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- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 23

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

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

1. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): During the last few years, when we had already almost achieved one of the loftiest objectives of the United Nations—the total eradication of colonialism in all its forms—stagnation set in, owing to the obstruction and resistance of the most reactionary régimes and circles in the world.

2. True, a great victory has been won this year; an important step forward has been made. In saying this I have in mind the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. This victory has been achieved through the heroic struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau under the leadership of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [*PAIGC*]. My delegation had already dealt with this question during the debate on this item [*2160th meeting*].

3. On this occasion I merely wish to reiterate that the Yugoslav Government and people condemn most emphatically the aggression of the reactionaries from Lisbon against the young republic, demand that the General Assembly and the Security Council take energetic action, and are convinced that the people of Guinea-Bissau will soon triumph over their oppressors.

4. We also welcome the proclamation of the independence of the Bahamas and the admission of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas to the United Nations.

5. However, these successes offset only partially the sinister situation prevailing with regard to the problem that we are considering today. A number of peoples continue to live under colonial rule in various parts of the globe, prevented from realizing their inalienable right to self-determination, independence, freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

6. The situation is particularly alarming in the south of Africa, where the biggest colonial territories are to be found and where the largest number of people who are still under colonial rule live. In Mozambique and Angola the Portuguese reactionaries do not show the slightest understanding and goodwill and persistently refuse to enable the peoples of these territories to realize their right to self-determination. They are trying to conceal their aggressive policy behind the screen of the so-called “autonomy of overseas territories” and other similar machinations, but by these means they are no longer able to hoodwink even those who are totally unfamiliar with the problem of these territories, not to speak of the people living there. As these tactics do not produce the desired results, the Lisbon Fascists are resorting ever more often to massacres and large-scale military operations against the peoples of Angola and Mozambique. However, terror and brute force have never in the course of history succeeded in defeating the just struggle of peoples for freedom and independence, and they will not succeed in this case either. The national consciousness of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique is growing stronger every day; there is an ever growing support for the liberation movements, whose operations are becoming ever more significant and register ever greater successes.

7. A similar situation exists in Namibia, where the South African reactionaries continue to refuse to relinquish their illegal rule over this Territory and to hand it over to the United Nations. The world Organization has given proof of great patience in this case and has made a series of unsuccessful attempts to find a peaceful way leading to the solution of this problem. The reactionaries in Pretoria availed themselves of the resolution of the Security Council¹ requesting the Secretary-General to establish contacts with South Africa to gain time and to take further measures for the “Bantustanization” of Namibia, without showing any signs of a sincere intention to negotiate. For this reason, my delegation feels that an end should be put to this dialogue, as it is detrimental to the interests of the people of Namibia. We note with satisfaction that the régime in Pretoria is meeting with growing difficulties in the pursuit of its reactionary policy. This was also proved by the recent “elec-

* Resumed from the 2170th meeting.

¹ Resolution 309 (1972) of 4 February 1972.

tions", where this régime suffered a total fiasco; it was also confirmed by the ever more significant results that the people of this Territory are achieving in their armed struggle under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*].

8. Much has already been said about the illegal, racist régime in Salisbury and its aggression against the people of Zimbabwe, and it would be rather difficult to add anything new. We should merely like to underline once again the responsibility of the administering Power and to urge it resolutely to fulfil its obligations to the people of the Territory and the international community. At the same time, we again draw attention to the importance of sanctions as one of the most effective means in the hands of the international community in the struggle against the reactionaries in Salisbury and appeal to all those who are violating them—including some of the biggest Western countries—to realize, at last, their obligations and to sever all economic relations with the illegal régime.

9. The reactionary régime in Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury collaborate most closely in implementing their reaction policies; they help one another militarily and economically and constitute undoubtedly one of the most sinister collusions of our time. By their policies they not only prevent the peoples of that region from realizing their right to self-determination, freedom and independence but also pose a direct threat to the neighbouring independent African countries, which means a threat to the continent as a whole and, consequently a threat to peace and security throughout the world. We must note with regret that the régimes in Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury, in the pursuit of their policies, enjoy the full support and assistance of some of the most developed Western countries which, in doing so and failing to take into account the rights and interests of the enslaved peoples in the south of Africa, secure some of their narrow economic and military interests. We sincerely hope that these countries will finally become aware of their international obligations, will cease to co-operate with and to assist those régimes and will thus contribute substantively to the implementation of the numerous decisions and resolutions of the world Organization to which they belong and help the enslaved peoples finally to realize the rights that are enjoyed by the great majority of mankind today.

10. The situation continues to be unsatisfactory also in most of the other Territories which have not yet achieved their independence. The Powers administering these Territories are not showing a sufficient degree of readiness and goodwill to bring their administration to an end in the near future and to enable the peoples of the said Territories to realize their right to self-determination. Neither do they co-operate in an appropriate manner with the United Nations and its Special Committee on decolonization.² Such a stand is motivated, in most cases, by the narrowest economic and military interests and amounts to an infringement of the Charter of the United Nations as well as all other decisions of the world Organization. However, we feel obliged to single out here the Governments of Australia and New Zealand, which are showing the greatest understanding among the administering Powers for the aspirations of

the peoples under their administration and are undertaking a number of concrete steps in the direction of their self-determination and independence.

11. The General Assembly, the Security Council, the Special Committee, the United Nations Council for Namibia and a number of other bodies of the United Nations are dealing with the problem of colonialism practically every day. A great number of resolutions have been adopted, the large majority of the Members of this Organization having voted in favour of them.

12. My delegation has taken an active part, together with the other members of the Special Committee and the Council for Namibia, in the consideration of these problems and has exerted great efforts for their solution. On this occasion we should merely like to point out that in 1973, the Special Committee and the Council for Namibia have devoted the greatest attention, within the limits of their possibilities, to the problems of colonialism and have taken further steps for their solution. For these reasons my delegation fully supports the reports and all the decisions taken on the question of colonialism in these two organs of the United Nations in the course of this year. I should nevertheless like to emphasize that it is high time to pass from the phase of adoption of decisions and resolutions to the phase of their implementation. All Member States of the United Nations should finally make their contribution, on the basis of the Charter and resolution 1514 (XV), to the liberation of all the peoples who are still living under colonial yoke.

13. The present session of the General Assembly should, in our opinion, reaffirm resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) and all other resolutions on decolonization; approve the report of the Special Committee covering its work during 1973, including the programme of work envisaged for 1974; affirm once again that the continuation of colonialism is incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; reaffirm the recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples under colonial domination; urge all States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations to provide moral and material assistance to all peoples struggling for their freedom; request all States to withhold all assistance of any kind to Portugal, South Africa and the illegal fascist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia until they renounce their policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination; call upon the colonial Powers to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones; request the Special Committee to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) in all Territories; request the Special Committee to make concrete suggestions which could assist the Security Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations regarding developments in colonial Territories that are likely to threaten international peace and security; request the Special Committee to continue to pay particular attention to the small Territories; call upon the administering Powers which have not yet done so to co-operate fully with the Special Committee in the discharge of its mandate; request the Special Committee to continue to enlist the support of national and

² Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

international organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization, and request the Secretary-General to provide the Special Committee with the facilities and personnel necessary for the implementation of all resolutions on decolonization adopted by the General Assembly and the Special Committee.

