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President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).

AGENDA ITEM 23

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

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Members will recall that the General Assembly decided to take up the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in plenary meeting so that the Assembly might treat the question of the application of the Declaration in a general way. All the chapters 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/9623/Rev.1] relating to specific Territories have been referred to the Fourth Committee. Representatives who wish to make comments on specific Territories will have the opportunity to do so at a later date, when the Assembly takes up the reports of the Fourth Committee on those Territories. The Assembly can now confine itself to a general consideration of agenda item 23.

2. Mr. ARTEAGA ACOSTA (Venezuela), Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour to introduce to the Assembly the report of the Special Committee on its work in 1974 [A/9623/Rev.1]. The report, which relates, *inter alia*, to agenda item 23, is submitted pursuant to paragraph 11 of resolution 3163 (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, in which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee:

* Resumed from the 2254th meeting.

“... to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) in all Territories which have not yet attained independence and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism . . .”

3. The complete report of the Special Committee appears in document A/9623/Rev.1. A summary of the Committee's consideration of the individual situation of each of the Territories is contained in chapters VII to XXVIII of that document. A summary of its consideration of other specific items to which General Assembly resolutions refer is contained in the remaining chapters of the report.

4. The work of the Special Committee has fallen behind this year, largely because of the need to keep under continuous study a series of events in the colonial Territories of southern Africa, as reflected in the relevant chapter of the Committee's report. Another factor that also contributed to this was the detailed examination conducted by the Committee in respect of certain of the small Territories. Furthermore, the dispatch of three visiting missions between the end of July and the beginning of September, considerably increased the volume and complexity of the Committee's work towards the end of the year.

5. The Committee was nevertheless able, by means of a crowded programme of meetings and extensive informal consultations among its members, to give due consideration to, and make recommendations on, the majority of the items on its agenda.

6. In the course of its work during the year, the Special Committee, taking special account of the specific requests addressed to it by the General Assembly in resolution 3163 (XXVIII), reviewed the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] and the programme of action, as well as the various resolutions of the United Nations relating to colonial Territories, and, in the light of developments, formulated recommendations to be implemented by States, as well as by the competent bodies of the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other organs of the United Nations system, in an effort to accelerate the process of decolonization and the political, economic, social and educational development of the peoples concerned.

7. The Committee once again received valuable information on the various Territories from the representatives of the national liberation movements concerned, who took an active part as observers in the deliberations on their respective countries. Moreover, the Committee took account of the statements made at the special meetings held in May on the occasion of the celebration of the Week of Solidarity with Colonial

Peoples of Southern Africa Fighting for Freedom, Independence, and Equal Rights.

8. In fulfilling the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly, the Committee, in the light of the important and relevant events that took place during the year, devoted special attention to the question of Territories under Portuguese domination, as well as to matters relating to Southern Rhodesia and Namibia. Pursuant to General Assembly resolution 3117 (XXVIII) the Committee also continued its study of the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination.

9. Furthermore, on the basis of the relevant provisions of resolutions 3163 (XXVIII) and 3156 (XXVIII), the Committee continued its consideration of the military activities of colonial Powers in Territories under their administration—activities that impede the implementation of the Declaration and are incompatible with the provisions of pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly.

10. In accordance with the provisions of resolution 3118 (XXVIII), the Committee also continued its consideration of the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations, and again this year held consultations on this matter with representatives of various agencies.

11. At the invitation of the administering Powers concerned, the Committee sent visiting missions to the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, under the administration of Australia; the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, under the administration of the United Kingdom; and to Niue, under the administration of New Zealand. The special mission that visited Niue observed the exercise of self-determination by the people of the island. It should be noted that the Committee concluded, on the basis of the work of that mission, that as a result of that event the people of Niue had freely expressed their desires and had exercised their right to self-determination in accordance with the principles of the Charter and of the Declaration.

12. Pursuant to the General Assembly's request to the Secretary-General to continue to take concrete measures to implement its previous decisions on the question, the Special Committee once again examined the question of the publicity to be given to United Nations work in the field of decolonization. The Committee conducted consultations during the year with non-governmental organizations and participated in several international conferences and meetings sponsored by those organizations.

13. As the report shows, the Committee also devoted a good deal of attention to the decolonization of small Territories and, after an exchange of views, adopted a series of specific recommendations concerning each of those Territories. Finally, the Committee discharged a number of specific tasks entrusted to it by the General Assembly in various resolutions, as well as other tasks specified in previous decisions.

14. Many chapters of the Special Committee's report relating to specific items have been made available to the Fourth Committee for its consideration of the

items allocated to it by the General Assembly. The recommendations of the Fourth Committee on those items will shortly be submitted to this Assembly.

15. On behalf of the Special Committee, I wish to express the hope that the General Assembly will devote due attention to the various recommendations appearing in the relevant sections of the Committee's report and, in particular, that the proposals in chapter I, section P, entitled "Future work", will be endorsed, thus permitting the Committee to proceed with the tasks scheduled for 1975.

16. In that section, the Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly should once again urge the administering Powers concerned to take the necessary measures immediately to implement the Declaration and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. In this connexion, the Special Committee recommends, in the light of the useful results achieved as a consequence of the active participation by some of the administering Powers in its work, that the General Assembly should once again request the administering Powers concerned to participate actively in its work on the Territories under their respective administrations. Bearing in mind the affirmation by the General Assembly that direct association of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies is an effective means of promoting the progress of the peoples of those Territories towards a position of equality with Member States of the United Nations, the Special Committee also recommends that the Assembly should invite the administering Powers to allow representatives of the Territories concerned to participate in the discussion in the Fourth Committee and the Special Committee of the items relating to their countries.

17. The General Assembly could also once again urge all States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to comply with the various requests addressed to them by the United Nations in its resolutions on the question of decolonization.

18. On the other hand, the Special Committee recommends that, in adopting the programme of work set forth in that section, the General Assembly should take financial measures adequate to cover the activities envisaged for the Committee in 1975.

19. Finally, the Committee expressed the hope that the Secretary-General will continue to provide it with the facilities and staff necessary for the accomplishment of its task.

20. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania), Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: Since the Rapporteur of the Special Committee, our colleague from Venezuela, has just given a broad overview of the work accomplished by the Special Committee during 1974, I should like, in my capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee, to confine myself to a few observations concerning the principal developments that have taken place in the field of decolonization during the year, and to refer briefly to some of the very serious problems that still confront us.

21. I think that all members will agree with me that the year 1974 will probably be remembered as one of the most important milestones in the history of decolonization, as the world community witnessed the predestined, but long-fought-for, downfall of a 500-year-old colonial empire which was enslaving, repressing and exploiting millions of Africans in the continent of Africa. The overthrow on 25 April this year of the fascist régime of Marcelo Caetano, marked the irrevocable end of the 50 years of one of the worst dictatorships the world has ever known; it represented an irrefutable demonstration of the inevitable bankruptcy of Portuguese colonialism. For it had been very clear to us all for many years that the Caetano dictatorship would either have to rescind its African policy or be demolished by it.

22. The new leadership in Portugal has since renounced the colonialist policies of the previous régime and pledged itself to implement fully the relevant provisions of the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples as regards the people of the Territories under its administration. We note with satisfaction in this regard a further pledge by the new Government that it will co-operate closely with the competent organs of the United Nations with a view to the full and speedy implementation of the relevant decisions of the United Nations. I am convinced that only through such co-operation will the process of decolonization—so positively begun with the recognition of the independence of Guinea-Bissau and the agreement on the forthcoming independence of Mozambique—be carried to a successful conclusion in the case of Angola, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe.

23. It is all the more encouraging, therefore, to recall the statement made in this Assembly a few weeks ago by the President of the Republic of Portugal, in which he reaffirmed Portugal's determination to pursue—and here I quote General da Costa Gomes—"the irreversible and definitive process of decolonization" that it has begun [2296th meeting, para. 12]. It is my sincere hope that nothing will be done, that no action will be taken in any quarter to undermine or prevent an expeditious and satisfactory solution leading to the total independence of these Territories without further delay.

