year of the triumph of the just cause of the peoples of Indo-China. That victory had resulted above all from their own efforts and national heroism and, at the same time, had been a success for all the peace-loving and progressive forces which had unfailingly shown solidarity with and given support to the struggle. The Soviet Union had fulfilled its international duty to the people of Viet-Nam by giving them all-round assistance in their fight for freedom and national independence.

12. As a result of the heroic struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and Angola, and the victory of the democratic movement in Portugal itself, Portuguese colonialism had collapsed. Very recently the Comoro Archipelago had entered the ranks of independent States, and the admission of Papua New Guinea to the United Nations was taking place that very day. The struggle of the peoples for freedom, political and economic independence and social progress and for the

² Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 23.

liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism was continuing. However, the facts indicated that the forces of imperialism, colonialism and racism had not ceased their efforts to prevent peoples from exercising their rights to self-determination and to suppress the struggle for national liberation. Many delegations in the Committee had rightly demanded the adoption of immediate and effective measures against the racist régimes in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia. The racist régime of South Africa was stubbornly ignoring the demands of the United Nations and, in an attempt to preserve racism, was subjecting millions of people to cruel oppression and humiliation. It was flagrantly violating elementary human rights and freedoms on a massive scale and was trampling on the right of peoples to self-determination. It was essential that the General Assembly should again sharply condemn the policy of the Bantustans which was being substituted for self-determination. The United Nations Council for Namibia, and also the General Assembly, had condemned the policy of the South African régime in Namibia.

13. The continuing occupation of the Arab territories by the Israeli aggressors was also a flagrant violation of the right of peoples to self-determination; the Soviet Union consistently and resolutely advocated the realization of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including its right to the establishment of its own State.

14. The important decisions aimed at the realization of the right of the peoples to self-determination adopted by United Nations bodies would undoubtedly contribute to the attainment of that end, although even more favourable results would be obtained if all States strictly and consistently implemented the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the appropriate decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. In that connexion, it would be useful to see how the provisions of General Assembly resolution 3246 (XXIX), especially those embodied in paragraphs 8 and 9, were being implemented. The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, in paragraph 184 of its report,³ condemned the Governments and economic interests which collaborated with the South African régime. It also drew attention to the increasing links between Israel and that régime and the violations of resolutions of the General Assembly. The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had strongly deplored the increasing collaboration between certain States and the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia in a resolution on the question of Southern Rhodesia adopted at its 1008th meeting, on 17 June 1975, which is reproduced in chapter IX of its report (A/10023/Add.2), and had also called for strict compliance with the sanctions imposed by the Security Council. In conclusion (2) contained in chapter V of its report (A/10023, part III) it had stressed the domination of foreign companies and transnational corporations over the economies of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia. The report also indicated, in conclusion (7), that NATO continued to provide massive assistance to the illegal Salisbury régime. It was significant that the Council of Europe, in its reply to the Secretary-General's questionnaire (see A/10156), had admitted that it had taken no action for the implementa-

tion of General Assembly resolution 3246 (XXIX). Those were the facts and they were more telling than the most eloquent speeches.

15. In its reply to the Secretary-General's questionnaire (see A/10156/Add.1), the Soviet Union had indicated that it was strictly and consistently implementing all decisions of the United Nations relating to the right of peoples to self-determination, including General Assembly resolution 3246 (XXIX). During its visit to the Soviet Union in May 1975, the delegation of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* had expressed appreciation of the consistent support rendered by the Soviet Union to the struggle for the liberation of South Africa from the domination of the Nazi racist régime of Pretoria.

16. True to the Leninist principles of self-determination and the equal rights of the peoples, the Soviet Union firmly and consistently advocated freedom, national independence and the speedy and complete liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism and racism in southern Africa.

17. Mr. YEPES (Ecuador) said that his delegation wished to reiterate its full support for the right of all peoples to self-determination and its endorsement of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV). Ecuador was deeply concerned at the irrational resistance of the present leaders of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa to the desire of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants for a government which would reflect their culture and traditions and it hoped that the efforts of the United Nations to eradicate the segregationist policy of *apartheid* would be successful. It was also concerned at the uncertain internal situation in Angola and hoped that the United Nations administration in Namibia would not be extended indefinitely, since the peoples of both those African territories deserved to exercise their right to self-government as soon as possible. Finally, it hoped that Spanish domination in the Western Sahara and French domination in so-called French Somaliland would come to an end so that the whole of Africa would finally be free and sovereign and would be able to play its part in the struggle of the countries of the third world for economic and social progress.