14. In conclusion, may I express my thanks to the representatives of liberation movements attending the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly for their contribution to our work and wish them every success in their struggle against colonial yoke. The Yugoslav Government and peoples—together with the peoples and Governments of other non-aligned countries and with the whole of progressive mankind—will continue, as they have done in the past, to lend full political, moral and material support to their struggle.

15. Mr. NUR ELMI (Somalia): Allow me at the outset to express on behalf of my delegation my appreciation for the good work done by the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples during the period under review. I would also like to extend our thanks to all those Governments, organizations, specialized agencies of the United Nations and private individuals who, in one way or another, contribute to the promotion of the work of the Committee.

16. The continued existence of colonial rule in parts of Africa and elsewhere is of great concern to the Somali people and, therefore, the Government of the Somali Democratic Republic is prepared to support the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

17. The victorious proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau by its Popular National Assembly on 24 September 1973, which we greeted with enthusiasm, was a momentous occasion because it signified the success of the long struggle for freedom by the people of the Territory—a success which is rightly an inspiration to other oppressed peoples in Africa. The proclamation of the new State was also momentous because it was an example of a people claiming for themselves their inalienable right to self-determination and independence—a right guaranteed by the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

18. The United Nations has given the highest priority, particularly within the past decade, to the goal of liberating oppressed peoples from colonial domination—a goal which, my delegation is sure, would only be opposed by the few remaining proponents of open and unabashed colonialism. In the context of this goal, the United Nations has been deeply concerned over the determination of the Portuguese Government to continue its oppressive rule over African peoples. The world Organization has long recognized its duty to support the aspirations for self-determination and independence of the peoples under colonial rule in the Portuguese-held African Territories.

19. There is incontestable evidence of the brutality of the colonial wars which Portugal has waged in order to deny the just aspirations of the African peoples under its rule. The

use of napalm, defoliants and herbicides, and the wanton massacre of large numbers of innocent villagers have been the usual weapons used by the Portuguese in their unjust and cruel wars.

20. The United Nations has, of course, called on Portugal, in numerous resolutions, to end these wars and to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Mozambique and Angola. It has also called on Member States to take positive action in support of its efforts to help those oppressed peoples but, unfortunately, without success, because of the non-compliance of Portugal's North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] partners, some of them permanent members of the Security Council, particularly the United States of America which has clearly associated itself, to our regret and disappointment, with South Africa and Portugal in either abstaining or casting negative votes on questions relating to decolonization.

21. With regard to Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), my delegation would be very happy if it became unnecessary to recall and to re-emphasize in this Assembly the principles and purposes of United Nations involvement in that Territory. It seemed to us that Member States were all of one mind and were all engaged in working for the solution of this problem. Unfortunately, the response, in some quarters, to the attempt by the United Nations to bring about a just settlement in Southern Rhodesia continues to be so unsatisfactory that it is indeed necessary to reiterate and re-emphasize our goals.

22. We are, of course, trying to prevent in Southern Rhodesia the full application of *apartheid*, which we have seen in all its enormity in South Africa and Namibia. To put it in more dramatic but no less pertinent terms, we are trying to remove a noxious weed before it becomes strongly rooted in the soil of Zimbabwe.

23. The humanity and dignity of African people are being denied through a racial philosophy which uses, as its tools of oppression, the dispossession, deportation, segregation and political and economic emasculation of a people. In Southern Rhodesia, the Land Tenure Act provides the basis for these ends. Its aim is to ensure the economic weakness and isolation of the African majority which, in turn, will exclude them from effective participation in the political process. The whole structure is cemented together by the repressive power of a police state and by the laws that entrench petty and large-scale racial discrimination.

24. In Southern Rhodesia, "provincialism" is the equivalent of South Africa's "Bantustan" policy—a policy condemned by all forums of the United Nations for its fundamental injustice in that it allocates the best land and the richest natural resources to the white minority and leaves the rest for the black majority. Plans are being implemented by the illegal Smith régime for the establishment of provincial authorities in Mashonaland and Matabeleland. This is one result of the Land Tenure Act. Another result is the removal of sections of the African population from their traditional lands and resettling them in areas designated for Africans only. The Tangwena tribe has already been hounded out of its traditional land and thousands of Africans are now threatened with deportation which is a crime against humanity as such crimes were defined by the Nürnberg Tribunal in the course of the trials of the Nazi criminals.

25. The arrangements built into the illegal 1969 constitution for the exclusion of Africans from the political process became glaringly evident with the increase of voters' income qualifications in line with a rise in the consumer price index. Whites are hardly affected as their average earnings are well above the minimum qualifications. Africans are affected because their average earnings are well below the income qualifications that existed before the increase. The possibility of acquiring power through the political process has been moved further away from the African population. More overt political injustice can be seen in the illegal Government's attacks on the African National Council and its leaders who provide a legitimate channel for the expression of African political aspirations. As in the case of former African political parties, its leaders are being persecuted. Bishop Muzorewa's passport has been taken away and other leaders and party members have been imprisoned.

26. An essential factor of the *apartheid* system is the control of the lives of Africans through the imposition, on them alone, of identity and registration cards which serve to restrict their movements in their native land and to limit their social and economic opportunities. The Smith régime has introduced legislation to compel all Africans over the age of 16 to carry identity and registration cards at all times.

27. It is pertinent to recall here that in turning down the unreasonable proposals for settlement offered by the United Kingdom Government and the Smith régime,³ the African people (Zimbabwe) simply rejected the indefinite extension of their oppression; they rejected the tacit assumption which denied them their proper place in their own land; they rejected an intolerable and humiliating system. They have every right now to claim and expect that the United Kingdom, the administering Power, and the United Nations will make most strenuous efforts to end the illegal and unjust rule to which they are subjected.

28. The British Conservative Party—the Party of the Government in power at the present time—has been recently debating a motion to recognize the independence of Southern Rhodesia and not to apply the sanctions imposed by the Security Council. This would be an abandonment of the five principles hitherto stated to be the minimum basis for a settlement. One hopes that the outcome of the debate in the Party, or later in the House of Commons, will be the rejection of such perfidious proposals. Is the Smith régime really worth the loss of the international prestige and respect long accorded to the United Kingdom as a consistent supporter of the international rule of law and the decisions of the United Nations? One would think not, but it seems that the present United Kingdom Government and its Conservative Party are psychologically prepared to make this choice.

29. In the United Nations, the response to the plight of the African people of Southern Rhodesia is also unsatisfactory. There are Member States which actively or passively connive at the circumvention of sanctions. One wonders if they have understood the full import of what is happening in Southern Rhodesia or if they are merely devoid of con-

science and devoid of respect for their pledge to support the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

30. It was perhaps to be expected that the Smith régime's mentors and partners in racism—the South African Government and the Portuguese colonialists—would flout the authority of the United Nations in the matter of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, as they have done in other areas of international concern and responsibility. But it is extremely dismaying that there are other Governments which openly or secretly violate sanctions, or turn a blind eye to violations on the part of their nationals.