24. While note must be taken with satisfaction of, and due tribute paid to, the crucial role played by the Armed Forces Movement and other progressive forces within Portugal in this connexion, it is equally important to take account of the fact that the direct cause of the coup in Portugal emanated from more than a decade of aggressive colonial wars in Africa. Indeed, we are all aware of the fact that the changes brought about by those who have taken power in Portugal were made possible only by the effectiveness, determination, resilience and sacrifice of the peoples of the Territories concerned and, above all, by their national liberation movements. It is an incontrovertible fact that repression, violence and murder could never have arrested the irreversible tide of the liberation struggle, or prevented the peoples of the Territories concerned from continuing to the end the struggle for the success of which great men such as Eduardo Mondlane and Amílcar Cabral, as well as countless other unknown freedom-fighters, had laid down their lives.

25. Of no less importance have been the related activities of the competent United Nations bodies and the organizations within the United Nations system in the extension of moral and material assistance, albeit in varying degrees, to the peoples of these Territories and their national liberation movements in support of their struggle for freedom and independence, as well as in bringing about the almost total isolation of Portugal in the field of multinational diplomacy. Let us not forget that as the peoples of these Territories stand today on the threshold of a new era, after years of suffering and devastation, their needs for assistance are greater and more pressing than ever. It is my fervent hope that at this critical stage of their development the newly emerging States will be given all possible assistance in the consolidation of their hard-won independence and the strengthening of their development programmes. In this regard I am confident that, as has already been demonstrated clearly, the Secretary-General will continue to extend his assistance to the peoples concerned, in his capacity both as the executive head of the Organization and as the Chairman of the Administrative Committee for Co-ordination of inter-agency efforts.

26. The new era of freedom which is dawning in the Territories under Portuguese domination cannot but be contrasted to the situation still prevailing in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia. Despite repeated condemnations by this Assembly and the Security Council, the illegal minority racist settlers' régime in Southern Rhodesia continues unabashedly to implement the same arrogant, racist and repressive policies it has pursued since the usurpation of power in 1965. It is indeed a sad commentary on our times that the tragedy which is taking place in Southern Rhodesia no longer requires any elaboration since the developments in that unfortunate Territory during the past year have once again confirmed—if confirmation were necessary—the continued intransigence of the minority racist régime by attempting to prevent the people of Zimbabwe from exercising their legitimate right to self-determination and independence. With the active support of its South African ally, the illegal régime has been relentlessly pursuing its oppression of the African majority, systematically intimidating, banishing, kidnapping, gaoling or murdering whosoever dares to oppose its inhumanly discriminatory and cruel policies.

27. Equally, we are aware, however, of the demonstrated commitment and determination of more than 5 million Zimbabweans to reject the régime's imposition on them of its fascist rule and to win their freedom and independence at any cost and at any sacrifice. That they are in the process of doing just that is no longer a matter of conjecture, and the successes scored by the freedom-fighters, those of the Zimbabwe African National Union [ZANU] and the Zimbabwe African People's Union [ZAPU], are beginning to have telling effects on the illegal minority régime. I need hardly add that, in the light of this Assembly's recognition of the legitimacy of their struggle for freedom and independence, it is incumbent upon each and every Member of this Organization to help them in their struggle, above all by demanding of the United Kingdom, the administering Power, that it

fulfil its Charter obligations with respect to this Non-Self-Governing Territory.

28. In this regard, as has been repeatedly stated, any attempt at a solution that is not based on the principle of majority rule would be viewed by the people of Zimbabwe as yet another attempt at legalizing their current state of subjugation. Any such attempt would and should be rejected by this Organization in categorical and decisive terms.

29. The only viable solution, the only solution which would have the support of the people of the Territory, would therefore be the convening by the administering Power of a forum where the genuine political leaders and representatives of the people, both within and outside the Territory, particularly the national liberation movements in Zimbabwe, and their leaders, including Ndabaningi Sithole and Joshua Nkomo, who are still languishing in Mr. Smith's dungeons, would be able to work out a settlement relating to the future of the Territory.

30. At the same time, it is also incumbent upon each and every Member of this Organization to refrain from taking any action which might confer a semblance of legitimacy on the illegal régime, and specifically to ensure that all collaboration with the régime is discontinued. We cannot but regard those countries which flout, or permit their nationals and companies under their jurisdiction to flout, the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council, as supporters of the fascist régime and, as such, violating the very principles on which this Organization is founded.

31. That the situation in Southern Rhodesia poses a grave threat to international peace and security has repeatedly been affirmed by the Security Council. In the light of the seriously deteriorating situation in the Territory, the only logical step to be taken at this stage by the world community would be the widening of the scope of sanctions to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as their extension to the régime's staunchest ally, the racist minority régime of Pretoria.

32. Indeed, in addition to the continued open violation of the decision of the United Nations relating to Southern Rhodesia, the régime in South Africa persists in its breach of the solemn obligations it had accepted under the Charter by continuing to occupy illegally the international Territory of Namibia under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, despite the repeated demands by the Security Council and the General Assembly to withdraw therefrom.

33. By resorting to such cruel and inhuman measures as mass arrests and detentions or public floggings, the *apartheid* authorities have sought to destroy all the organized political opposition to their illegal occupation of the Territory. That situation has been further aggravated by South Africa's relentless extension to Namibia of its notorious policy of *apartheid* and its continued and equally criminal attempts at destroying the territorial integrity of the Territory by breaking it up into the so-called "bantustans".

34. We can no longer tolerate this anachronistic situation. Bearing in mind in particular the direct responsibility of the United Nations towards the people of Namibia, this Organization is duty-bound to press its demand for, and can be satisfied with no less

than, South Africa's complete, immediate and unconditional withdrawal from the Territory which it illegally occupies. To that end, I should like to express the hope that during its forthcoming series of meetings beginning, it is to be hoped, this week or early next week, the Security Council will consider taking effective measures, in accordance with the Charter, to secure South Africa's compliance with Council resolution 310 (1972), as well as other related resolutions calling for that country's withdrawal from the Territory. It is obvious that no other alternative will be acceptable to the oppressed masses of the Territory.

35. In connexion with the efforts of the international community to assist in the final eradication of colonialism throughout the world, and particularly in southern Africa, I should like once again to stress the pressing need for intensified governmental and inter-governmental assistance in support of the colonial peoples and their national liberation movements in their struggle for self-determination and independence. Beyond their obvious and urgent material requirements, I have in mind, in particular, the need for making the necessary arrangements, both procedural and financial, for the representation of the colonial Territories of southern Africa by their respective national liberation movements as observers in the relevant work of the General Assembly sessions and of the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, as well as in the proceedings of all United Nations conferences, seminars and other meetings dealing with their countries.

36. The search for new ways and means of increasing international assistance to the peoples of the colonial Territories in southern Africa is an area to which the Special Committee devoted considerable attention during the year, and I am firmly convinced that this is the course of action that the international community must continue to follow if it is to contribute meaningfully and constructively to the cause of African liberation.

37. Just as pressing at this stage of the decolonization struggle in southern Africa is the necessity to take advantage of the current positive situation to launch an intensified campaign of publicity in order to impress on world public opinion the objective realities of the situation in the region. In this regard, I wish to express my confident hope that the Secretary-General will continue to take further concrete measures with all the means at his disposal, to effect the widest possible dissemination of the relevant information so as to counter the conspiracy of silence which is still pursued in certain quarters regarding the liberation struggle being waged by the colonial peoples under the leadership of the liberation movement in that area.

38. As the Secretary-General, in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, aptly remarked:

"The dramatic change in policy by the new Government of Portugal towards its overseas territories has heightened prospects for the early completion of the decolonization process on the African continent." [A/9601/Add.1, sect. IX, p. 6.]