18. It was particularly encouraging to Latin America that Surinam was soon to gain political independence; that Territory was one of the last colonial enclaves in South America, along with French Guiana.

19. Ecuador, since the establishment of the United Nations and in particular during the discussions which led to the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and on the basis of its own experience of nearly three centuries of colonial domination, recognized and supported the efforts of the peoples who were still under such domination or were being denied the possibility of effecting national self-determination. It therefore supported the universal application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and of the relevant provisions of the International Covenants on Human Rights.

20. Mrs. SHAHANI (Philippines) said that her Government continued to support General Assembly resolution

³ *Ibid.*, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 22.

1514 (XV) and the programme of action for its full implementation (resolution 2621 (XXV)). It maintained no relations of any kind with the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. She recalled that the World Boxing Association had decided not to hold its annual convention in Manila in September-October 1975 because her Government had decided not to admit South African delegates unless they denounced *apartheid* and racism; the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* had written to commend her Government on its action. Furthermore, Philippine Airlines and Air Manila had advised the International Association of Travel Agencies, in June 1974 and June 1975 respectively, that they had ceased to be parties to all air agreements with Southern Rhodesia.

21. Her Government continued to extend not only political but also financial assistance to the oppressed peoples of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia through the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Institute for Namibia, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In the Credentials Committee at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, of which a member of her delegation had been Chairman, the Philippines had voted in favour of the rejection of the credentials of the South African delegation; at the 2281st plenary meeting of the Assembly, on 12 November 1974, it had also voted in favour of the decision to suspend that delegation from participation in the work of the General Assembly. As a member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and as a State party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, her delegation supported the legitimate right of the peoples of southern Africa to self-determination and independence. It had also made pledges of financial assistance to Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Papua New Guinea and Sao Tome and Principe in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 3339 (XXIX) and 3340 (XXIX). It welcomed the admission to membership of the United Nations of the newly independent State of Papua New Guinea.

22. During the period that had elapsed since its own accession to independence, the Philippines had come to realize that, as President Marcos had stressed in an address in September 1975, self-reliance and non-interference in the affairs of other countries must be the national policy of every State.

23. Ms. WHITE (United States of America) said that 1975 was a significant year for the principle of self-determination. Another colonial empire had relaxed its grip and come to an end, as a result of which three new Member States, Cape Verde, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe had joined the organization. Her delegation welcomed them as the most recent example of the fulfilment of a legitimate historic yearning for self-determination. Her delegation also extended a hearty welcome to Papua New Guinea, which at that very moment was about to become a Member of the United Nations, and commended Australia, as the Administrator of that former Trust Territory, and the leaders of Papua New Guinea on the successful completion of their task.

24. The current year also had a special meaning for Americans. It marked the bicentennial of what were perhaps the first blows struck for self-determination—the action of American patriots at Lexington and Concord 200 years earlier. Since self-determination was a principle so fundamental to her country's own nationhood, it had found reflection in United States foreign policy. In the early nineteenth century, the United States had been among the first to recognize the new republics of Latin America, and in the twentieth century, both President Woodrow Wilson and President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had incorporated the principle of self-determination in basic international declarations, the programme comprising "Fourteen Points" for an international settlement set forth by the former in a speech on 8 January 1918, and the Atlantic Charter of 1941. Since the end of the Second World War her country had supported the efforts of peoples in Africa, Asia and the western hemisphere to exercise their right of self-determination, and had sought to contribute through economic assistance to their efforts to build new countries on the basis of that right. It would continue to do so. History had recorded that those efforts of American patriots in 1775 had been merely the first steps in a march of historic proportions. That struggle had been carried forward by other men and women around the globe who had shared the belief that the future of a people should rest in the hands of that people.

25. Although the process of self-determination had made great strides in the past quarter of a century, it was not yet complete. The United Nations very rightly continued to focus the spotlight of world attention upon those peoples which had not yet had the opportunity to make their free choice. Of particular concern was the situation in Namibia, in connexion with which the United States Secretary of State had just a month earlier reaffirmed United States support (see the 2355th plenary meeting, held on 22 September 1975) of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice dated 21 June 1971⁴ upholding the General Assembly's 1966 decision, in its resolution 2145 (XXI), terminating the South African mandate for Namibia. He had gone on to state that the United States would take no steps that would legitimize South Africa's administration of the Territory, and that it had repeatedly protested against violations of the rights of black Namibians, who should be given the opportunity to express their views freely, and under United Nations supervision, on the political and constitutional structure of their country. With reference to Southern Rhodesia, the United States also opposed the illegal régime based on white supremacy, and was doing its part through the United Nations to work towards the goal of self-determination. It hoped that the courageous efforts of African leaders to bring the parties together would bear fruit.