31. My delegation has often reiterated its belief that direct intervention in Southern Rhodesia by Great Britain is called for in the circumstances, since it certainly has the power to restore just conditions and remove a source of regional, and possibly of international conflict. However, in the face of Britain's refusal to use force against its kith and kin in Southern Rhodesia, the United Nations must use the most effective weapon at its disposal to bring down the Smith régime. The sanctions weapon has not in the past been fully sharpened or fully used. My delegation, therefore, welcomed the fact that the Security Council, in its resolution 333 (1973) of 22 May 1973, agreed on some additional measures to increase the effectiveness of sanctions, although we would have preferred to see even stronger and more far-reaching measures. For example, we concur with recommendations of the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa⁴ [A/9061, annex, sect. IV] that the United Nations should call upon all States to join in the imposition of a blockade against South Africa and Portuguese-dominated Mozambique which continue their close economic and military co-operation with the Smith régime.

32. Certainly, the call of Security Council resolution 333 (1973) for Governments to go beyond a formal approval of sanctions and take the logical step of introducing effective legislation to make violations by their nationals illegal, goes to the heart of the matter. Other provisions that aim to close loop-holes and discourage trade with the illegal régime will be important additions to sanctions legislation if they are carefully enforced by Member States.

33. With the failure of the South African Government to make a satisfactory response to the dialogue undertaken by the Secretary-General at the request of the Security Council, the United Nations is faced once more with the realities of its responsibility for Namibia.

34. The South African Government has failed to acknowledge the legal responsibility of the United Nations for Namibia and it is obviously not prepared to withdraw from the Territory. Instead, it has gone ahead with the implementation of its plan for the fragmentation of the Territory into economically and politically impotent "Bantustans". The aim is to preserve the substance of South African control under the pretence that these are independent tribal entities and to entrench *apartheid* in Namibia.

35. This policy has been rejected outright by the Namibian people, who have expressed themselves through their

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971*, document S/10405.

⁴ Held at Oslo from 9 to 14 April 1973.

legitimate political leaders in SWAPO who have expressed their condemnation of the "Bantustan" plan to the Secretary-General's representative last year and who gave further evidence of their position by the successful boycott of the elections for the establishment of an Ovambo "Bantustan". The United Nations is, of course, committed to the preservation of the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, in line with the aspirations of the vast majority of its people.

36. The South African Government has been equally negative in its approach to other measures considered essential by the United Nations for a just solution to the Namibian question. In spite of promises to the contrary, it has not improved the climate of political oppression in Namibia or made any effort to increase the personal freedoms of the African population.

37. In view of the intransigence of the Vorster régime, my Government entirely supports the conclusion of the Council for Namibia, of the Organization of African Unity and of the Oslo Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa, that the dialogue should be ended since it serves no useful purpose and could even compromise the principles on which United Nations responsibility for Namibia are based.

38. There is no question now about the directions which further United Nations action on Namibia should take. We must implement those resolutions which were held in abeyance while attempts at negotiations were being made. There is, for example, Security Council resolution 301 (1971),⁵ which endorsed the findings of the International Court of Justice on the consequences for States of South Africa's illegal presence in Namibia. The chief consequence is that Member States are under an obligation to refrain from any acts and in particular any dealings with the Government of South Africa implying recognition of the legality of its administration in Namibia, or lending support or assistance to that administration.

39. Most valuable work on this question was done by the Oslo Conference and my delegation hopes that the proposals of the Conference will be incorporated into the General Assembly resolution on Namibia. The Conference made many practical recommendations for the disengagement of Member States from the exploitation of the Territory and from co-operation of any kind with its unlawful occupier. These will be essential measures in support of United Nations goals for Namibia.

40. My delegation has often reiterated the view that support for the liberation movements of southern Africa must be one of the main thrusts of the international campaign against racism and colonialism. We therefore strongly endorse the emphasis placed by the Oslo Conference on the need for increased recognition and support by Member States for SWAPO—the Namibian liberation movement. Of equal importance are the recommendations of the Oslo Conference for strengthening the authority and effectiveness of the Council for Namibia. In this regard my delegation particularly supports the following proposals: that the Council for Namibia represent the Territory in the United

Nations, in its agencies, and in matters relating to intergovernmental conventions; and that it maintain continuous contact with the people of Namibia through all available media and keep the world public informed about developments in the Territory.

41. But the most inescapable duty of the United Nations is to fulfil its commitment under Security Council resolution 310 (1972) to take effective steps and measures in accordance with the relevant chapters of the Charter, to compel the fascist South African régime to withdraw its police and military forces as well as civilian personnel from the Territory since the road to a just solution through negotiation has been closed by the actions of that Government.

42. My delegation believes the circumstances demand that the Security Council invoke Chapter VII of the Charter and enforce economic sanctions against South Africa, which is an international law breaker on three counts. Apart from its being the perpetrator of a great crime against humanity in the imposition of its *apartheid* policies on the African people of South Africa and of Namibia, South Africa is defying the authority of the International Court of Justice and of the United Nations by its continued illegal occupation of Namibia; it is openly and consistently undermining the efficiency of the economic sanctions imposed by the Security Council in its resolution 253 (1968) against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, and it is supporting that régime militarily as well as politically and economically; and finally, it is maintaining a threatening military stance against neighbouring independent African States and against African liberation movements declared legitimate by the United Nations.

43. As far back as the fifth special session of the General Assembly in April 1967, when this body met to consider how best to implement its decision to terminate South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and itself assume responsibility for the Territory, the Somali delegation expressed its conviction that the United Nations would eventually have to deal with South Africa's predictable intransigence and take enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.⁶

44. For six years the United Nations has been avoiding an inevitable confrontation. It has rightly given the South African Government every opportunity to act in accordance with its obligations as a Member State, but the time has come to recognize that the Vorster régime will not change its policy voluntarily and that the United Nations can no longer put off the duty of enforcing its own decisions. The authority of the world organization and the liberation of the Namibian people from cruel oppression is at stake. My delegation hopes that the decisions which this session of the General Assembly will take on Namibia will reflect these grave realities.

45. In conclusion, I realize that I have devoted most of my intervention to the problems of southern Africa and the Territories under Portuguese colonial rule, but there is no intention whatsoever on the part of my delegation to neglect the other colonial Territories. The position of my Govern-

⁵ *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.*

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 1506th meeting.*

ment with regard to these Territories remains unchanged: they must all be given their inalienable right to freedom and independence. One of these Territories is French Somaliland. My Government has on many occasions stated very clearly its views on the solution of this problem. My Government, which, of course, has a very special interest in developments in that Territory, reconfirms not only its own views but those of the United Nations represented by the Special Committee on decolonization that the status of the Territory of French Somaliland remains unequivocally that of a colonial dependency. In his policy statement before this Assembly, the head of my delegation to the current session clarified the status of the Territory when he stated, among other things:

“Decisions of the Territorial Assembly have to be communicated to the French High Commissioner before being published or implemented and can be annulled at will by the French Minister for Overseas Departments and Territories. In addition, important matters such as control of immigration, law and order, currency and foreign relations, come within the exclusive control of the French Government.” [2144th meeting, para. 411.]

46. The policy of my Government vis-à-vis French Somaliland is to secure for the people of the Territory the enjoyment of the free exercise of their rights to independence and freedom in accordance with the principles of self-determination.

47. Finally, the delegation of the Somali Democratic Republic endorses the conclusions and recommendations 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.

48. Mr. ALARCÓN (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, I should like to express the congratulations of our delegation to the Special Committee on its fruitful work this year, which is reflected in the report now before the General Assembly.