The process of decolonization in these Territories is bound to affect radically the balance of forces within and outside the region. Let us concert all our

efforts so that the unfolding events in these Territories may serve as a catalyst for generating momentum for the long-desired changes in Zimbabwe, Namibia and even in South Africa itself.

39. Still in the context of Africa, I should like to take note of two specific developments. The expected referendum in the Comoro Archipelago this month is, obviously, anxiously awaited by the people of the Comoros, as indeed by the African people as a whole. We remain confident that the people there will decisively opt for independence; in fact they have already done so by overwhelmingly putting into power the present Government in the elections which were held in the islands in 1972.

40. I should like to take this opportunity to launch an appeal to the French Government to ensure that immediately after the referendum the necessary machinery will be put into effect so as to respond positively to the desire of the Comoran people to independence without further delay. There is absolutely no reason whatsoever why the Comoro Archipelago should not be independent next year. We trust that in the interests of the Comoran people, as well as in the interests of France, the process of decolonization in that Territory will not be subjected to undue delays.

41. With respect to the Seychelles, it is encouraging to note that the people of the island represented by both the Government of Chief Minister James Mancham and the opposition, led by the Seychelles People's United Party, are now united in their common goal of independence for the island. This, in my opinion, is an extremely important development which augurs well for the future of the Territory. We in this Organization must most warmly welcome the collective determination of the people of the Seychelles to march towards freedom and independence. I should like particularly to recall the statement made by the Chief Minister, Mr. Mancham, in the Special Committee in which he expressed his hope that the Territory would achieve its independence next year. It is my earnest hope that the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, will take all the necessary measures to facilitate the decolonization of the Territory without undue delay.

42. If I have dwelt at some length on the situation in the colonial Territories in southern Africa it is because the Special Committee feels that the time has come for this Organization to take decisive and concrete action to put an end to the intolerable situation prevailing in these Territories. The impression should not be created, however, that in devoting much time to the urgent and complex problems relating to southern Africa the Committee has in any way neglected the situation in other colonial Territories. Indeed, the very opposite is true and, while it is not my intention to go into each and every decision and recommendation adopted by the Committee in respect of specific Territories, I believe that certain basic elements must be pointed out.

43. As regards these Territories, most of which are located in the Caribbean and the Indian and Pacific Oceans, it is self-evident that whatever the problems they may face as a result of their small size and population, limited resources of geographic isolation, such problems in no way affect the inalienable right of their

peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence in the light of the relevant provisions of the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In this respect it is clear that, although limited but encouraging political and constitutional development has taken place during the recent past in most of these Territories, the provisions of the Declaration and the subsequent recommendations of the General Assembly and the Special Committee continue to elude full implementation. Notable exceptions to this situation are, of course, Papua New Guinea, under Australian administration, and Niue, under New Zealand administration. We are very happy that the people of Niue have by their own free will exercised their right to self-determination in accordance with the principles enshrined in the Charter and the Declaration. We also note with satisfaction that the people of Papua New Guinea are only one step away from full independence. We remain convinced that during the next session of the General Assembly we shall be welcoming that nation as a sovereign Member of this Organization.

44. I am of the firm view that the co-operation extended to the United Nations by Australia and New Zealand, as administering Powers, in this connexion has been most exemplary and has indeed been extremely beneficial to the true interests of the inhabitants of these Territories. In acknowledging the continued co-operation of the two Governments as well as that of the United States, whose participation in its work again enhanced the Special Committee's capacity to assist in accelerating the process of decolonization in the Territories concerned, I should mention the positive decision of the Government of the United Kingdom to resume its participation in the relevant work of the Committee. It is obvious that the United Kingdom, as the administering Power responsible for the great majority of the Territories still under colonial rule, can contribute much to the Committee's efforts and as a consequence to the welfare of the peoples concerned and the realization of their legitimate aspirations.

45. In the same connexion, it is to be regretted that, despite the repeated appeals addressed to them by this Assembly and the Special Committee, some administering Powers still maintain an unco-operative attitude with respect to receiving United Nations visiting groups in the Territories under their administration. If proof were still needed of the value and usefulness of such visiting groups, I would only draw attention to the constructive results achieved again this year as a consequence of the sending by the Committee of visiting missions to the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, under the administration of Australia, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, under the administration of the United Kingdom, and Niue, under the administration of New Zealand. As reflected in their relevant reports, which were subsequently acted upon by the Special Committee, those missions demonstrated once again what the United Nations has often asserted, namely, that they constitute the most suitable method both of securing information on the conditions in the colonial Territories and the views and aspirations of their inhabitants, and of enhancing the capacity to assist the efforts of the peoples to achieve the goals set forth in the Charter and the Declaration.

46. The special mission to Niue is a case in point. On the basis of the mission's observation of the act of self-determination that took place in the Territory, the Special Committee determined that the people of Niue had freely expressed their wishes and exercised their right to self-determination in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the Declaration [A/9623/Rev.1, chap. XXII]. This determination was unanimously endorsed by the Fourth Committee last week. I sincerely hope that those administering Powers which have so far refused to assist the Committee by permitting its visiting missions access to the Territories under their administration will reconsider their attitude and join in the Committee's efforts to seek the best ways and means of fulfilling the aspirations of the peoples of the colonial Territories.

47. As I remarked at the beginning of my statement, this has undoubtedly been a significant year in the history of decolonization. After years of struggle to break out of what has appeared at times to be a hopeless impasse, it seems that the efforts of the international community to find solutions to this, one of the most burning issues of our time, are at long last beginning to bear fruit. Admittedly our work is far from completed and much remains to be done—particularly with respect to the colonial Territories in southern Africa—to assist those who are still languishing under colonial and alien rule. Yet I am firmly convinced that, as we enter what I believe is a new phase in the process of decolonization, much can be done to support the just struggle of these millions of oppressed people. It is therefore of the highest importance that we in this Organization intensify the momentum recently acquired by the decolonization process; that we continue the pressure that has been brought to bear upon the colonial Powers and racist régimes concerned; and, equally important, that we ensure that the colonial peoples receive all the support they need in their legitimate struggle for the restoration of human dignity and the achievement of freedom and independence.

48. As the Rapporteur of the Special Committee has rightly pointed out, the Special Committee has put forward in the relevant chapters of its report a number of concrete recommendations which are intended to contribute to the attainment of these goals with respect to the remaining colonial Territories. As the Assembly embarks upon the discussion of this important item I should like to express the hope that it will give these recommendations its most serious attention. I am confident that approval by the General Assembly of these and other equally important recommendations will contribute positively to our Organization's capacity to deal effectively with the remaining vestiges of colonialism.

49. I cannot conclude my statement without paying due tribute to the important contribution made by my colleagues the other officers of the Committee—the Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Mehdi Ehsassi of Iran, Mr. Duncan Campbell of Australia and Mr. Ivan Garvalov of Bulgaria, as well as the Committee's outstanding Rapporteur, Mr. Arteaga Acosta of Venezuela. As Chairman of the Special Committee it was for me a singular honour and privilege to work with such dedicated and capable colleagues.

50. This brings me to the particular contribution made by Venezuela to the work of our Committee. I very much regret the decision of the Government of that brotherly State to withdraw from the Committee. Venezuela has been an important member of the Committee since its inception. As Chairman of the Committee, as an African and as a representative of my country—the United Republic of Tanzania—I can testify to the invaluable contribution made by Venezuela in the process of decolonization. But while I regret its impending departure, I fully understand the reasons behind its decision to allow other Latin American States to serve on the Committee. I remain confident that its successor—which, I am sure, you, Mr. President, will nominate in the course of this Assembly—will prove worthy of the great tradition of dedication, devotion and dynamism in the cause of decolonization so richly and eloquently imparted to the Committee by our friends from Venezuela.

51. Mr. DE ALMEIDA SANTOS (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): It is a great honour for me to address this Assembly and describe developments in the process of decolonization of the Territories under Portuguese administration. I am all the more pleased to do so because it was here that resolutions concerning these Territories were adopted, resolutions for whose implementation progressive Portuguese—of whom I was one—unceasingly and courageously struggled to the extent possible. Mozambique was and remains my own battlefield. In my capacity as Minister responsible for the former Department of the Colonies, which is now charged with decolonization, I am still contending with the inherent difficulties of this decolonization.