26. Referring to her country's experience in the exercise of self-determination, she noted that it had begun with a Declaration of Independence asserting its freedom from foreign domination, and had continued with a Constitution guaranteeing the freedom and independence of its citizens.

⁴ *Legal consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

Self-determination had therefore become the foundation upon which its freedoms had been constructed, and its struggle against foreign rule had ended in the establishment of a Government responsible to the people. Her country had found a source of encouragement in the fact that the truths it had learned from its own national history had also been given life in the histories of other peoples, and she noted that freedom among nations was incomplete unless there was also freedom within nations.

27. At the seventh special session of the General Assembly, the United States had joined other countries in constructive steps to lessen economic insecurity and inequality among peoples. Her country had told the developing nations, in particular, that it heard their voices, embraced their hopes, and would join their efforts. Self-determination, economic security, racial justice, human rights, full equality regardless of sex—each of those great goals was an essential element of human dignity. On all of them, the voice of the United Nations should be heard.

28. Miss NURU (United Republic of Tanzania) said that when the General Assembly, at its fifteenth session, had adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples it had expected that by the thirtieth session, 15 years later, no people would still be languishing under colonial domination. That hope had not been realized, but the Declaration had not been without effect. Many countries had emerged from colonialism to become independent in the 1960s and, at the current session, the General Assembly had welcomed four new Members, which were all former dependent Territories. However, it could not be said that the pace of accession to independence by colonial peoples had been satisfactory, because some countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America were still struggling for freedom from colonialism, imperialism and oppression.

29. Self-determination and independence could not be brought about through mere declarations and resolutions. The people of Mozambique, who were now represented in the community of nations for the first time, had, like the people of Guinea-Bissau, a new Member in 1974, gained their independence through bitter armed struggle and great sacrifice and it was the heroic struggle waged by them and the peoples of the other Portuguese colonies that had brought down the fascist régime of Portugal and led to the collapse of Portuguese colonialism. Her delegation looked forward with great enthusiasm to 11 November 1975, when Angola was due to become independent. In that connexion, it reiterated its appeal for non-intervention in the affairs of that country.

30. Two more new Members of the United Nations would have been represented at the current session had it not been for the irrational position of the United States, which had used its veto power to block the membership of the two Viet-Nams, against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of Members. The action of the United States did not, however, make North and South Viet-Nam any less independent. Her delegation also noted with satisfaction that the Seychelles had achieved full internal self-government with effect from 1 October 1975 and hoped that that country's path to independence would not be a long one.

31. Her delegation's greatest preoccupation had been the situation in southern Africa, which remained bleak. It was nevertheless certain that the turn of events in the former Portuguese colonies would bring about change in southern Africa in the not too distant future. The evils of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* must be wiped out, either through peaceful negotiations or through armed struggle. The call for peaceful negotiations had been made in the Manifesto on Southern Africa,⁵ adopted at Lusaka in 1969 and, when that decision had not been heeded by the racist régimes, it had become necessary to intensify the armed struggle, as had been recognized by the Council of Ministers of OAU and stated in the Mogadishu Declaration of October 1971. Moreover, the Dar es Salaam Declaration on Southern Africa, adopted by the Council of Ministers of the OAU at its ninth extraordinary session held in April 1975, stated that the national liberation movements would be given full support in their struggle to achieve independence on the basis of majority rule. The independent States of Africa would prefer the achievement of independence through peaceful means, but it would be the illegal racist régimes of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia which would determine whether freedom and justice would be achieved through peaceful negotiation or through armed struggle. With regard to Southern Rhodesia, it was obvious that the recent Victoria Falls talks had failed and that Ian Smith did not accept the independence of Southern Rhodesia on the basis of majority rule. The African National Council of Zimbabwe therefore had no alternative but to intensify its armed struggle and it would have her country's full support in its efforts to that end.