49. We support completely the entire contents and all the recommendations of that report. We are very grateful to the Committee for its consistent work and we are particularly grateful to Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, who is the Chairman of that important organ of the General Assembly and the Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, who at all times has been steadfast in the struggle to eliminate colonialism, and he deserves the most decisive support of the General Assembly.

50. We believe that the General Assembly should give greater support to the work of the Special Committee. We believe that the Secretary-General should make available to the Special Committee greater resources in terms of staff and finances. These resources should be up to the level of the tasks being performed by the Special Committee and should reflect the importance of the Committee's work with regard to the achievement of its goals and the implementation of its principles. We received a few rather disconcerting surprises when we analysed the internal distribution of the resources of our Organization. We found that the resources available to the Committee did not correspond to the importance of its activities, nor to the support that the

Committee's work receives and has received from nearly all Members of the Organization.

51. I think we should resist the tendency to be influenced by the attitude of the colonialist Powers which are obstructing the efforts of the Committee. Indeed, the position of the overwhelming majority of States Members of the Organization is that the complete elimination of colonialism is an important and urgent task, and that the Special Committee is carrying out a highly positive mission which deserves our entire support.

52. This year, undeniable progress has been made in the task of decolonization, but colonialism has still not disappeared. On the contrary, it has taken on new and crueler forms; it is exploiting the peoples of the world even more, and is behaving, generally speaking, in a more consistent way.

53. This year also, a number of important international meetings have taken place that will serve to strengthen international efforts to guarantee the national rights of the peoples of the world. The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September, bringing together more than half of the Member States of this Organization. There the non-aligned countries prepared a common action programme for the speedy elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

54. Earlier on, in April, an important international Conference of Experts took place in Oslo, and it too made an important contribution to the cause of decolonization. This year we hail the independence of the Bahamas, which has become a new Member of this Organization. However, we still must note that colonialism persists in the Caribbean. Likewise we have welcomed this year the declaration of independence of Guinea-Bissau, which just a short time ago was accepted as a new member of the OAU. As the final stage of recognition by all Members of this Organization that have recognized the great struggle of PAIGC of that country, however, we believe it necessary for Guinea-Bissau to become a Member of this Organization, as well, at an early date.

55. While noting the victories of PAIGC and its proclamation of the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau, at the same time we must realize that colonialism continues to commit acts of aggression against the people of that country, part of whose territory it occupies, and is continuing its occupation of Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde and other African Territories.

56. We also note that the detestable phenomenon of *apartheid* persists, along with the imposition of racist minority régimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa and the illegal occupation of Namibia.

57. The results of the decolonization process over the past few years suggest that the anti-colonial struggle has entered a decisive phase. The time has now come for all of us to study very carefully the nature of contemporary colonialism and the nature of the obstacles and difficulties which those peoples of the world fighting for their full liberation are still encountering; in so doing we must establish a firm, decisive strategy for their liberation.

58. Those who are still subjected to colonialism today are not facing isolated and separated enemies; they are not dealing merely with a handful of bankrupt colonialist fanatics: the enemies of those peoples have today consolidated themselves into a colonial, racist and imperialist bloc led by the principal centres of international imperialist power. The enemy of colonial and dependent peoples today is the same one which organizes acts of aggression against the peoples of Indo-China and the Arab peoples of the Middle East, as well as the neo-colonial assaults against independent States of the third world. It is an enemy that is giving battle everywhere and that has a consistent plan directed against all the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America and against all those who have already achieved political independence or who still continue to live under the colonial yoke.

59. One need only consider the fundamental features of these manifestations of present-day colonialism in order to understand how they all derive from one source, how everything is part of the same process, revealing the consistency of this grand scheme directed against the peoples of the third world.

60. The trend towards militarization of the colonies and their incorporation in the over-all aggressive plans of imperialism—proof of which we have had on many occasions, be it in Africa, with the acts of aggression against Guinea, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, the People's Republic of the Congo and Senegal; or in the Middle East, where Portugal has provided certain facilities for the shipment of military equipment to the Zionist forces; or in the Caribbean, where North American bases are maintained in Puerto Rico for invasions of the Dominican Republic and Cuba—and the large-scale exploitation of the natural resources of the colonies and the plundering of their wealth by the major international monopolies and consortia, are today a common feature of contemporary colonial enclaves.

61. But that exploitation is now more intense than ever before, and its consequences are more serious, in so far as implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) is concerned. The exploitation of those peoples involves not only the refusal to recognize their legal rights, but the refusal to recognize them as independent entities; attempts have even been made to deprive them of their identity and to remove their resources and wealth—all coupled with threats to their very existence as human beings.

62. There have been similar policies in southern Africa, in the Middle East and in the Caribbean, where foreigners have been introduced on a massive scale, uprooting the indigenous population, accelerating the process of alienating the colonial Territories even further. We cannot fail to view in this light such projects as those of Cabora Bassa and Cunene River Basin in Africa and the petroleum super-port in Puerto Rico, and the Zionist settlement policies in the occupied Arab territories.

63. For all these reasons we believe that it is necessary to oppose the racist, imperialist and colonialist bloc with a united front of countries, peoples and liberation movements. A decisive, consistent position must be assumed against colonialism in all its forms and manifestations everywhere, regardless of who is the colonial Power.

64. The first task, if we wish to give fresh momentum to the process of emancipation, is to isolate colonialism and to prevent imperialist interests from using some peoples against others, to make it impossible for imperialism to isolate the cause of any people or any area of the world. The first principle in the fight against colonialism is and must be its universality. In Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America or in the Caribbean our duty is to affirm the right of all subject peoples to exercise their national rights and they must all be offered the same degree of solidarity.

65. My delegation wishes to state once again that it supports the struggle of all colonial peoples; it supports all those who are subject to Portuguese colonialism, as well as those in Zimbabwe, Namibia, the Comoros, Puerto Rico and in the other territories of the Caribbean.

66. At the same time we would make the point that there are other manifestations of colonialism in respect of which the General Assembly must take a consistent stand. For example, we might mention the illegal occupation of the Malvinas and of the Panama Canal Zone. Those are territories which belong to Argentina and Panama respectively, the occupation of which is an offshoot of the colonial era, which must come to an end as soon as possible.

67. As we isolate colonialism and as we take ever stronger measures to put an end to it, the progressive States and Governments of the world must strengthen their co-operation with the national liberation movements in all forms, including material assistance. We would prefer not to use the word "help" or "assistance", for we see this form of action as a duty and an expression of solidarity. It is a necessary form of co-operation in the common struggle which concerns the colonized peoples of the world as well as independent nations.

68. We also wish to express our support for the peoples of the world which continue to resist imperialist aggression by backing the emancipation process in Africa. This applies to the peoples of Guinea, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, the Congo and Senegal—and we also wish to see international forces organized against neo-colonialist designs aimed at turning back the pages of history and once again subjecting to exploitation peoples which have already achieved political independence. Today the installation of a Fascist régime in Chile is the most brutal expression of this trend.

69. I wish in particular to refer to a matter of surpassing importance, which is contained in the report that was submitted this year by the Special Committee to the General Assembly for consideration. I refer to the case of Puerto Rico, with regard to which the Special Committee reported to the General Assembly in paragraphs 75 to 85 of chapter I of document A/9023/Rev.1. This year the Special Committee has adopted a resolution [A/9023/Rev.1, chap.I, para. 84] which opens a new stage towards the liquidation of Yankee colonialism in that territory. That organ of the General Assembly has had before it for a number of years a request which was originally submitted by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba in October 1965 relating to the request which the year before the participants in the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which met at Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964, had submitted to the Special Committee.

