

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
 ASSEMBLY**

TWENTIETH SESSION

Official Records



**1388th  
 PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 3 December 1965,  
 at 3 p.m.

**NEW YORK**

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elect Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees by acclamation.

*Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan was elected United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees by acclamation.*

2. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I take this opportunity to congratulate Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan on his election to this important humanitarian post. He well deserves the trust placed in him by the Assembly. On behalf of the Assembly, I wish him every success in the important task facing him in this field.

3. Mr. MWALUKO (United Republic of Tanzania): The delegation of the United Republic of Tanzania rejoices in the action the Assembly has just taken in endorsing by acclamation the appointment of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan as the new United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

4. My delegation would imagine that there might be many personalities equally capable of performing the functions of the High Commissioner, but Tanzania ventures to suggest that there can hardly be anybody more capable of executing those functions with utmost dedication and maximum efficiency.

5. My delegation does not conceive that it is necessary for us to recount in great detail the history of the antecedents of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan. Suffice it to say that he is a man intimately acquainted with the varying dynamics of life, and his apprenticeship in the work of relieving the loneliness, the pain, the suffering of the refugee has been a long one and has been eminently successful.

6. Due to a combination of circumstances, we in the United Republic of Tanzania have come to know the new High Commissioner rather intimately. His connexion with Tanzania has been long and close and, I venture to say, very rewarding. Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, the diplomat, the leader of men, the accomplished artist and the humanitarian, combines all these qualities with the same humility which characterizes his community wherever they have settled.

7. We in Tanzania pay sincere tribute to the good works of the Office of the High Commissioner. We do so, too, because we have been grateful beneficiaries of generous donations and assistance which we have received from the High Commissioner's Office in the heavy burden which we bear in connexion with the problem of refugees. In all this, we must recognize the personal contribution of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan in attempting to relieve the suffering of the thousands of persons who take refuge in my country every year.

**President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).**

**AGENDA ITEM 18**

**Election of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees**

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Members of the Assembly have before them a Note by the Secretary-General [A/6117] on the election of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for the period from 1 January 1966 to 31 December 1968. In it the Secretary-General proposes the election of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan (Iran) to the office of High Commissioner for Refugees. If a vote is not requested, I propose that the General Assembly should

8. My delegation wishes also to pay special tribute to the outgoing High Commissioner for Refugees, Mr. Félix Schnyder, for his unswerving devotion and excellent performance of his duties. We wish him every success in his new endeavours, wherever he may be.

9. Permit me to conclude by saying that we feel the General Assembly has acted wisely in electing Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan as the new High Commissioner for Refugees. I hasten to add that, as in the past, the new High Commissioner can rely confidently on the full support and complete co-operation of my Government in all his tasks. We wish him every conceivable success in every aspect of his new endeavours.

10. Mr. RATSIMAMAO RAFIRINGA (Madagascar) (translated from French): The delegation of Madagascar would like to offer Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan its warm congratulations on his election to the office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and to express its best wishes for the successful fulfilment of the great humanitarian task entrusted to him.

11. We note with satisfaction that the activities of the Office of the High Commissioner are becoming increasingly universal in character and now include the African refugees, whose tragic situation fully justifies international assistance on their behalf, and we should like on this occasion to pay a tribute to Mr. Schnyder, whose term of office has expired with the election of the new High Commissioner. We are convinced that he has opened the way for his successor, of whose outstanding qualities and devotion to the cause of the refugees we have long been aware. It is a source of satisfaction to us that the honour which falls to Iran through the election of Prince Sadruddin is shared by the large Ismaelite community in Madagascar, who live on the best of terms side by side with the Malagasy people.

12. Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (translated from French): The French Government wholeheartedly approves the Secretary-General's choice of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan to replace Mr. Félix Schnyder as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

13. I should like to take this opportunity to say how much the French Government has appreciated the great work accomplished by Mr. Schnyder in carrying out his duties. He has succeeded, often in difficult circumstances, in keeping the high humanitarian significance of the mission entrusted to him predominant. We are happy to express to him our most sincere gratitude and our warmest wishes for success in his new activities.