52. In implementing these resolutions adopted in the name of civilization, human rights and history, my Government, totally rejecting the policy of isolation and lack of co-operation of the régime that was overturned on 25 April, has undertaken the duty of informing this Assembly of the plans and the timetable—already achieved or on the way to being implemented—for the decolonization of each Territory.

53. This is what I propose to do now, aware of the difficulty in which I find myself in addressing the Assembly after the President of the Republic of Portugal, General da Costa Gomes, who has from this same rostrum already explained to the Assembly the position of Portugal today [2269th meeting].

54. Before doing so, Mr. President, I should first like to say how pleased I am to speak during a session of the Assembly that is presided over by you. You are the illustrious Minister of a great country, having been a fierce fighter for a colony which has paid for the right to be independent and free with the lives and the sacrifices of its martyrs. I wish to pay a tribute to Algeria, this country which has proved its solidarity with my compatriots who were exiled during the long night of fascism, this country which the liberation movements justly consider as their second homeland. Algiers will always be linked with the signature of the agreements which were concluded there on 26 August 1974 between my country and the liberation movement of Guinea-Bissau, and on 26 November with the liberation movement of Sao Tome and Principe [see A/9953], agreements which guaranteed the independence of these two Portuguese-speaking countries and

in which I had the honour of participating. As was so rightly pointed out in this same hall [2239th meeting] by a fighter in the struggle against fascism who is my friend and colleague, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country, Mr. Mário Soares, you, Sir, better than anyone else can understand my country's present effort to make up for lost time.

55. I should also like to recall the eminent role played by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, both in decolonization in general and in the special case of the decolonization of the Territories under Portuguese administration. During his latest visit to Portugal, we had the opportunity of clarifying certain ideas, and even of changing some courses of action. I am particularly grateful to him on that account.

56. The new Portugal has inherited not only a colonial situation which in itself is unjust but, what is more, one which endeavoured to survive by every means against the course of history. If Portugal had only followed with a reasonable degree of foresight the road which had been open to its people ever since the end of the nineteenth century, I am sure that our decolonization would long ago have been an accomplished fact.

57. Unfortunately, however, under the iron rule of a backward totalitarian régime we, unlike others, swam against the tide of history, refusing to grant self-determination and claiming to impose an assimilative centralism. And when Africa quite rightly took up the struggle for its liberty, the colonialist régime resorted to arms to stifle this resistance. Others were able to understand this resistance and, little by little, Portugal found itself "proudly alone" and grotesquely confined in its suicidal vanity of being the "scandal of the world". Yet it was not really Portugal, for neither its people nor its most progressive elements thought along those lines. They strove to help the country to recover its true vocation, its dignity and its rights, conducting a courageous struggle throughout the long night which lasted half a century.

58. However, the régime that was overthrown had fallen prey to a dictatorship vaunted as divinely inspired, and sacrificed on the altar of the so-called bastion of Western civilization the best of our youth and our human and material resources. At dawn on 25 April 1974 we were waging war on three military fronts and on all diplomatic fronts. A demographic haemorrhage had resulted in our losing 1.5 million workers.

59. Even though we were in debt, divided and battered, we were still able to find in our country a small group of young officers who, on 25 April, restored our liberty and were able, with the help of our people, to do so without hatred or violence.

60. But we inherited a heavy burden. We had to make peace without reprisals, to decolonize without upheavals in the Territories where we had sown seeds of violence and to win a number of diplomatic battles. And how were we to convert an integrated colonialist economy into one of coexistence in mutual freedom and respect? In addition, how were we to restore its rights to an entire people that had for so long been gagged, oppressed and exploited?

61. What I want to stress, in enumerating these problems, is that my country is not responsible for what it was obliged to be before 25 April, nor since

that historic date, is it responsible for the limitations the heavy heritage of the past has imposed on it. But, none the less, within the country as well as outside it we often have to face criticisms formulated by those who judge effects but forget their causes. As regards decolonization, an understandable impatience leads certain persons at times to doubt the sincerity of our intentions, whereas within the country reactionary elements have taken advantage of recently acquired liberties to attempt to destroy them.

62. But the programme of the armed forces ensures and clearly guarantees democratic pluralism. Already, a new electoral law has been promulgated and the first measures have been taken to draw up electoral lists. We will be bold without imprudence, courageous without boasting, and revolutionary without being unjust. Furthermore, we want our decolonization process to be understood and judged by the community of nations as it is, that is to say, equally determined and flexible.

63. That is what I shall concern myself with now in tracing the fundamental co-ordinates of this process and enumerating what has been done and what remains to be done. The process rests on four principles: first, recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence, as it is today enshrined in the Constitution of my country; secondly, the rejection of all racism and the uncompromising defence of non-racial societies, with the consequent condemnation of all forms of political discrimination, in particular *apartheid*; thirdly, recognition of the historic role of the United Nations and the international normative force of its Charter, principles and resolutions; and fourthly, recognition of the ethical imperative of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

64. The new Portugal rests on those bases to the extent that its principles are in agreement with a certain universalist humanism peculiar to the Portuguese people. Because, while we may accept the existence of a people which is particularly inclined to integration in a world without geographical or human boundaries—a humanistic and universal world in effect—those people are indeed the people of Portugal. Mr. President, you will excuse, this small note of pride which can only be explained by our sincerity and enthusiasm.

65. It is thus normal that, in the decolonization process, we should focus on an aspect which is particularly dear to us, that of the perfect cordiality and no less perfect co-operation with which—despite the paucity of our resources—we are in the process of developing, together with the legitimate representatives of the Territories still under our administration, peaceful ways and means of transmitting responsibilities and powers. It is no accident that we have been able to emerge from three long murderous wars using not the language of hatred but that of friendship, brotherhood, co-existence and peaceful co-operation. On all three battlefronts, a *de facto* cease-fire spontaneously preceded the *de jure* one. Because those wars were not between peoples but between systems, and because facing the peace-loving African people was the peace-loving Portuguese people, friendship became a fact around the conference table and sealed the accords which were signed between the two parties.

66. That does not mean that we have made no mistakes. However, as a people we have never lost our sense of responsibility for our shortcomings and we have never collectively followed the principles or practices condemned by the conscience of humanity.

67. The moment has come I feel, to give a summary of what has been done and what remains to be done—point by point, that is to say, Territory by Territory.

68. Guinea-Bissau is already a new, Portuguese-speaking nation, which acceded to independence by the will of its people expressed during the course of 13 years of unceasing struggle. It would be difficult to find, within the framework of traditional democracy, a more eloquent form of expression of the will, that is to say the self-determination, of a people.

69. The Algiers agreements, which I had the honour to assist in negotiating and with which my name is linked, enshrine not only an armistice but also an alliance. We emerged from the war not face to face but side by side. We have promised to co-operate and we are co-operating. Portuguese physicians and professors have already gone to this new State to help their Guinean brothers there. In the most varied fields we have maintained a dialogue of co-operation which has already borne fruit and continues to do so. During the period which followed the truce, before the *de jure* peace, the Portuguese armed forces and those of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [PAIGC] worked together as only true allies could do, up until the departure of the last Portuguese soldier—without a single incident, without a single conflict and without a single gap in their reciprocal cordiality.

70. Mozambique will become independent on 25 June next year under the terms of the Lusaka agreement of 7 September 1974 [A/9769, annex I], which I had the honour of negotiating, which I have signed and which underscores the friendship, the identity of aims and the desire for brotherly co-operation between my Government and the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO], between Portuguese and Mozambicans.