70. In 1965, on a decision by the Chairman of the Special Committee which was supported by members of that Committee against the sole protests of the representative of the United States, the Cuban request was published as an official document [A/AC.109/144] and, due to the lack of time, the Special Committee decided to postpone consideration of the matter until the following year, once again with the sole reservation of the representative of the United States.

71. That decision of the Special Committee, which is contained in the report it submitted to the General Assembly, was adopted when the Assembly approved the report and working programme for the following year [resolution 2189 (XXI)].

72. In 1966, the Committee was again unable to consider the matter thoroughly due to the lack of time. It expressed its intention to do so the next year and that was communicated to the General Assembly. Once again the General Assembly expressed its agreement with that intention when it approved the report and working programme for that year.

73. In 1967, the Special Committee considered the question of Puerto Rico at two meetings, its 509th and 510th meetings, at which all members participated, including the United States which was still a member of that body. The Committee refused to accept at that time a United States proposal, which suggested that the Committee was not authorized to consider the subject and subsequently decided to postpone discussion of Puerto Rico *sine die*.

74. In 1972, the Special Committee had a far-ranging discussion of the question of Puerto Rico and approved a resolution recognizing "the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)" and decided to study specifically procedures to apply to that territory the aforementioned anti-colonial resolution.⁷

75. The report of the Special Committee, including that resolution on Puerto Rico, was approved by the General Assembly in its resolution 2908 (XXVII) by an overwhelming majority. The delegations which voted against the resolution could be counted on the fingers of one hand and, of course, including that of the United States.

76. In accordance with the process just described, the Special Committee considered at its last session the colonial situation in Puerto Rico. It devoted 8 of its 56 plenary meetings to that subject this year. In the course of its deliberations the Committee heard statements by Comrades Juan Mari Bras, Secretary-General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and Rubén Berrios Martínez, President of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, who were the first petitioners from that country received in that anti-colonial body of the United Nations. In concluding its considerations this year the Special Committee approved a resolution on Puerto Rico of undeniable importance. Because it was so important I will read it in full.

The speaker then read out paragraph 84 of chapter I of document A/9023/Rev.1.

77. That resolution of the Special Committee was endorsed and completely supported by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries which met in Algiers in September of this year. In the Political Declaration of the Conference we read the following on the subject of Puerto Rico, and I shall now read from the English version of that document:

"51. The Conference stresses the necessity of putting an end to colonial domination where it still survives in Latin America. It reaffirms the complete solidarity of the non-aligned countries with the peoples of the region still subject to colonialism and demands that their inalienable right to national independence be recognized. It supports the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico for their national independence and supports the resolutions on Puerto Rico adopted by the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization.

"52. It requests that the United States Government refrain from doing anything likely to affect directly or indirectly the exercise by the people of Puerto Rico of their right to independence." [A/9330 and Corr.1, p. 14.]⁸

78. Apart from that reference in the Political Declaration of the Conference, those who met in Algiers also unanimously adopted, without reservations, a resolution specifically on Puerto Rico, urging this Assembly and the Special Committee to continue adopting the necessary measures to apply resolution 1514 (XV) to that territory, and in particular they expressed their support for the resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 30 August which I read out a few moments ago.

79. With the adoption of that resolution by the Special Committee and its endorsement by the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, a new stage has begun in the discussion of the case of Puerto Rico. The wall of silence which was built up by Yankee imperialism regarding Puerto Rico has finally been torn down. No longer can imperialism conceal colonialist exploitation in Puerto Rico. No longer will the Puerto Rican people be isolated, alone, confronting the most powerful enemy on earth. No longer will the Government in Washington be able to manipulate the international community against the inalienable interests of the Puerto Rican people. No longer will Yankee imperialism be able to separate the cause of Puerto Rico from the common cause of the emancipation of all the peoples of the third world.

80. The resolution adopted by the Special Committee is in effect an appeal which the international community has made to the Government of the United States to put an end to all its plans and schemes and manoeuvres designed to deny the national rights of Puerto Rico. It is a declaration specifically condemning some of those plans and schemes and manoeuvres which the United States has been carrying out. It constitutes a specific demand that the aim of colonialism to convert that Territory into a vast complex for the refining of petroleum and other minerals not be carried out.

81. Turning Puerto Rico into a vast petrochemical complex would alienate Puerto Rico and would alienate Puerto

⁷ *Ibid.*, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23, chap. I, para. 85.

⁸ Quoted in English by the speaker.

Ricans in their own territory. It would drive to the United States territory further numbers of Puerto Ricans, who already amount to more than a million. It would mean the massive introduction of foreigners, the plundering of the basic natural resources of the territory. It would mean the total absorption of the Puerto Rican economy by American monopolies, the destruction of Puerto Rico's agriculture and fisheries, and would do irreparable damage to the environment of the country.

82. The resolution adopted by the Special Committee represents also the most decisive defeat suffered so far by the colonialist forces in Puerto Rico who try to conceal their plans by speaking of autonomy. The manoeuvres of Washington seem to suggest that they may make a few apparent concessions to autonomy, but the truth is that they wish to avoid American federal legislation in all ways which would make it difficult to convert the island into a vast centre to refine petroleum and other minerals. Autonomism has thus been exposed once and for all in Puerto Rico as an anti-patriotic phenomenon, a corrupting, lethal product and end result of Yankee petroleum enterprises.

83. The resolution adopted by the Special Committee finally means that a demand has been made to the United States to cease its brutal repression of the patriotic movement, to put an end to military installations in the island, to liberate political prisoners and to eliminate repressive measures and arbitrary action against the patriotic movement.

84. In connexion with the forthcoming steps to be taken by the Special Committee, my delegation believes that, in accordance with paragraph 4 of the resolution which was adopted, the Committee should next year send a visiting mission to the territory to ascertain directly the feelings and opinions of the Puerto Rican people. We see no other more efficient and impartial way to conduct the study which the Committee has planned to carry out next year, no better way than a direct dialogue with the representatives of all sectors of the Puerto Rican people.

85. We also believe that the international community should refrain from any act which would imply recognition of Yankee domination over Puerto Rico, and should give the liberation movement of the territory its fullest support.

86. Before concluding, I should like to say a few final words on the participation of our delegation in this process. In the past Cuba has played a very special role in the defence of the right of the people of Puerto Rico to independence. As we have explained on other occasions, we have performed a duty of solidarity in accordance with our basic policies of support for all national liberation movements. But also, in so doing, we have fulfilled an historical mandate which arose from the common struggle of Cubans and Puerto Ricans, over more than a century, for national independence. Today, it is with joy indeed that we see that Puerto Rico has begun to speak with its own voice. Today, solidarity is becoming ever more widespread among those people, and they will no longer be isolated. In the future they will enjoy the full solidarity of the Cuban revolution. We will continue together the fight which we began together more than a century ago in the most difficult of circumstances. We will hold up high our joint banner for which thou-

sands of patriots died on both islands. As our liberator, José Martí, said, referring to the common cause of both peoples:

"We will stand together in the future as we have stood together in the past. We in the past were banished from our land together; together we will stand and redouble our efforts for common freedom."