32. In order to wipe out colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* in southern Africa and to ensure freedom and justice in that part of the world, it was necessary for all the States Members of the United Nations to take concerted action to isolate and ostracize the illegal racist régimes of Smith in Southern Rhodesia and Vorster in South Africa. The inhuman treatment and repression inflicted upon the African majority in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa were beyond the imagination of any sane mind. Detentions, arbitrary imprisonment, killings of freedom fighters or those suspected of protecting freedom fighters and the restriction of political leaders were the order of the day. Chapter IX of 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/10023/Add.2), which dealt with Rhodesia, gave details of innocent people being moved like herds of cattle from their home areas to what the illegal régime called "protected areas". Each "protected area" covered about 50 acres and accommodated between 1,500 and 2,000 Africans. In April 1974, the régime had moved about 255 Africans suspected of supporting guerrillas from their homes in north-eastern Southern Rhodesia and had resettled them in an entirely new environment on the border with South Africa. In July 1974, an entire community of 60,000 Africans had been moved from their homes in the Chiweshe Tribal Trust Land, about 40 miles from Salisbury, and had been relocated in 21 "protected villages".

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

33. In Namibia and South Africa, the repressive measures inflicted upon the African majority were unparalleled. Thus, under the Sabotage Act of 1962 and the Terrorism Act of 1967, any action or statement that was in any way opposed to the *apartheid* policies of the racist Government was an act of sabotage or terrorism. Recalling that South Africa's Mandate for Namibia had been terminated by General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) and that that decision had been reaffirmed by Security Council resolution 276 (1970), she said it was now universally accepted that the South African occupation of Namibia was illegal, but South Africa continued to cling to its power in that Territory. It was beyond comprehension that a Government which treated the decisions of the United Nations with such utter contempt still remained a Member of the Organization. Moreover, it was no secret that the racist minority régimes survived thanks to the military, economic and moral support provided by some Members of the United Nations. It was also well known that, despite public statements that sanctions against Southern Rhodesia were being applied, they were, in fact, being violated. Her delegation appealed to the Members which had dealings with the racist régimes to discontinue them because they constituted a betrayal of the principles of the Charter and the survival of those régimes was a threat to the peace and security of all nations.

34. The situation in the Middle East continued to be a source of anxiety to her delegation. The Palestinian people, who had suffered injustices of every kind, were being denied their right to self-determination. Israel continued to occupy Arab lands and her delegation called for its withdrawal so that peace and security might be guaranteed in the Middle East.

35. In conclusion, she said that it was imperative for all States Members of the United Nations to support the national liberation movements, apply the sanctions and the arms embargo imposed against Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, isolate the racist régime of South Africa and demand the release of all political prisoners in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa. The United Nations must also strive for the elimination of the consequences of aggression in the Middle East, as well as the restoration to the Palestinians of their inalienable rights. It was only through such actions that colonialism, racism, racial discrimination, *apartheid*, injustice and aggression could be overcome.

36. Miss DJURIČKOVIĆ (Yugoslavia) said that, since 1960, when the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had been adopted, a large number of colonial countries had acceded to independence and had been admitted to the United Nations, thus proving that the eradication of colonialism was historically inevitable. Regrettably, however, the fundamental rights of some peoples were still being denied and the most sinister system of racial discrimination, namely, *apartheid*, which negated all the human rights of individuals, was being maintained in South Africa with outside help.

37. Many significant changes had occurred since 1974 in Africa, Asia and other parts of the world. Thus, the heroic struggle of the people of Viet-Nam for freedom and

independence had been successfully completed, the people of Cambodia had liberated its land through its own efforts, and three African countries, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, and Cape Verde, had won their independence from Portugal and had been admitted to the United Nations. The independence of the Comoro Archipelago had been proclaimed and the day of the proclamation of the independence of Angola was drawing near. All those changes attested to the rapid pace of the process of decolonization, by which fundamental human rights could be exercised and man, as an individual and a participant in production, culture and the equitable distribution of benefits, could assert himself.

38. There were, however, places in the world where the fundamental human rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were being flagrantly violated. The situation in southern Africa was a matter of serious concern because it was there that the most reactionary racist régimes still maintained themselves in power. The population of Namibia, a Territory occupied illegally by the racists of South Africa in defiance of United Nations decisions, was being deprived of its right to self-determination and independence. The illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia was still preventing majority rule by the African people and maintaining its racist domination over the majority. Although the United Nations had adopted many resolutions calling for the total isolation of those régimes and the Security Council had adopted decisions relating to mandatory sanctions against the régime in Southern Rhodesia, her delegation noted with regret that the continuing existence of those régimes was made possible by the support they received from some developed Western countries, which had important economic interests in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa and whose failure to apply the decisions of the Security Council weakened the pressure exerted by the international community on the régimes in those countries.