14. Prince Sadruddin is a well-known figure in my country, which takes pride in the many links connecting it with him. During the last few years, we have naturally followed with keen interest the work which he has undertaken as Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees. He carried out that work with a devotion and skill to which the French delegation is happy to pay a tribute. His outstanding qualities will enable him efficiently to discharge the heavy responsibilities which he is now assuming. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is an insti-

tution to which the French Government has always given its unflinching support. The representative of a great family which by long tradition has been devoted to the great philanthropic causes and has been involved in all the complexities of international life will undoubtedly continue the work accomplished since the end of the Second World War by his predecessors with that mixture of noble enthusiasm and caution which is the basis of the great success of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

15. As I have no doubt that the choice of the Secretary-General, which has already received the unanimous approval of the General Assembly, will be welcomed by many of those who are concerned with the Office of the High Commissioner, I offer Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan the most sincere congratulations of my Government and all my best wishes for the success of his important and difficult mission.

16. Miss WILLIS (United States of America): On behalf of my Government, I should like to express again our appreciation for the work done by Mr. Félix Schnyder. Also on behalf of my Government, I congratulate Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan on his election to this high office.

17. We welcomed his nomination by the Secretary-General and now look forward to continuing our close co-operation with him as he pursues his humanitarian work. Because of his valuable experience, his understanding of the problems involved and his compassionate concern for refugees throughout the world, we look forward with confidence to his direction of the Office of the High Commissioner.

18. Mr. NYANKIYE (Burundi) (translated from French): In this Assembly, my delegation would like to extend through you, Mr. President, its most sincere thanks to Mr. Félix Schnyder, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, for the work which he has done in the past few years to help refugees in general, and in particular the refugees in my country.

19. My delegation learned with regret of the departure of this eminent personality, with whom my Government has worked in close co-operation which has enabled it to settle some of the difficulties, and by no means the least of them, in this complicated refugee question.

20. We should like to thank the United Nations for the generous assistance which it has provided through the High Commissioner in order to give increased aid to the refugees and to work towards the final goal of helping them to be self-supporting. As the High Commissioner stated in his report [A/6011/Rev.1, paras. 80-85], my Government has made a number of provisions for the resettlement of 48,000 refugees in different zones, a very high figure in view of the over-population already burdening my country.

21. We cannot fail to mention the appeal which we made to the United Nations, and to which the Office of the High Commissioner responded with moral and material support, to help us to accomplish our task. We are deeply grateful to the international and charitable organizations and to the countries represented in this Assembly which have assisted us in this delicate and difficult undertaking.

22. We do not intend at this stage to go into the question in detail. We reserve our right to speak later when the problem comes before the Assembly.

23. In conclusion, we offer our warm congratulations to the new High Commissioner, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan. We are convinced that under his guidance the difficulties encountered in the financial and other fields can be overcome in such a way that the Office of the High Commissioner will be able to carry out its heavy responsibilities. We think that the satisfactory solution already achieved by the Office of the High Commissioner for the different groups of refugees, and particularly the refugees I referred to above, should be supported by the world community, so that refugees can be assured of the necessary international protection.

24. My Government for its part, will spare no effort in pursuing the work which it has begun and which it is determined to continue until the noble objectives of this humanitarian undertaking are attained. In this we rely on the continuing assistance of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and other charitable organizations, to which we express once more our gratitude and appreciation.

25. The ever-growing understanding of our fraternal neighbours—I am referring to the countries surrounding us—will make it possible for us to achieve fruitful co-operation in both our international and our inter-African relations.

26. In this connexion, our policy will be guided by the resolution adopted at Accra on the problem of the refugees in Africa.<sup>1/</sup> We subscribed to that resolution and we are ready to apply it in order to achieve the objective of the Organization of African Unity, namely, the unity of the African community.