87. Mr. HOLLAI (Hungary): The establishment of the United Nations, the Charter's provisions on decolonization and the activities of the Organization for the past 28 years have contributed effectively to promoting the complete liquidation of the colonial system and the granting of independence to colonial Territories. After the Second World War the national liberation movements gained enormous momentum and attained successes which resulted in rapid and extensive changes in the world map. This process, which has transformed a great part of the globe, is well illustrated by a single fact: the growth of United Nations membership since the establishment of the Organization. At that time, in 1945, as is commonly known, the United Nations had only eight Asian and four African Members. Since that time about 70 former colonial Territories have won independence, thanks also to the efforts of the world Organization. This tremendous transformation of the world can obviously not be considered accidental. Still less is it possible to see in it changing designs of the one-time colonizers, though certain colonial Powers went out of their way to make it appear as if these changes, the accession of colonial countries to independence, had been the result of their suddenly-discovered humanitarian intentions. There are, however, countless examples to prove that the colonial and imperialist Powers even resorted to armed force to quench the independence and aspirations of the colonial peoples.

88. The root cause of the changes in the world map is to be found first of all in that radical shift in international power relations which finds its expression in the fact that the socialist countries and the newly independent States, by dint of their considerable importance, exercise a favourable influence on the shaping of the international situation, and the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism cannot ignore this fact.

89. The socialist countries, the newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa, and the other progressive countries, by joining forces and fighting in common against imperialism and neo-colonialism, take notable credit for the successive defeats which the colonial Powers have suffered during the quarter century of the existence of the United Nations.

90. This joint action made it possible also for the General Assembly, on 14 December 1960, to adopt by an overwhelming majority of votes the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was submitted to the General Assembly upon the initiative of the Soviet Government and on the proposal of 43 African and Asian nations. The Declaration, whose adoption gave a considerable stimulus to the anti-colonialist activity of the United Nations, explicitly stated the necessity of the complete elimination of the colonial system. That Declaration was the first to enunciate clearly that the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, contained in Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Charter, should be applied also to colonial peoples.

91. On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration the General Assembly adopted resolution 2621 (XXV) on a programme of action for the full implementation of the provisions of the Declaration. In that resolution the General Assembly categorically reaffirmed the inalienable right to self-determination and independence of the colonial peoples, recognized the legitimacy of their struggle for freedom and independence, and proposed that Member States and specialized agencies provide moral and material assistance for the liberation struggle of the peoples still living in a state of colonial subjection.

92. The anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces both in and outside the world Organization have exerted vigorous efforts to liquidate the last vestiges of colonialism. At the current session we have witnessed also that there is practically not one Committee of the General Assembly, not one organ of the United Nations, that is not occupied with some aspect of the colonial problem.

93. World public opinion also is increasingly concerned with the elimination of the colonial system. It must be admitted that a considerable role was played in this by the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa, held in April 1973 in Oslo under the auspices of the United Nations in co-operation with the OAU, and by the Week of Solidarity with Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights, organized in several countries of the world pursuant to General Assembly resolution 2911 (XXVII).

94. Recently, in the Fourth Committee, we had the pleasure of listening to a statement by the Secretary-General of the World Peace Council, Mr. Romesh Chandra, who emphasized that:

“The World Peace Council has from its very foundation placed at the head of its principles and of its programme of work the struggle for the liberation of all Territories under colonial domination”.⁹

Twenty-eight million people in the world are still subjected today to colonial domination, oppression and racial discrimination. That is why the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces of the world have to take determined and concerted action to achieve the definitive and complete liquidation of colonialism. The changes that have taken place in the world situation in favour of the forces of socialism and progress, the creation of a political détente, are preparing favourable conditions for these forces, in co-operation with the liberation movements, to do away once and for all with this shameful phenomenon that has survived into the twentieth century.

95. Especially difficult is the situation of those peoples who live under the rule and oppression of the colonialist and racist minority régimes in southern Africa. It is quite understandable therefore that the United Nations, in its efforts to bring about the complete and definitive liquida-

tion of colonialism, devotes special attention to the peoples' struggle for self-determination and national independence.

96. The situation of the peoples living in the Territories under Portuguese domination is extremely serious. The Portuguese colonialists carry on a campaign of extermination against the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola. World public opinion has emphatically condemned the massacre of villagers in Mozambique, an atrocity that had been exposed by the Reverend A. Hastings. It is obvious to all that Portugal is able to continue oppressing by force of arms the peoples of its colonial Territories, being engaged in a wholesale destruction of their villages and possessions, only because it relies on military and other assistance from its allies both within the framework of NATO and on a bilateral basis. Therefore it is right and proper to demand that those States stop the supply of arms and other military material to Portugal, which uses them to perpetuate its colonial domination in Africa. Likewise we have to condemn the repeated acts of aggression committed by Portugal against independent African States bordering on those Territories, thereby violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States concerned and endangering peace and security on the African continent and in the world as well.

97. We are deeply impressed by the fact that, in spite of the ruthless armed intervention of Portugal, of the considerable assistance provided by its allies, and of the active support of the illegal racist minority régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau have struck severe blows at the Portuguese colonialists. Of particularly great significance is the emergence of the sovereign, democratic, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist Republic of Guinea-Bissau, whose heroic people, under the guidance of PAIGC, took up the fight against the Portuguese aggressors and proclaimed independence. The United Nations must render every assistance necessary to this youngest State of Africa and oblige Portugal to terminate the illegal occupation of its former colony.

98. The situation in Southern Rhodesia has gone from bad to worse since the illegal and unilateral Declaration of Independence by the racist minority régime, which persists in the ruthless oppression of the local African population and even institutes increasingly harsh repressive measures, including the establishment of so-called “tribal-trust lands”, which is meant to introduce in the Territory the disgraceful system of *apartheid* established in South Africa. Both militarily and economically, Portugal and South Africa are in league with the Southern Rhodesian illegal minority régime not only against the people of Zimbabwe but also against the neighbouring independent African countries. Early this year even the Security Council had to look into serious acts of aggression committed against Zambia by the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia.

99. Zambia has been the target of several subversive and sabotage acts carried out with the assistance of South African armed forces. Furthermore, it is the Portuguese-dominated Territories of Angola and Mozambique through which the illegal trade with Southern Rhodesia takes place, in violation of the resolutions of the Security Council.

⁹ This statement was made at the 2060th meeting of the Fourth Committee, the official records of which are published in summary form.

100. With regard to Southern Rhodesia the competent organ of the United Nations should take action immediately to ensure that the people of Zimbabwe can freely exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. To that end, the Security Council should broaden the scope of its sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia and enforce their application.

101. The problem of South Africa has been a permanent item on the agenda ever since the establishment of the United Nations. As regards the question of Namibia, the point is not only that the South African régime of white settlers introduces to the Territory its insidious *apartheid* practices, but also that, in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, the decision of the International Court of Justice and the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, it maintains the illegal occupation of the Territory, thereby preventing the people of Namibia from exercising their right to self-determination and independence.

102. Instead of terminating the illegal administration and military occupation of the Territory, the South African régime has given effect to a number of administrative, political and military measures directed against the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, thereby violating the provisions of Security Council resolution 323 (1972).