39. It was therefore necessary to take concrete action against the forces of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. In that connexion, her delegation fully supported the Dar es Salaam Declaration on southern Africa and, in accordance with the decision formulated in the Political Declaration⁶ adopted at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held in Lima in August 1975, would press for the adoption of that Declaration by the United Nations as well.

40. As long as the right to self-determination, freedom and independence was not realized by all peoples, conflict would persist in the world. One people which had not only been denied its right to self-determination but also had been expelled from its own country was the Palestinian people. Her Government was of the opinion that the key issues in the solution of the Middle East crisis were the recognition of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people and the withdrawal of Israel from all the territories occupied during the 1967 war and later.

41. The achievement of political independence had, of course, not solved the problems facing newly independent countries. As a rule, they had a low level of economic

⁶ See A/10217 and Corr.1, para. 33.

development and were compelled to trade under unequal conditions and to seek foreign assistance, which could impose on them a new form of dependence. With regard to the economic emancipation of the developing countries, her delegation attached particular importance to the conclusions and decisions of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, which had made a significant contribution to bringing the positions of developing and developed countries closer together, thus promoting the establishment of the new international economic order and, in the final analysis, the realization of the basic objectives and principles of the charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

42. She wished to emphasize once again that her country attached great importance to the involvement of the United Nations and its organs in matters relating to the right of peoples to self-determination and the guarantee of fundamental human rights and it would, as in the past, continue to give its active support to those efforts.

43. Mr. RICHTER (German Democratic Republic) said that, since the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, further success had been achieved in the struggle of peoples to realize their right to self-determination, as evidenced by the fact that States such as Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and Papua New Guinea had achieved their independence. His delegation was of the opinion that détente had had a favourable effect on the process of decolonization and it welcomed the accession to independence of those young States because it felt that the right to self-determination of all peoples struggling for liberation from colonial oppression was fundamental to ensuring all their other human rights.

44. It was now 30 years since Europe had been liberated from nazism by the Soviet Union and the other States of the anti-Hitler coalition. His delegation regarded the struggle against nazism as a struggle of peoples for national and social self-determination and felt that it had created more favourable conditions for the later struggles of Asian, African and Latin American peoples against colonial bondage and oppression.

45. His delegation fully agreed with the Secretary-General that the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had been one of the greatest moments in the annals of the United Nations and an important landmark in the process of decolonization. The Declaration had given a new direction to the activities of the Organization in implementing human rights and, in particular, the right of peoples to self-determination and had become the common platform and programme of the anti-colonialist forces in the United Nations.

46. Fifteen years after the adoption of the Declaration, his delegation noted with satisfaction that the struggle of peoples against colonialism was entering its final stage. The remaining difficulties should not be underestimated, however, for colonialism and racism had not yet been completely eliminated. The peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and of a number of Territories in the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans were still being denied independence and

self-determination. Moreover, no effect had yet been given to many economic aspects of the right to self-determination, which included the sovereignty of States over their natural resources and their right to nationalization. In that connexion, he stressed the importance of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (General Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX)), whose implementation by all States would contribute to the solution of existing problems.

47. Political liberation and economic liberation were closely related. The names of large transnational corporations continually cropped up in discussions of the activities of forces which supports the colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa, interfered in the internal affairs of peoples and opposed the principle of the sovereignty of States over their natural resources. Foreign enterprises established in Namibia exploited the people and the country's natural resources, thus acting in clear defiance of the Decree on the Natural Resources of Namibia, which had been enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia in 1974.⁷ It was high time to examine the detrimental effects of the operations of transnational monopolies on the realization of human rights and to take national and international measures for that purpose.

48. His delegation continued to be of the opinion that Governments could not be absolved of their responsibility for the activities of natural and legal persons under their jurisdiction which did not comply with United Nations resolutions. It therefore supported the demand made at the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa, held in Oslo in April 1973, and at OAU meetings held during the current year in Dar es Salaam and Kampala, that co-operation between the transnational corporations and the racist régimes in southern Africa should be stopped. Moreover, it welcomed resolution 2 (XI) of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination⁸ which described co-operation with the racist régimes as a violation of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*.