27. Mr. LIATIS (Greece): I should like to welcome most warmly, on behalf of my country, the unanimous election of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan to the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

28. It has been our privilege to follow over a number of years His Highness' work as Deputy High Commissioner. The enthusiasm, the intelligence, the humane understanding and the untiring activity he has devoted to the pursuit of solutions to the most varied refugee problems in all five continents, but more especially in Africa—these have been the strongest arguments for my delegation's supporting his candidacy from the outset and they are the most auspicious omens for the further great services we all expect him to render in the great humanitarian mission with which our Organization has just entrusted him. His Asiatic and European antecedents also make him exceptionally qualified for his occupying this elevated post. We wish to assure him of the full and continuing support and co-operation of the Greek authorities in the accomplishment of his mission, for the success of which we extend to him all our best wishes.

29. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey) (translated from French): It is a great honour and pleasure for me to welcome, on behalf of the Government of Japan and of my

own Government, the election of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

30. The ties which bind my country to his country and to his illustrious family impose on me the pleasant duty, in congratulating him on his election, of paying a tribute to the memory of the late Aga Khan, the eminent statesman who took so active a part in the League of Nations and presided over its debates, and to the late Ali Khan, who so brilliantly represented his country some twenty years later in the United Nations. May I also include in this tribute the name of Karim Khan, the venerated head of a very important religious community of the great family of Islam.

31. Since all the members of that illustrious line represent to the highest degree a happy blending of Eastern and Western cultures, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, with his dynamic personality and his ability to be completely at ease in all circles and in the most complicated situations, is the ideal choice for the delicate and often thankless task facing the United Nations in connexion with the greivous problem of refugees, a problem which unfortunately is dominated by so many political passions and by racial and religious intolerance.

32. This task was undertaken in masterly fashion by Mr. Schnyder and we are convinced that his successor will impose the imprint of his engaging personality upon it, for the greater good of this humanitarian cause which is so vital for the maintenance of international peace and the protection of human dignity.

33. On behalf of my Government and of the Government of Japan, I thank Mr. Schnyder, whose name will be for ever associated in our hearts with the humanitarian work done for the refugees, and at the same time express the hope that Prince Sadruddin will have the good fortune to see the last refugee returned to his home, or established in the country of his choice, in justice and peace, in a world from which this stain will have disappeared for ever.

34. Mr. AMJAD ALI (Pakistan): The General Assembly has just approved by acclamation the appointment of a distinguished personality to succeed Mr. Schnyder, the High Commissioner for Refugees. This election by acclamation is most gratifying to my delegation. We are very happy to note this unanimous election, because Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan and his illustrious family have very close ties with my country. I personally am very happy to see that he is following in the footsteps of his illustrious father, His Highness the late Aga Khan, who—and here, if I may, I shall strike a personal note—was a great man who presided over the League of Nations and at whose feet I sat and was initiated into politics and international affairs. His older brother also served the cause of international peace. Equipped as Prince Sadruddin is, through his brilliant academic career, his experience as Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees, his vast travels and his experience in human affairs, I am quite sure he will be a worthy successor to Mr. Schnyder.

35. My delegation wishes him every success in his new post. We believe that the General Assembly has

<sup>1/</sup> Resolution adopted at the second session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held from 21 to 25 October 1965.

taken the right decision in choosing as his successor Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan.

36. Mrs. WARZAZI (Morocco) (translated from French): I have great pleasure in speaking today, on behalf of my delegation and in my own name, in order to congratulate the Secretary-General on his excellent choice of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan as our new High Commissioner.

37. The new High Commissioner has for many years shown great devotion and warm-heartedness in the refugee problem, which is of such great humanitarian interest. Together with Mr. Félix Schnyder, who has done admirable work throughout his term of office, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan has learned to devote himself to the cause of the refugees with all the faith of which he is capable. He has travelled throughout the world to plead their cause and to work for conditions that would alleviate their sufferings.