103. As in the case of Portugal and Southern Rhodesia, so with regard to South Africa, we have to condemn some members of NATO as well as the principal trading partners of the régime of white settlers for their military and economic co-operation with the racist régime of South Africa, for their assistance in the illegal occupation of Namibia, and for their participation in the exploitation of the human and material resources of the Territory.

104. It is not accidental that, as we discuss 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, I have dwelt a little longer upon the dangerous situation prevailing in the southern part of the African continent. Hungary has always followed with special interest the struggle of people for freedom and independence, against imperialism and neo-colonialism. The Hungarian people consider it an internationalist duty to promote the struggle of these peoples by all possible means.

105. The Hungarian People's Republic maintains intensive relations with the independent States of Africa. Africa takes about one-third of Hungary's trade with the developing countries. The number of our trade agreements concluded with African countries is steadily growing. Those in force at present include 29 trade and payments agreements, 15 agreements on scientific and technological co-operation, and 4 credit agreements. More and more Hungarian specialists take part in carrying out the economic development programmes of African States.

106. The endeavours to cement mutual relations are reflected also in frequent personal meetings of Hungarian and African statesmen. Headed by the President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, a Hungarian delegation is at present on a tour of Africa

visiting Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone. This is the third tour of Africa which the President of the Presidential Council has made in the past five years. The Hungarian delegation is convinced that, in addition to developing our bilateral relations, this journey is also an expression of our solidarity with the cause of the peoples still under colonial domination, of our joint efforts to promote the complete elimination of colonialism, to help the colonial peoples win their right to self-determination and independence.

107. At this juncture I should like to mention that in the joint communiqué published in Lagos, the capital of Nigeria, on 15 November, the President of Nigeria and the President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, stated, among other things, that the total liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism was one of the most urgent tasks of our time.

108. The Hungarian delegation fully endorses the proposals contained in the report of the Special Committee aiming at the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the immediate elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism, the attainment of independence by the colonial peoples, not only in southern Africa but in all other colonial territories.

109. We must not forget that peoples in colonial status who count upon assistance from the United Nations live also in the Caribbean area, the Pacific region and other parts of the world. This assistance should be extended to the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the Seychelles and the Comoro Islands, of Puerto Rico and other colonial territories. The struggle for national liberation should be continued until the last colony in the world has gained independence.

110. Despite the persistent opposition of the forces of colonialism and imperialism and despite their military intervention, the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces of the world have also in the course of this past year scored new successes in liquidating the vestiges of colonialism and in promoting the national liberation struggle. An important landmark of this process this year has been the admission of a new independent State, the Bahamas, to membership of the United Nations.

111. The foundation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is very significant, as it can be a stimulating example for the promotion of the success of the anti-colonialist liberation struggle of the peoples of the remaining Portuguese and other colonial territories. It is a great step forward that the world Organization has recognized the leaders of the national liberation movements as the authentic representatives of their countries, and that these representatives have been entitled to participate as observers in the work of United Nations organs concerned with the problems of decolonization.

112. The Hungarian People's Republic gives full support to all the peoples still living under colonial domination and renders them moral and material assistance. The Hungarian delegation will continue to strive to make sure that the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces can unite in a resolute position in order to bring closer the date of the

definitive elimination of the colonial system. My delegation supports any proposal aimed at achieving this goal.

113. Mr. D. P. SINGH (India): The proclamation of the independent State of Guinea-Bissau has relieved the generally disappointing picture of the last 12 months, during which there has been little progress of the colonial and non-self-governing territories towards independence.

114. It is with a special feeling of warmth and understanding that we share the joy of the people of Guinea-Bissau in their victory. The manner of accession of Guinea-Bissau to independence and the long, arduous and bloody struggle which preceded it, were quite different from what was envisaged when General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was adopted. But the buttressed walls of the white fortress south of the Zambesi River—where we witness the throttling domination of a white minority over a large black majority, the latter controlled by pass laws, jailings and beatings—have proved impervious to any other form of change.

115. South Africa, Portugal and the illegal régime in Rhodesia have decided not only to challenge the authority of the United Nations, but to destroy a principal part of its foundation, and some countries that are Members—important Members—of the United Nations, follow policies and pursue doctrines that, far from discouraging South Africa, Portugal and Ian Smith, in fact help them to increase their strength and so enable them to repress and suppress the local population with greater ferocity. The liberation movements, therefore, have no alternative but to fight to achieve their freedom. We believe that all means to achieve this end are justified. The Prime Minister of India, who met leaders of African liberation movements on 7 September this year in Algiers, assured them that India would continue to extend its full support to African peoples fighting for their freedom.

116. As the tide of liberation grows in the Territories still under Portuguese domination, the colonialist forces have become more desperate and ruthless. The unspeakable savagery at Wiriyamu aroused the disgust and horror of the whole world—but for each Wiriyamu that reaches the international press, there are numerous others which constitute the daily experience of the unfortunate people in these Territories. Despite this, and the aid from South Africa and Ian Smith to spur the Portuguese Government to continue its wars, the freedom fighters have been able to liberate vast areas of their countries and have set up their own administrations in these areas.

117. In our view, Portuguese aggression in Africa started the day the Portuguese colonized the very first inch of African territory and will not end until the Portuguese leave Africa completely. Even on legal considerations, Portugal, with its fatuous doctrine of “Overseas Provinces”, by its refusal to accept that the Territories under its domination are colonies within the meaning of Article 73 of the Charter, has left itself with no status in Africa except that of an aggressor. We would suggest a formal recognition of this position by a declaration by the United Nations that Portugal is an aggressor in all its African Territories; all activities, therefore, from any quarter, which are directed towards the removal of this aggression, are both legitimate and normal.

118. Namibia is a direct responsibility of the United Nations, but so far we have been prevented from taking effective action to meet that responsibility. South Africa continues to extend its shameful system of *apartheid* to Namibia and to divide its people into so-called “Bantustans”. The Secretary-General, in spite of every effort on his part, has not been able to extract from South Africa an unequivocal definition of its understanding of self-determination. We have often been counselled by Western countries that the method of negotiation is the best means to bring justice to the oppressed peoples of Namibia and to soften the immoral policy of *apartheid*.

119. Most of South Africa's trade is confined to five or six countries. Let these countries, acting in concert, persuade the South African régime to change some of its policies. The General Assembly has done nothing to inhibit these Powers from using their persuasive logic and diplomatic skill in deflecting South Africa from its degrading course. The actions of the major trading partners of South Africa, on the contrary, have encouraged that régime in its intransigence and constitute a direct affront to the peoples of South Africa. We have been encouraged, however, by the fact that some of these countries, at least in the United Nations, have been more forthright recently in expressing their disapproval of South Africa's criminal policies. We hope this trend continues and is reflected in their actions.

120. Sooner or later, we shall have to decide whether sanctions should not be imposed against South Africa. We should like it to be sooner. As the Assembly knows, India unilaterally cut off trade with South Africa in 1946, not without significant financial loss to us. But we did so gladly and we think that if all the Members of the United Nations are prepared to take similar steps, South Africa could be coerced into changing its insane and disastrous course.