71. A transitional Government, a Government of coalition, with a Prime Minister and a majority of ministers appointed by FRELIMO, now holds all the legislative and executive powers relating to the administration of the Territory. On 25 June 1975 we will yield to FRELIMO the prerogatives of government and sovereignty which we still hold. Its legitimate right to receive them is beyond dispute. Its men have won that right, fighting and falling on the battlefield over 13 long years. They could not have maintained that struggle with increasing success without counting on the massive adherence of their people. FRELIMO has leaders who lack neither ability nor prestige. The President, Mr. Samora Machel, is a leader respected by his people and by African and world leaders and the Prime Minister, Mr. Chissano, has already given evidence of his qualities as a statesman.

72. Co-operation between the Portuguese armed forces and the armed forces of FRELIMO to maintain order and to safeguard peace is proceeding in an impeccable way. In matters of economics and finance, the Government and the High Commissioner have

been able to face with courage and a true team spirit the enormous initial difficulties. My country, within the limits of its resources, has given all possible support to the weakened economy of Mozambique. My country's financial assistance to Mozambique during the year 1974 has amounted to approximately \$148 million—of which \$6 million is included in the development plan and about \$63 million is in loans earmarked specifically for the Cabora Bassa project and the Zambezi plan.

73. Mozambique has enormous potential wealth. There is no doubt that it will soon become a powerful country. We need mention only its coal and iron ore deposits, which have already been discovered, its agricultural potential and its potential for animal husbandry, its service economy for the hinterland and, finally, its future in power production. In this respect, the Cabora Bassa complex—which initially was politically justified by disputable and indeed disputed arguments—can today, in view of the fuel crisis, be considered an asset. But Mozambique's economy has suffered from the wear and tear of colonial practices and, ultimately, from the discouraging effects of war. The wave of wage claims in the wake of the movement of 25 April and the consequent unemployment, reduced productivity and inflation—to which may be added the lack of technicians and loss of confidence that followed the incidents at Lourenço Marques—have accentuated the crisis that the transitional Government is courageously trying to overcome.

74. Mozambique needs more assistance than my country can provide, and it needs it immediately. Through investment now, baneful consequences that might lead to a chain reaction could be avoided. If it receives assistance now, Mozambique will in turn soon become a source of assistance for other countries of the third world, and, what is more, for those that need it most. Gestures of support do not only have intrinsic value, but also the added value of their timeliness. Let us not forget that.

75. Sao Tome and Principe will become a new nation on 12 July 1975 under the agreement signed at Algiers on 26 August. I personally took part in the negotiation and signature of that agreement. The liberation movement of Sao Tome and Principe, our interlocutor and the legitimate representative of the people of the islands, is composed of well-prepared and capable men. They already administer the Territory by virtue of their majority participation in the transitional Government, which possesses legislative and executive powers. It is that Government's duty, following the principles contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to prepare for the election of a Popular Assembly that will have sovereign and constituent powers and will elaborate the future constitution of the Territory. On its election on 7 July 1975, the President of the Republic of Portugal will transfer to that Assembly, through its President, full sovereignty, which in the meantime is vested in the High Commissioner.

76. The seven months that remain before independence constitute a transitional phase during which the Government leaders will gradually hand over the responsibilities of government to local authorities. If I may say so, that will be a first stage of government,

a first gradual contact with the local problems seen from the point of view of the exercise of power.

77. Economically, and despite its small size and reduced population, Sao Tome and Principe is a viable country. As soon as it has gone beyond exclusive dependence upon the cultivation of cacao, and as soon as the systems of distribution and land tenure have been restructured and the oceans explored, and, perhaps, as soon as—thanks to the extreme beauty of the islands and the fresh loveliness of their mountains—tourism has been established, Sao Tome and Principe may become a sort of Atlantic Switzerland of Portuguese language and culture.

78. Even so, the new Government will have to face up courageously to the consequences of the wage claims, strikes and reduced productivity that came after 25 April. Consequently, the increased price of cacao has been offset by the loss of a part of the crop due to lost working hours.

79. In 1974, my country was able to grant Sao Tome and Principe assistance, without any strings attached, of approximately \$5 million, of which \$2 million was for the development plan.

80. Thus, after 25 April, there was no reason to carry on a civil war against us, demanding that which since the very first hour of the revolution we had been willing to give: independence for the Territory.

81. Even so, the first steps of the new Government and, thereafter, those of the new country will be hesitant and difficult. Both will need unconditional assistance until restructuring and restabilization have been effected. Without it, Sao Tome and Principe could be the victim of the political caprices of a new tutor, with all the disastrous consequences of neo-colonialism.

82. It remains for me to say only that the new agreement contains affirmations of friendship and promises of co-operation in all areas.

83. As for Angola, already a great country, its decolonization has given rise to certain preoccupations and perplexities. For the first time, at the negotiating level, we have had to face the fact that there is more than one liberation movement. In this particular instance, there are three: the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA), the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA) and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA). The absence of a single spokesman has obliged us to negotiate separately with all three, running the inherent risk of a lack of co-ordination.

84. Despite those difficulties, to which may be added the will of the settlers, we have succeeded in achieving a general cease-fire, which, without doubt, represents an initial victory for the decolonization process, a victory in which the Portuguese armed forces have played a role that should be stressed. The *de facto* situation in Angola today is one of peaceful coexistence with total freedom of movement and expression for the three liberation movements, which already have delegations in Luanda. New airlines between Luanda and Kinshasa and between Luanda and Brazzaville ensure a normal flow of travellers. Some small incidents here and there have not, fortunately, affected the equilibrium that has been maintained.

85. The next stage will be the establishment of a provisional Government made up of technicians in charge of various departments and headed by a High Commissioner appointed by the President of the Portuguese Republic, assisted by a collegial body of Secretaries-of-State without portfolio, composed of the representatives of the three liberation movements on a basis of equality. The constitutional law that will consecrate that form of representation and government has just been promulgated.

86. I should add that the new Government will from the outset possess all legislative and executive powers relative to the Territory. That will put an end to the situation of political and administrative dependence on Lisbon which most representative sectors of Angola have been denouncing for so long.

87. In order to overcome rapidly the phase of separate initiatives, my Government has proposed that under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic himself a meeting be held at the highest level. I am certain that at that summit meeting devoted to the destiny of Angola, the equal participation of the three liberation movements will be assured. This will fully justify our feeling of constructive optimism, because we firmly believe in the virtues of dialogue. In this way alliances and tendencies will be defined, and programmes of construction for the future can be outlined.

88. My Government feels that, more than ever before, it is now desirable for the new authorities of the Territory—who in due course will receive all the governmental powers—to be in some way made legitimate by some form of popular vote under the new Constitution of the country, which will itself be the expression of the will of the majority of the Angolan people.

89. This is the plan which, on mature reflection, seems to us in the light of experience to have the best chance of success. If this chance of success was endangered, a serious situation could follow, which would resolve nothing. Angola is a vast and wealthy country, but it is underpopulated. All its 5 million inhabitants will never be too many to develop its inexhaustible natural riches. Unfortunately, this circumstance has for long had an adverse effect, since these riches have become the target of ambition and greed.

90. I should here like to state in clear and unequivocal terms that my country has no political or economic designs on the Angola of tomorrow. We are too consistent, and not rich enough, to nourish any shadow of neo-colonialism. All we want is that Angola should never become the stake in a fratricidal struggle and that it should be able to build its future in peace. We have some tools available for this purpose: a common language, a knowledge of the country, a little technology, and a great deal of humanity. In leaving Angola, we shall become its natural ally.

91. As to the time-table for the stages which I have just described, we intend to draw this up in the light of all the data available during the first round-table discussion with the representatives of all of the liberation movements. However, I should like to stress that my Government has no intention of delaying matters, and, on the contrary, wants Angola to acquire the status of a free and independent nation during 1975.