38. His election today is the culminating point of the years of love and understanding which he has dedicated to the refugees of the entire world, and particularly to the African refugees who in the past few years have, alas, joined that unhappy throng.

39. In a world such as ours, where many young countries are generously contributing to the building of a better world where peace and brotherhood will reign, I can only wish him on behalf of my country every success in his difficult yet absorbing task by reminding him of those famous lines which he personifies so well: "I am young, it is true, but for the well-born valour is not reckoned in years."

40. Mr. SHARAF (Jordan): On behalf of the delegation of Jordan, I have the honour to extend to Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan our warmest congratulations of his unanimous election to the post of High Commissioner for Refugees. We wish him every success in his highly humanitarian task. Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, with his long experience as Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees, will no doubt bring to this new mission the same dedication, competence and energy which he has shown in his former position. My delegation is greatly pleased that Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan was so wisely and unanimously elected to this illustrious office.

41. We wish the outgoing High Commissioner, Mr. Félix Schnyder, every success in his new undertaking.

42. Mr. RAHIM (Sudan): It is a great pleasure for my delegation, and for me personally, to offer our warm and sincere congratulations to Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan on his appointment to the important office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

43. I would not attempt, even if it were possible for me to do so, to enumerate here the fine qualities and attributes of the gentleman whom we are so delighted to see elected as our High Commissioner for Refugees. Suffice it to say that Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan is a well-known and distinguished personality who is admirably qualified by natural ability, background, training and long and fruitful association as Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees to fill this important post. These great qualities, together with his dynamism, training, intelligence and compassionate

concern for refugees throughout the world are indeed adequate qualifications for this high office and are, at the same time, sources of reassurance to all of us that the interests of refugees throughout the world will be well and adequately cared for.

44. While offering our sincere congratulations to the new High Commissioner, my delegation would also like to convey through you, Mr. President, our gratitude to Mr. Félix Schnyder for his eminent services to the United Nations and his assistance to refugees throughout the world, including those of Africa.

45. Mrs. BEN-ITO (Israel): My Government, participating in the Executive Council for Refugees, had the benefit of co-operating closely with Mr. Schnyder. Our acquaintance with him dates back to the day when he was Ambassador of Switzerland to my country and we had in those days the opportunity of appreciating his high humanitarian qualities. As High Commissioner for Refugees, he has done outstanding work for a great humanitarian cause. He has shown great skill and deep human understanding in the fulfilment of his task. We are sure that in his future assignments these great qualities will assure his success in all his endeavours.

46. We also had the pleasure, in our capacity as a member of the Council, of co-operating with the then Deputy High Commissioner, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan. We congratulate him on his appointment and extend to him our sincere wishes. We feel sure that in his new capacity he will be as successful in the fulfilment of his great mission as he has been in the manifold public activities which he has carried out in the past. It is reassuring to us to see that a personality of such high qualities will now devote his talents to the cause of improving the situation of so many unfortunate and unprivileged people and helping them to re-establish their place in society.

47. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): We indeed congratulate ourselves on the appointment of His Highness Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan to the post of High Commissioner for Refugees. No better choice could have been made to succeed Mr. Schnyder who has won our respect and admiration during the tenure of his office. We are indeed gratified that an Asian gentleman has, in the call of duty, elected to dedicate his life to the service of this humanitarian cause.

48. We are heartened that Prince Sadruddin, the son of an illustrious father, has identified himself with a type of activity which revolves around succouring the needy and bringing a sense of security to those unfortunate people who have had to find refuge in foreign lands until a solution is ultimately found for their plight. We are proud that this mantle has fallen on the shoulders of an Asian for the first time, as it truly demonstrates that it is high time for a man hailing from the East to identify himself with such a humanitarian mission.