121. In Zimbabwe, the foreign colonialist has become the entrenched native expatriate, jealously guarding his privileges and brutally securing his domination. The illegal régime has not only increased its oppression of the African people, but has sent its armed forces to fight in Mozambique and has threatened Zambia. Sanctions have shown little result and recent reports of widespread and flagrant violations do not suggest that their effectiveness is likely to increase substantially in the future. Nevertheless, as one symbol of the determination of the international community to deny victory to Ian Smith, we shall continue to make every effort towards full and scrupulous observance of sanctions and support their extension. However, as with other Territories in southern Africa, it is the struggle and sacrifices of the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe that will finally decide the pace and circumstances in which freedom will be won. The mobilization of political and material support for the liberation movements, therefore, is the area where the international community should concentrate its attention.

122. One of the prime factors behind the maintenance of racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa is the operation of foreign economic interests in those Territories. Working under the protection of oppressive and discriminatory labour conditions, and under the auspices and for the benefit of the illegal régimes of those regions, those interests continue to prosper while pretending to have the welfare

and benefit of the colonial peoples as their objectives. Concern is expressed—noisily at times—that the withdrawal of these economic interests would cause suffering and hardship for the black people. We would prefer that the apologists for these economic interests recognize their motives for what they are and refrain from trying to convince others—and perhaps even themselves—of their noble objectives.

123. The problems of some of the smaller Territories under colonial rule were the subject of useful discussion by the Special Committee. In many of these Territories, economic exploitation by the Administering Powers concerned, or by outside economic interests, continues. In most areas, participation and control by the peoples of the Territories concerned in economic ventures in their own lands is far from adequate. Political developments in most of the smaller Territories have also been very slow. We are told that the major reasons for the colonial Powers retaining these possessions are the isolation, small size, population and resources of these Territories. We accept that some of the small colonial Territories have special features, but the difficulties have often been exaggerated so that colonial domination can continue in the economic and strategic interests of the administering Powers.

124. The solution to many of these problems would be facilitated if the administering Powers co-operated with the Special Committee. Such co-operation, with the notable exceptions of Australia and New Zealand, has regrettably been lacking. Suggestions for visiting missions have been turned down by the administering Powers on various pleas, none of which carry conviction. The function of the United Nations in the process of decolonization is to determine the wishes of the inhabitants of a particular colonial Territory about their political future, and to give effect to their wishes. In order to determine what the inhabitants of colonial territories want, the United Nations must have free access to them. Visiting missions can be effectively used to study closely the problems of colonial peoples and ascertain their wishes concerning their political future.

125. Such missions have been used with success on a continuing basis by the Trusteeship Council, but the same Powers which themselves participate in visiting missions of the Trusteeship Council, refuse to allow visiting missions of the Special Committee on grounds of principle. We find no explanation for this attitude and such refusals can only invite suspicion of the intention of the administering Powers concerned.

126. Further, on the same point, we do not believe that an administering Power should be permitted to decide unilaterally that a certain colonial Territory has achieved self-government and to inform the United Nations that its obligation to transmit information to the United Nations under Article 73 of the Charter has ceased. My delegation is convinced that the General Assembly alone, in consultation with the administering Power, can determine whether or not the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) have been carried out.

127. Apart from what the administering Powers can do to bring about self-determination and independence in their colonial Territories, other countries can also help in the process, mainly through assistance for education and train-

ing. In the past, scholarships have been provided by different countries bilaterally as well as through the United Nations. India will continue to offer these scholarships and we hope that such assistance, either direct or through the United Nations, will increase substantially. Similarly, the specialized agencies and other international organizations can be of help. The Special Committee has been studying this problem and gave particularly close attention to it this year. We look forward to an active programme of assistance by the specialized agencies to colonial peoples. The need for this is particularly great in Africa.

128. Before I conclude, I should like to express our satisfaction at the Bahamas' accession to independence and its admission to the United Nations. We look forward to working in close co-operation with its delegation.

129. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have heard the last scheduled speaker for this morning, and the representative of the United States has asked to exercise his right of reply.

130. Members will recall that the General Assembly, at its 2123rd meeting, decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes and, as a general rule, should be made at the end of the meeting, or, when there are two meetings a day, at the end of the day. However, since at this afternoon's meeting we shall be discussing another agenda item, I would suggest that rights of reply on the item at present under discussion be exercised at this time. As there are no objections, it is so decided.

131. I now call on the representative of the United States to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

132. Mr. SCHAUFLE (United States of America): Today, the Assembly had to listen once again to the annual verbal attack on the people of Puerto Rico by the representative of Cuba. His ritualistic repetition of untruths year after year does nothing for his credibility. It is to be hoped that his irrelevant and outmoded rhetoric will not distort the image of this Organization, which has recently demonstrated its capacity for responding creatively to unprecedented challenges in the Middle East.

133. I do not wish to bore my fellow representatives with a speech of similar length. However, for the benefit of those not well acquainted with the issue raised by the representative of Cuba, I merely wish to emphasize once again that the political destiny of Puerto Rico is in the hands of the Puerto Rican people themselves. Every time they go to the polls to express their views in truly free elections, the people of Puerto Rico have the opportunity to alter that destiny. The 1972 election returns from Puerto Rico represent the latest expression of popular will. All shades of political opinion in Puerto Rico can and do participate in free elections.

134. The Cuban representative has referred to the existence of a "wall of silence". There has been no wall of silence surrounding the polling places. The Puerto Rican people express their will not in isolation but for the whole world to see. I wish I could say the same for Cuba. When was the last time any kind of election was held there, let alone a free election? The Foreign Minister of Cuba, in referring to political conditions in his own country, from this same

podium, on 10 October [2148th meeting], talked about executions rather than elections. I let the record speak for itself on this point.

135. The United States delegation regrets that the Special Committee, by unnecessarily and improperly involving itself in the affairs of Puerto Rico, regardless of the decisions of the General Assembly, has provided the representative of Cuba with what he has taken as an excuse for delivering his diatribes. The failure of some members of the Committee to take account of the facts in Puerto Rico understandably tends to disillusion the citizens of the United States and Puerto Rico, who believe that judgement by a committee in New York or elsewhere is no substitute for the sovereign will of the voters expressing their freedom of choice.

136. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of Cuba to exercise his right of reply, on the same terms as I mentioned before.

137. Mr. ALARCÓN (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall easily keep my remarks within the 10-minute limit. I should like to refer to the allegations repeated ritually, year after year, by the representative of the United States as if thereby the facts could somehow be confused, as if it could be concealed that there is a resolution of the Special Committee, the result of a debate to which that Committee devoted 8 of its 56 meetings—one-seventh of its

time this year; as if those allegations could conceal the fact that more than 70 Heads of State or Government reiterated similar positions, which we merely reflect for the records of this Assembly.

138. The arguments of the United States representative seem to be mutually contradictory. He referred to the so-called free elections in that colonial Territory. There is no need to comment on that, for it is the same argument that the Assembly heard a short time ago when we were considering other colonial situations: "free elections" were also referred to by the representative of Portugal—"free elections" similar to the ones just referred to now; but they were used to prevent other African peoples from exercising their sacred right to independence. There have also been promises from the American Government—promises repeated in this Assembly—promises repeated to deceive the Puerto Rican people. Out of respect for the Puerto Ricans I would merely quote for the record the words of an American author. This is what an anonymous Indian from the plains of this country had to say after having had some experience of the promises of his American oppressors: "They made us many promises, more than I can remember, but they never kept but one: they promised to take our land and they took it".¹⁰

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

¹⁰ Quoted in English by the speaker.