92. I come now to the question of the Cape Verde islands. They constitute, and to some extent always have, a very poor Territory. They were inhabited already when we arrived, and we established additional settlements which have multiplied. The archipelago now has about 300,000 inhabitants, not including a similar number scattered throughout the world. For the past five years it has suffered the scourge of drought, and is existing entirely on subsidies from the Lisbon Government. During this year these subsidies, which are free and unconditional, have reached the remarkable level of about \$33 million. Apart from the strategic situation of the islands—and everyone knows that traditional concepts of strategy are today also in a state of flux—they cannot be the object of envy. The presence of the Portuguese in the archipelago can hardly be regarded as colonialist or linked with all that is to be condemned in colonialism—apart, perhaps from certain local relics of hidebound forms of administration and government. Therefore to repeat that my country has no political or economic ambitions concerning this Territory is superfluous, and the most elementary consideration of consistency could absolve me from doing so.

93. However, it is necessary to decolonize the Cape Verde islands and construct its future, and to do so bearing in mind the two imperatives: to safeguard the livelihood of its population and to respect the will of the majority. As to the first, I am afraid that my country, having to face the problems of its own internal reconstruction, will not be able in 1975 to repeat the financial sacrifices of recent years. In any case, we will give all the assistance we can. As to the second factor, PAIGC is now entrenched in the archipelago; it is concentrating on a freely accepted political struggle, and is including in its programme, the idea of union with the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

94. My Government's only desire is to transfer the administration and the Government of the Territory, either to a popular assembly, elected by universal and direct suffrage, with sovereign and constituent powers and representing the majority of the population of the Territory, or to the representative organs which will derive from the future constitution to be drawn up by that assembly.

95. For this purpose we have already undertaken conversations with the accredited representatives of PAIGC to ensure that everything will proceed on a basis of collaboration and useful dialogue.

96. As to the time-table, my Government wants the date of independence of Cape Verde not to be too far behind that fixed for Mozambique and for São Tomé and Príncipe.

97. In the meantime, the archipelago will be administered by a High Commissioner, the representative of the President of the Portuguese Republic, assisted by Secretaries of State entrusted with the affairs of one or several departments. The new status of the Territory has been submitted for the approval of the Council of State, which will no doubt have to adopt transitional measures, in particular the transfer to the new local governmental organs of all legislative and executive powers in the Territory.

98. My Government wants PAIGC to appoint two of the four Secretaries of State now, and successful steps have already been taken to that end.

99. As I have already indicated, the economic problems of the islands are more difficult to resolve. If the archipelago were left to itself, with only the limited assistance which my country could continue to provide, it would be in danger of becoming one of those impoverished regions which cause so much concern to the international community. It is appropriate here to draw this situation to the attention of those responsible for the very welcome assistance programme that the United Nations has drawn up for the Sudan and the Sahelian regions, which have suffered so severely from drought.

100. Indeed, as the decolonization of Territories still under our administration progresses, the well-being of the populations of those Territories becomes more of a collective responsibility. And the territory of our country includes regions which for many years now have been awaiting the dawn of their own economic and socio-political development.

101. Timor is an exceptional example of a freely accepted Portuguese presence—it could not be otherwise—for more than five centuries, at the antipodes of our European location. And however unorthodox that might appear in the light of contemporary political sociology, the continuity of this Portuguese presence is still sincerely desired by many there, and even by the apparent majority.

102. My Government, however, places above all other considerations the importance of being consistent with the decolonization process which it has defined, and which requires a form of expression of the popular will of the inhabitants of the Territories under its administration. Thus in all likelihood, towards the middle of next year, there will be a referendum to determine the actual will, freely expressed, of the people of Timor. Whatever the result, we shall scrupulously respect it.

103. We are, moreover, aware of the need to safeguard the stability of the geographic region in which Timor is located. Timor is in a position similar to that of my own country—none of its neighbours, particularly Indonesia and Australia, has the slightest territorial ambition with respect to the Portuguese part of the island. And I was assured of this during my recent trip to the Orient, by the Governments of those countries.

104. Within the Territory, three currents of opinion can be discerned: one defends the continuity of the Portuguese presence there; another favours the integration of the Territory into the Republic of Indonesia; and the last calls for total and immediate independence. Nevertheless, one cannot help noting that Timor is far from economic and financial self-sufficiency, a condition without which one could hardly dream of real independence. During the current year, my country has already contributed nearly \$12 million to the Territory's economy, and everything leads us to believe that we shall have to increase that contribution. In retrospect, I must say that I see no moment in history in which our presence in Timor has brought us anything more than moral satisfaction. Moreover, considering the Territory's underdeveloped condi-

tions, one realizes that total and immediate independence is a dream.

105. One thing is certain: if one seeks political emancipation of the Territory that does not threaten the stability of that geographic region, it will be necessary to think in terms of a collective effort to promote the economic development of the Territory so that it can be economically self-sufficient. Instead of mere subsidies, which the pressure of circumstances would only channel towards consumption, what is required is sound investments that will produce wealth. There is no lack of opportunities in this regard, because this Territory, with its 600,000 inhabitants, has the resources, but that wealth cannot be left to the mercy of natural erosion or to human depredation. It is man himself who must develop them. This is a task which my country, limited by its means and by distance, cannot undertake alone.

106. As can be seen, nothing more remains to be said about the process of or the time-table for the decolonization of the Territories under Portuguese administration. If, here and there, there has been an occasional lack of specific detail, or if a strict time-table has not been established, that is due only to our respect for those whose opinions we want to know and whose wishes we want to comply with. But no one can dispute the fact that, scarcely seven months after the April revolution—a period which, as will be readily understood, has been anything but a political holiday—Portugal has managed, despite all the difficulties arising from a lack of comprehension on the part of some, to regain its dignity by respecting the rights of people and peoples: in a word, managed to regain its self-respect.

107. My Government feels that there is no reason for anyone to doubt its good faith or to accuse it of hesitation. Hence we find it hard to understand, and indeed to accept, certain reservations that are still on occasion voiced about us. Certain countries, while expressing a certain benevolence towards us in *de facto* relations, are waiting for a more advanced stage in our decolonization process in order to establish *de jure* diplomatic relations with us.

108. What is more, the decision—the historical justification for which we do not deny—to refuse to my country co-operation with the United Nations specialized agencies is still in effect. We have learned with satisfaction that the Special Committee has taken the initiative of recommending the cancellation of that sanction which, indeed, seems to us no longer justified. We are confident that the General Assembly will approve that recommendation.

109. As a matter of general custom, any assistance given to Territories acceding to independence is extended through the respective liberation movements or deferred until the declaration of independence. It seems to us that once coalition and transitional Governments have been installed, this assistance could and should be supplied through those Governments. In such a case, as in the case of all those whose progress towards independence is irreversible, we see no reason why such forms of assistance, established by agreement between the liberation movements and my own Government, should be deferred. I should like to recall that in the current year my country has already extended to those Territories unconditional

assistance amounting to \$230 million. This sum may not be impressive to a great Power, but it nevertheless represents 4 per cent of our gross national product.

110. As I have indicated, the decolonization process in itself, by the equilibrium it destroyed and the disequilibrium it created, could not help but be a crisis factor. If the transitional Governments of the Territories are not assisted from the very outset, those crises will not only tend to worsen but may even endanger the very stability of the new authority.

111. Let me emphasize that, having to face an inherited situation which it was not free to criticize, my Government, from the point of view of moral responsibility, finds itself in a situation which does not differ greatly from that of any other Government. That is why we should like the decolonization process of these Territories to be considered, more than it is at present, as being the responsibility also of the community of nations. There are already in this community various politically developing peoples, and soon various other such States will emerge. But decolonization itself cannot yield immediate wealth. Furthermore, it would be unjust to require us to make, in 1975, financial sacrifice comparable to that of 1974, which, in any case, we could not do. We shall go as far as we can; and where financial assistance must cease, technicians, teachers and other human resources will take its place.

112. Everything will unfold in the spirit of the new Portugal, the democratic and free Portugal which the 24 April revolution has given the Portuguese—a Portugal in which selfishness, intolerance, discrimination and violence no longer have a place; a country which has found its universal vocation and which has resolved to renew fraternal relations with all peoples, and in particular with the African peoples.