49. Prince Sadruddin has proved himself as a capable, energetic and intelligent executive. He acquitted himself most honourably in his previous post as Deputy High Commissioner. No wonder, then, that when Mr. Schnyder was again called to the service of his Government, Prince Sadruddin was elected to this post by acclamation. We are indeed proud and, at

the same time, fortunate in having Prince Sadruddin as the new High Commissioner. May God help him to assuage the sufferings of the refugees, wherever they may be, so that the famous Arab proverb, "The nearest to God are those who love mankind", may be fulfilled.

50. Mr. HOVEYDA (Iran) (translated from French): It is both a great honour and a great pleasure for me to thank the Assembly, on behalf of my Government, for expressing its confidence in Prince Sadruddin by electing him to the office of High Commissioner for Refugees. I should like to thank, in particular, the delegations of the United Republic of Tanzania, Madagascar, France, the United States of America, Burundi, Greece, Turkey, Japan, Pakistan, Morocco, Jordan, the Sudan, Israel and Saudi Arabia for the statements they have just made.

51. I am deeply moved at this moment because the task which falls to me, on behalf of my Government, is coupled with a special pleasure, since I have the honour to enjoy the friendship of Prince Sadruddin, a friendship which I must say is very dear to me.

52. My country is very sensible of the honour which has been conferred on it. The delegations representing their countries in the Assembly have undoubtedly wished, by this vote of confidence, to honour Iran, but I cannot overlook the fact that they wished at the same time to endorse the work which Prince Sadruddin has been doing for the refugees for a number of years.

53. This leads me to pay a special tribute to Mr. Schnyder, the present High Commissioner, who is about to leave his post in order to assume other duties in his own country. I should like, on behalf of my Government, to express once more the great admiration that we have felt and continue to feel for the work accomplished by Mr. Schnyder in this humanitarian context. I should like, in conclusion, to express my best wishes to Mr. Schnyder for success in the important duties which he is about to assume.

54. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before turning to the other items on today's agenda, I should like to associate myself with the thanks which have been addressed to Mr. Schnyder for his services to the United Nations as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

#### AGENDA ITEM 28

Question of general and complete disarmament: reports of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/6129)

#### AGENDA ITEM 29

Question of convening a conference for the purpose of signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons: reports of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament

#### AGENDA ITEM 30

Urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests: reports of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/6124)

#### AGENDA ITEM 105

Declaration on the denuclearization of Africa

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/6127)

*Mr. Fahmy (United Arab Republic), Rapporteur of the First Committee, presented the reports of that Committee and then spoke as follows.*

55. Mr. FAHMY (United Arab Republic), Rapporteur of the First Committee: I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly three reports of the First Committee. The first [A/6142] concerns consideration of agenda item 30. The deliberations of the Committee were based on a thirty-five Power draft resolution which had been the subject of much consideration prior to its formal submission on 25 November. Although it required only three meetings to dispose of this agenda item, the important subject matter had already been discussed by many members in connexion with the item on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Favourable action by the General Assembly should help it to continue to focus world public opinion on the urgent need to stop all nuclear weapon tests in all environments by all countries.

56. The second report which I have the honour to place before the General Assembly [A/6127] relates to agenda item 105. It will be recalled that this item was included in the agenda at the request of thirty-four African countries [see A/5975]. The deliberations of the First Committee, which covered six meetings, were based on a twenty-eight Power draft resolution. The interventions showed increasing interest in the initiative of the African States designed to keep their continent free from nuclear weapons, and in the practical measures they would undertake through the Organization of African Unity.

57. Other problems, including the attitude of nuclear Powers towards nuclear-free zones generally, and the experience of the Preparatory Commission for the Denuclearization of Latin America, were also considered.

58. The final report I have the honour to present and recommend for your favourable action [A/6129] is in connexion with agenda item 28. This item was considered at three meetings in the light of the Committee's thorough deliberations on many specific aspects covered by the report of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. In view of the suggestions and proposals that were made in the course of the deliberations, it was decided to recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution submitted by Cyprus. The draft resolution, in requesting the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee to resume its work as soon as possible, would also refer to that body all documents and records of the First Committee.