49. It was well known that, since its establishment, the German Democratic Republic had supported the struggle of peoples for liberation from colonial and racist suppression. Such support and political, moral and material assistance to peoples fighting against colonialism, racism and neo-colonialism and for peace, freedom and independence constituted a firm principle of this country's foreign policy. Moreover, the German Democratic Republic consistently supported United Nations resolutions against colonialism and racism and had ratified all international conventions aimed at the elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism and *apartheid*. It considered its membership in the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to be a mandate for the promotion of the purposes and principles of the Charter and the implementation of Security Council resolutions and decisions, as well as General Assembly resolutions relating to the universal implementation of the right of peoples to self-determination. All vestiges of colonialism and racism

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 24A*, chap. VI.

⁸ *Ibid.*, *Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 18*, chap. VII.

must be eradicated so that the oppressed peoples, particularly those in Namibia and Zimbabwe, could exercise their right to self-determination and independence and lay the foundations for a life of peace and security.

50. Mr. ELHOFARI (Libyan Arab Republic), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he wished to assure the representative of the United Kingdom that he was well informed with regard to the situation in Brunei, which had been discussed the previous July in Sub-Committee II of

the Special Committee and should also have been included as an item on the agenda of the Third Committee. Finally, he said that his country had great respect for the United Kingdom, despite its colonial past and present and its continuing assistance to colonial régimes.

51. Mrs. BEN-ITO (Israel) reserved the right to speak later in exercise of the right of reply.

The meeting rose at 12.10 p.m.

2128th meeting

Monday, 13 October 1975, at 3 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. Ladislav ŠMÍD (Czechoslovakia).

A/C.3/SR.2128

AGENDA ITEM 77

Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*) (A/10156 and Add.1)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mrs. BURNLEY (United Republic of Cameroon) said that since the adoption in 1960 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)) great progress had been made, in that many countries had become independent. She welcomed to the Committee the newest Member of the Organization, Papua New Guinea.

2. Her delegation recognized with deep appreciation the efforts of many interregional and international organizations, such as the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations and its specialized agencies, which were supplying considerable financial, material and psychological aid to the peoples striving to free themselves from oppression. The indignation aroused by colonialism, racial discrimination, racism and *apartheid* was constantly increasing and becoming more effective. Tribute must be paid to all the countries which were contributing materially, financially and politically to the work of the liberation movements, and particularly to the neighbouring States of the oppressed peoples for their efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement in their region. The United Republic of Cameroon had always supported the cause of those peoples and would continue to render them all possible assistance. Where assistance was concerned, it was necessary to improve the economic condition of newly independent countries, especially in southern Africa, to help them to become more viable and less vulnerable to hostile régimes, and the organizations and individuals engaged in efforts to that end should be commended.

3. The United Republic of Cameroon also appreciated the direction that was being taken by the new régime in Portugal and urged it to press on until the process of decolonization was completed. The heroic sacrifices of the liberation movements for the cause of freedom were not in vain. The recent attainment to full sovereignty of Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and now Papua New Guinea could not but encourage them in their struggle and serve as a warning to those who underestimated the power of so just a cause.

4. The *apartheid* régime in South Africa and the illegal régimes of Namibia and Zimbabwe had intensified their repression of freedom fighters and refused to take a conciliatory course. South Africa persisted in imposing Bantustans, despite the outcries of the people's acclaimed spokesmen, in order arbitrarily to enforce its laws. That policy aimed at completely disintegrating the people and destroying all hope of its ever becoming a strong nation if independence was granted to it, and was bound to create a critical situation not only for the new nation but also for neighbouring African States.

5. The United Republic of Cameroon condemned, as it had always done, the *apartheid* system. It also deplored the failure of Israel to withdraw from Arab lands in compliance with United Nations resolutions. Her delegation repeated the appeal that it had made on many occasions, to Member States which persisted in defying United Nations decisions, to isolate the illegal South African and Southern Rhodesian régimes by applying the sanctions prescribed. It appealed especially to the United Kingdom to draw on the vast experience it had acquired in decolonization to do all in its power to end the illegal régime and the violence in Rhodesia.

6. Mr. PETROV (Bulgaria) said that the right of peoples to self-determination had been incorporated in international instruments of great importance, such as the Charter of the United Nations, the International Covenants on Human Rights and a number of resolutions of the General