113. That is the essence of what I thought it useful to tell this Assembly, the meeting place of the people and countries of the entire world. I am certain that our words of hope will not have been in vain.

114. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): It is indeed symbolic of the irreversible tide of anti-colonial forces that at its current session the General Assembly has so far heard three outstanding statesmen of the new Portuguese Government at the highest level—namely, the President of the Republic, the gallant General da Costa Gomes; the Minister for Foreign Affairs, my friend and comrade Mr. Mário Soares; and, today, the Minister for Interterritorial Co-ordination, my friend and comrade Mr. de Almeida Santos, whose presence among us I salute. These brave men of deep conviction and dedication have more than amply demonstrated to the world their determined commitment to the full implementation of the aims and purposes of this Organization with respect to those colonial Territories still under Portuguese administration.

115. Coming at the outset of our debate on the general question of decolonization, the information just imparted to us by Mr. de Almeida Santos is all the more important, for it has been made clear that the process of decolonization initiated by his Government, the new Government of Portugal—beginning with the official recognition of the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the establishment of a transitional Government in Mozambique—has now

become further crystallized in the case of Sao Tome and Principe and Cape Verde, and even Angola, where the complexity of the situation appeared to militate against a speedy solution. We whole-heartedly welcome these positive developments and are particularly pleased with the prospect that all these Territories will most likely be joining the ranks of the world community, perhaps as early as during the forthcoming session of this august body. I should like to pay a particular tribute to the people of Portugal and their Armed Forces Movement, as well as to other progressive forces and individuals, for having consolidated the process of decolonization so expeditiously since 25 April this year. We must surely agree that nowhere in the history of decolonization has so much been accomplished by so few in such a short span of time.

116. All those dramatic events represent, by any standard, a revolution in themselves. It is undeniable that they are events of far-reaching significance to the process of decolonization in the entirety of Africa, and in particular in the southern part of the continent. As the Secretary-General has observed in the introduction to his report to this session on the work of the Organization:

“Because of the close interrelationships between the problems of southern Africa, the transformation of the political scene in the Portuguese-administered Territories throws into sharp relief the remaining questions of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the policies of *apartheid*.” [A/9601/Add.1, sect. IX, p. 6.]

117. Let us all hope that the dramatic progress achieved by the national liberation movements of the Portuguese Territories after more than a decade of armed struggle will give further inspiration to the freedom-fighters of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania for their ultimate emancipation from alien and colonial domination and for the restoration of their basic human rights. The price for the liberation struggle has been great indeed, and the courageous colonial peoples and the gallant freedom-fighters have borne the brunt of this struggle. I recall that it was about this time two years ago that the late Secretary-General of PAIGC, our beloved and revered brother Amílcar Cabral, spoke the following words before the Fourth Committee:

“When a fighter has succumbed in his country to police torture, or has been murdered in prison, or burnt alive or machine-gunned by the Portuguese troops, for what cause has he given his life?”

“He has given his life for the liberation of his people from the colonial yoke and hence for the cause of the United Nations. In fighting and dying for the country’s liberation, he has given his life, in a context of international legality, for the ideal set forth in the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations, especially the resolution on decolonization.”¹

118. We have been witnesses to the fact that ideals cannot die, nor can oppression hinder the rising forces of the liberation struggle. We at the United Nations have long recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania with all the means available to them, and, as a corollary,

we have undertaken to extend all possible moral and material assistance to these peoples to sustain their struggle for freedom. As is well known, their needs are critical and urgent. The international community could not afford to be a bystander in the process of decolonization. In particular, it is incumbent upon the organizations within the United Nations system to intensify their efforts to seek the most practical and suitable means to assist the peoples concerned, guided by the most recent decisions of the Economic and Social Council and the Special Committee in that regard.

119. With respect to the further measures to be taken by the United Nations concerning the situation obtaining in Zimbabwe and Namibia, the position of this Assembly has been clearly spelt out in a number of resolutions it adopted recently, including those recommendations just agreed upon by the Fourth Committee the other day. Accordingly, I shall refrain at this stage from dwelling extensively on this matter. Suffice it to say that the solution to the anomaly existing in Zimbabwe could only be found in most decisive action to be taken by the Government of the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to topple the illegal régime in Salisbury. We at the United Nations could certainly assist in that effort by the full implementation, the total compliance and the effective enforcement of all the measures envisaged under Chapter VII of the Charter. I need not add that, unless dramatic changes take place very soon, the extension of these sanctions to South Africa is, in the minds of an overwhelming majority of this democratic Assembly, a foregone conclusion.

120. I shall now deal briefly with some of the problems concerning the remaining colonial Territories, where over 10 million people have yet to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. A perusal of the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee will indicate that in the majority of these Territories, the economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants has continued to fall far short of the objectives set out in the provisions of the Charter and in the pertinent decisions of the United Nations, with the exception of perhaps Papua New Guinea and Niue.

121. It is gratifying to note, none the less, the progress towards independence being made in the Seychelles under United Kingdom administration. I should like to express my sincere hope that during the forthcoming constitutional talks to be held in London in February 1975, with the participation of both the Social Democratic Party and the Seychelles People’s United Party, led, respectively by my brothers, the Chief Minister, Mr. James Mancham, and Mr. France René, the framework for early independence can be worked out successfully. I wish to underscore once again that the declared position of the Government of the Seychelles with regard to the restoration of its territorial integrity must be fully respected and honoured by the administering Power.

122. I am referring to chapter X, annex I, paragraph 19, of the report of the Special Committee [A/9623/Rev.1], which reads as follows:

“According to Mr. Mancham’s statement of March 1974, if his party were returned at the elections, his Government would maintain a neutralist

foreign policy and oppose the installation of foreign bases of any kind in the Territory; it would cultivate continued friendship with the United Kingdom but would seek to reintegrate the three islands which had been detached from the Territory and included in the 'British Indian Ocean Territory'. He also expressed the hope that United Kingdom aid would continue at the present level, although the Seychelles would seek aid from the United States of America, international agencies and other sources."

123. Another satisfying element in the process of decolonization in the small Territories is the return of the United Kingdom to participation in the work of the Special Committee. The participation of the administering Power in the United Nations work in the field of decolonization has been long sought, as being the essential factor in enhancing the capacity of the international community to deal with matters relating to the implementation of Chapters XI to XIII of the Charter, as well as of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Indeed, the active participation in the past of other administering Powers, such as Australia, New Zealand, Spain and the United States, has amply attested to the indispensability of their contribution in the related work of the United Nations. Given the necessary co-operation of the Government of the United Kingdom, I wish to express my sincere hope that the pace of decolonization in the Territories concerned will further be accelerated and the related work of the Special Committee effectively facilitated.

124. Mr. PUNTSAGNOROV (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Mongolian People's Republic, guided by the position of principle it has adopted in its foreign policy, whereby its aim is to assist the national and social liberation of peoples, has consistently argued in favour of the immediate and complete implementation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

125. We are pleased to note that the discussion at the present session of the General Assembly on the question of the implementation of the Declaration is taking place in a new situation characterized by positive changes in the international situation as a whole. My delegation expresses particular satisfaction that the year that has elapsed since the last session of the General Assembly has been marked by striking achievements on the part of the peoples of Africa in their heroic struggle against colonialism and racism. The collapse of the colonial fascist régime in Portugal and the rise to power of new and progressive forces there are accelerating the liquidation of the last strongholds of colonialism in Africa. We also note the recognition by the new Portuguese Government of the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the admission to the United Nations of that Republic; the conclusion of an agreement between Portugal and FRELIMO in accordance with which, on 25 June 1975, the independence of Mozambique will be officially proclaimed; the recent agreement between the national liberation movement of Sao Tome and Principe and the Government of Portugal; and also the negotiations being conducted by Portugal with the national liberation movements of Angola.