59. With these three reports, the First Committee has concluded its consideration of the agenda items on

disarmament. The recommendations this year were adopted without a negative vote being recorded. This would seem to indicate that the conciliation process in the course of the General Assembly was most effective and that there was widespread agreement on the objectives for the coming year.

60. May today's adoption of the reports of the First Committee on the disarmament items constitute a significant encouragement for the members of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee when they resume their important task early in the coming year.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the First Committee.*

61. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Pursuant to the decision which the Assembly has just taken, statements will be limited to explanations of vote.

62. We shall first consider item 28, on which the First Committee has submitted a report [A/6129].

63. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): The Albanian delegation has expressed its views on the work of the United Nations on the disarmament problem on many occasions. We have constantly pointed out that as a result of the dominant position which the United States, in accordance with its aggressive imperialist policy, maintains with regard to the Organization, the latter has been unable to contribute to the settlement of the important problems which have confronted it since its establishment. A typical case in point is the disarmament problem, where no progress has been achieved despite many years of discussion and negotiation. All the bodies so far established by the United Nations to solve the disarmament problem have failed in their task because of the negative position of the United States and of certain other Powers which support it directly or indirectly. We have often observed that the work of the Committee of Seventeen is both interminable and useless; that Committee too has failed in its task, for the reasons that we have explained clearly on other occasions.

64. We could not fail to say once more today that the work and negotiations in the field of disarmament are organized and conducted by certain great Powers with a view to achieving aims diametrically opposed to the desired goals, and in particular with the aim of misleading public opinion and inducing the peoples to relax their vigilance, in order to cover up the arms race and the acts of aggression committed by the United States against Viet-Nam, the Congo, the Dominican Republic and other countries.

65. On many occasions, particularly during the last meetings of the Disarmament Commission and the present session of the General Assembly, the Albanian delegation has clearly stated its views on the measures which are essential if the deadlock on disarmament is to be broken. We have particularly stressed the urgent need to create certain conditions which are essential to pave the way for measures which will promote the settlement of the disarmament problem.

66. The draft resolution before us [A/6129, para. 10], which was hastily adopted by the First Committee,

is characterized, in particular, by the complete absence of any provision for specific and effective measures to promote disarmament. In these circumstances, how can we fail to gain the impression that everything is taking place in accordance with the desire of two great Powers not to upset the understanding that exists between them?

67. In view of the considerations which I have just outlined, the Albanian delegation feels that it cannot support the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee.

68. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I put to the vote the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee [A/6129, para. 10]. A roll-call vote has been requested.

*The vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Yemen, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Albania, Algeria, France, Guinea, Mali, United Republic of Tanzania.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 102 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.*

69. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now take up agenda item 29. In that connexion, the President of the General Assembly has received a letter dated 30 November 1965 [A/6125] from the Chairman of the First Committee, transmitting the Committee's recommendation that the General Assembly should decide to refer this item to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament for further study and to defer consideration of it in the General Assembly until the twenty-first session. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the General Assembly approves this recommendation.

*It was so decided.*

70. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now take up agenda item 30, on which the First Committee has submitted a report [A/6124].

71. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Peru wishes to inform the Assembly very briefly of the reasons for its enthusiastic support of the draft resolution appearing in paragraph 7 of the First Committee's report [A/6124].

72. The value of a complete suspension of nuclear weapon tests is obvious; it means the protection of the sacred principle of the preservation of life and culture on our planet, which are threatened by the arms race. The Moscow Treaty prohibiting nuclear weapon tests is still incomplete. It is essential that the gap with respect to underground tests should be filled, for otherwise we face the danger of the Moscow Treaty itself being denounced should the nuclear balance be upset as a result of some tests, creating a feeling of mistrust among the great Powers. All those reasons prompted the First Committee to vote, by an overwhelming majority, in favour of the total suspension of nuclear weapon tests.

73. Unfortunately, there are opposing views concerning the technical aspects of the question. The delegation of the Soviet Union believes that each country can detect or verify any nuclear explosion by means of equipment set up within its own domestic jurisdiction. The United States believes that science has not yet found a way to distinguish between nuclear explosions and earth tremors caused by seismic forces. In this matter, however, science is making progress every day.

74. There is the Swedish project for an exchange of scientific discoveries among all countries. Indeed, faced with these two opposing positions, the Committee has, I think, found what might be called scientific arbitration between two differing political positions. I think it is very fortunate that we are able to avail ourselves of the advances of science in order to ease, to rise above or to overcome political positions that may divide two countries whose mission it should be to work together in harmony for the well-being of mankind.

75. Paragraph 3 of the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee, which I shall take the liberty of reading out, since it is the duty of all to support it, states:

"Requests the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to continue with a sense of urgency its work on a comprehensive test ban treaty and on arrangements to ban effectively all nuclear weapon tests in all environments, taking into account the improved possibilities for international co-operation in the field of seismic detection, and to report to the General Assembly."

76. I feel that we have come to a crucial point. For the solution of this urgent problem of the cessation of nuclear tests, which may endanger the whole system of general and complete disarmament, our only choice is between the intransigent and compromising position of one country and scientific arbitration by means of cultural contacts between the experts of the United States and the Soviet Union, together with the arbitration and co-operation of experts from other countries. In my view, this solution is unobjectionable; it is deeply human and absolutely sound scientifically. It was for this reason that the delegation of Peru

appealed to the delegations which had abstained in the vote to take account of the dilemma facing us: we must either endorse a position which one of the parties regards as dangerous or accept a simple unsupervised moratorium on underground tests. Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that moratoria—I must say this to the Assembly in all frankness and sincerity—have acquired an unfavourable connotation in the history of the United Nations.

77. For these reasons, the delegation of Peru enthusiastically supported this draft resolution and hopes that it will be adopted unanimously by the Assembly.

78. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): It was not by accident that the Albanian delegation did not participate in the First Committee's discussion on the question of nuclear tests or in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/L.345/Rev.1 relating to that question. Our position in this regard is well known; it has been clearly stated on past occasions and most recently in detail at the meetings of the Disarmament Commission last spring.

79. The Albanian Government has resolutely maintained, with irrefutable arguments supported by obvious facts, that the question of nuclear tests can and should be settled only simultaneously and jointly with the other aspects of the problem of nuclear weapons. To act otherwise, to seek to settle the question of nuclear tests separately, would be to take willy-nilly a course which would favour neither nuclear disarmament nor the cause of peace.

80. The suspension of tests is not a measure of nuclear disarmament. General accession to an agreement on the suspension of tests is not possible; moreover, it would not serve the cause of peace. Such an agreement would be of particular benefit to two great Powers which possess enormous quantities of the most powerful atomic weapons and would be disadvantageous to other countries. That would be unjust and contrary to the principle of the sovereign equality of States and their right to take the steps necessary for their defence. Lastly, it would be contrary to the cause of peace, for it would leave the door open to atomic threats and blackmail.

81. The peace and security of mankind cannot be abandoned in the arbitrary will of two great Powers, especially that of the United States of America, which is systematically and frenziedly pursuing its policy of force and aggression.

82. As for the 1963 Moscow Treaty on the partial banning of nuclear weapon tests, which is mentioned in the draft resolution, the Albanian delegation has often had occasion to express its point of view and to expose the true value of this treaty, the real aims of its principal sponsors and its dangerous consequences. We have amply demonstrated the fraudulent nature of the agreement and the events which have followed its conclusion have corroborated our views. The treaty on the partial banning of nuclear tests has in particular served the aims of the United States, which is seeking to go on quietly with its underground tests with a view of producing new and more powerful types of nuclear weapons, increasing its stocks of such weapons and using them for its policy of atomic threat and blackmail.