126. My delegation would like to emphasize that this historic victory was made possible by the successes in both the struggle of the national liberation movements in Africa and the struggle of the democratic forces in Portugal itself against the fascist régime. We should also like to point out that one of the major factors ensuring the success of the national liberation movements against Portuguese colonialism was the continuing support for the struggle of the African peoples given by the countries of the Socialist community and all progressive forces throughout the world.

127. Throughout the entire course of the armed struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, Mongolia has always been on the side of the African patriots and has extended to them moral, political and, wherever possible, material assistance. Our country was one of the first officially to recognize the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

128. We are all witnesses at the present time to the way the African national liberation movements and the democratic forces in Portugal itself are carrying out a task of exceptional importance, that of concluding the process of decolonization of the former Portuguese colonies and overcoming the forces of reaction. The provocative outbursts of reactionary elements in Angola and Mozambique show that the colonizing force will not lay down its arms without a struggle. Accordingly, the Mongolian delegation welcomes the decision of the new Portuguese Government to guarantee the unity and integrity of all the former Portuguese colonial territories and its willingness to react to any attacks on their sovereignty. We are also in favour of the United Nations continuing material and other forms of assistance to restore the economies of the republics of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, which have been destroyed by the war.

129. As these facts indicate, at a time of international *détente* favourable conditions are being created for the successful development of an effective anti-colonial struggle. *Détente* is easing the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for the implementation of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Moreover, the successes in the struggle for full decolonization are in turn an important step towards the elimination of one of the major sources of international tension, and thus have a favourable effect on the improvement of the international climate.

130. The colonialist and reactionary forces, which ignore the signs of the times, try to create artificial barriers to the full liberation of Africa, using as their weapon the racist régimes of the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, where the native populations are subjected to inhuman discrimination and oppression. In this connexion, my delegation once again affirms its categorical condemnation of the acts of the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia, designed to drive the indigenous inhabitants of Zimbabwe from their ancestral lands and resettle them in so-called fortified villages which, as everyone knows, are nothing more than concentration camps.

131. Particular concern is caused in present conditions by the serious situation in the international territory of Namibia. The Pretoria régime not only continues to occupy Namibia but is exporting to that territory the inhuman system of *apartheid* and is attempting to divide the country up into sectors ac-

ording to the ethnic characteristics of its population. The colonialist and racist Power is continuing this experiment, which it has already carried out in South Africa itself, and is creating in Namibia so-called "bantustans"; and it has announced the possible separation from Namibia of some sort of "homeland", which threatens the territorial integrity of the country.

132. The racist régimes of the white minorities in Pretoria and Salisbury, alarmed by the new situation in southern Africa following the complete collapse of Portuguese colonialism, are brandishing their weapons and feverishly developing their military power, thereby creating a threat to peace and security, as eloquently stated in the records of the Special Committee.

133. Everyone knows that behind those colonialist and racist régimes stand certain Western Powers and their multinational monopolies. A recent example of this was the veto cast in the Security Council by three leading Western Powers against the perfectly justified proposal of the African countries to exclude South Africa from the United Nations. My delegation also expresses its concern that the Western monopolies, violating many decisions of various organs of the United Nations, including the General Assembly and the Security Council, are making major capital investments in the economies of the dependent countries of southern Africa, thereby strengthening the positions of the racist régimes. According to the data of the Special Committee, foreign capital investments in the economies of the colonial countries of southern Africa are in excess of \$10,000 million. Everyone knows that such major capital investments are made by multinational monopolies primarily for their own selfish purposes—in other words, in order to extract huge profits. It should also be noted that, in this plundering of the natural and human resources of southern Africa, the Western multinational monopolies benefit from the widest support of the racist régimes themselves. In turn, the racists of Pretoria and Salisbury have the opportunity of participating in the distribution of the excessive profits extracted by the foreign monopolies to the detriment of the interests of the native African populations. The Mongolian delegation feels that it is particularly important that the international community exert increased pressure on certain Western countries and their monopolies to compel them to cease their co-operation with the racists and their deliveries of arms to them.

134. In this connexion, we should also note the decision adopted in June of this year by the Organization of African Unity in the form of an appeal to States members of that organization to establish customs barriers in their trade with Western countries which continue to make capital investments in southern Africa.

135. My delegation expresses its solidarity with the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and southern Africa in their struggle against colonialist and racist forces for their freedom and independence. We welcome the successes of the African patriots under the guidance of their national liberation movements—ZAPU and ZANU in Zimbabwe and the South West Africa Peoples Organization [SWAPO] in Namibia. In our opinion a constructive effort is being made by the representatives of the national liberation movements

which participate as observers in the work of the various bodies of the United Nations, in particular in the work of the Fourth Committee and the Special Committee.

136. My delegation believes that the United Nations and its specialized agencies should continue to give material and other support to the national liberation movements of Africa.

137. We also attribute major significance to the application of other effective measures, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, including intensification of economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and their extension to South Africa. My delegation hopes that the Security Council will take practical steps to this end.

138. Numerous islands and archipelagos in the Caribbean, the Pacific Ocean and other regions of the world are still under alien rule. Many of these so-called small Territories are used by the colonial Powers for military and strategic purposes. The data contained in the report of the Special Committee, [A/9623/Rev.1], are eloquent testimony to this. As we see it, no factors such as the size of a Territory, its geographical isolation, a lack of resources, or any other factor can serve as obstacles to allowing the peoples of these Territories to implement their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration.

139. In order to consolidate and further develop the successes recently achieved in decolonization, we must strengthen the unity of all anti-colonial forces and consolidate their efforts in the general cause of the rapid and final liquidation of the last remnants of colonialism and racism. We favour increased co-operation by the United Nations and its various organs with such non-governmental organizations as the World Peace Council and the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, which are steadily fighting against colonialism and neo-colonialism and are mobilizing world public opinion against the racist and colonialist forces.

140. The new situation arising as the result of the successes of national liberation movements opens up broad prospects for the complete eradication of the last remnants of colonialism in Africa and elsewhere. In these conditions, the United Nations should, in our opinion, undertake active steps to bring closer an era in which there will be no colonialism.

141. In 1975 our Organization will celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of its existence. This will coincide with the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We believe that these two important dates should be marked by new steps forward in the process of complete decolonization.

142. The Mongolian delegation feels that the General Assembly, in commemoration of these two significant dates, should appeal to all Administering Authorities to establish a final date for the complete decolonization, as soon as possible, of all those colonial and dependent countries which are still under their administration.

143. My delegation would like to pay a tribute to the contribution made by the United Nations to the decolonization process. The adoption by the General Assembly of the historic Declaration and other important documents has provided the legal foundation for the granting of assistance to colonial peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence and for the international recognition of the legitimacy of this struggle. We should also like to pay a tribute to the Special Committee for its efforts in implementing the Declaration.

144. In conclusion, my delegation would express the hope that the General Assembly will take constructive measures to guarantee the triumph of the just cause of the final and total liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, this being the aim and the purpose of the historic United Nations Declaration.

145. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to inform the Assembly that, in order to allow the Fourth Committee to proceed with its work and to give delegations time for necessary consultations, the consideration of agenda item 23 will be resumed on 9 December. I propose to close the list of speakers at 5 p.m. on 6 December, so that we can organize our work. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to close the list of speakers on the debate on agenda item 23 on 6 December, at 5 p.m.

It was so decided.

*Appeal addressed to the Government of Ethiopia (concluded)**

146. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Members will recall that at the 2301st plenary meeting, on 27 November 1974, the Secretary-General and I were requested to address an appeal to the Government of Ethiopia regarding recent events in that country.

147. Following that request, the Secretary-General and I sent a cable immediately to the Provisional Military Administrative Committee in Ethiopia. The text of this cable has been issued as Press Release SG/SM/2114-GA/5161.

148. I should like to inform the Assembly that a cable from Brigadier-General Teferi Bante, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Committee, has been received in reply and has been issued as Press Release SG/SM/2117. This telegram is available to all delegations and to the press.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.

NOTE

¹ For this statement, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Fourth Committee, 1986th meeting, para. 17.*

* Resumed from the 2301st meeting.