83. The Albanian Government will never accede to an agreement which runs counter to the interests of world peace and security and serves only the interests of the opponents of disarmament. We fully understand the concern of peace-loving countries and the spirit which guides their efforts with regard to nuclear tests, but the Moscow Treaty does nothing to promote the settlement of the basic problem confronting the peoples of the world, namely, the prohibition and total destruction of nuclear weapons. That Treaty was concluded for entirely different purposes: it originated in a desire for monopoly and supremacy in the field of nuclear weapons, and the same is true of the draft resolutions on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

84. If certain nuclear Powers are truly concerned with the protection of the people, they should accept an agreement on the definitive prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons, those weapons of mass destruction which imperil the lives of the people and thus constitute the real danger. That would at the same time provide a definitive solution of the problem of nuclear tests. The United States Government, however, stubbornly opposes such an agreement, for not only does it care nothing for the protection of the people, but it pursues a policy which is profoundly hostile to their interests.

85. It is obvious that the aim of the principal sponsors of the Moscow Treaty is to ensure their own supremacy in the field of nuclear weapons.

86. The Albanian Government, in accordance with its policy of peace, has spared no effort to contribute to the best of its ability to the settlement of the disarmament problem. We have fought unremittingly for general and complete disarmament and have supported all constructive proposals to that end.

87. As regards nuclear disarmament in particular, we have constantly supported the realistic proposal for the comprehensive and radical solution of this problem. We have supported the total prohibition of nuclear tests, together with the prohibition of the production of nuclear weapons and the total prohibition and destruction of such weapons.

88. I would recall, in this connexion, that we firmly supported the proposal by the Government of the People's Republic of China for the convening of a conference of Heads of State of the whole world for the purpose of examining the question of the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons. We consider that this very important constructive proposal by the great socialist and eminently peace-loving China, which has become a nuclear Power, corresponds to the wishes of the peoples of the world, who want to eliminate the danger of nuclear war and end the atomic blackmail of the United States aggressors and those who support them. It therefore deserves the attention and support of all peace-loving countries.

89. The People's Republic of Albania has been and still is in favour of that proposal for the settlement of the nuclear weapons problem as a whole, as it has been and still is in favour of all constructive proposals and realistic steps relating to the problem of general disarmament.

90. The Albanian delegation, guided by the considerations I have outlined, which reflect our steadfast position in this regard, considers the draft resolution appearing in the First Committee's report [A/6124, para. 7] unacceptable and will vote against it.

91. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee [A/6124, para. 7]. A roll-call vote has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Somalia, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone.

*Against:* Albania.

*Abstaining:* Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Guinea, Hungary, Mauritania, Mongolia, Poland.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 92 votes to 1, with 14 abstentions.*

92. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now turn to agenda item 105. I invite the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee [A/6127, para. 9]. A roll-call vote has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Zambia, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg,

Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* France, Portugal.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 105 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.*

93. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We have now completed our consideration of agenda item 105. Before turning to the next item, I give the floor to the Secretary-General.

94. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Today, with the adoption of the resolutions on the agenda items on the urgent need for the suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests, on the Declaration on the denuclearization of Africa and on the question of general and complete disarmament, the Assembly has completed consideration of the disarmament items. The various aspects of the disarmament problem have, quite understandably, been a dominating feature of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. The deliberations have resulted in virtually unanimous resolutions; only a single negative vote has been cast against one of the disarmament resolutions adopted. These votes would seem to indicate the existence of a consensus, at least on goals and guidelines, for the coming year.

95. The Members of the Assembly have earlier this session expressed their clear support for the idea of convening a world disarmament conference. This was accomplished in a manner intentionally designed, as I understand it, to make possible the participation of all major Powers in such a conference. Today, the General Assembly has once again clearly expressed its support for the continuing mandate of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee to proceed with the immediate negotiating task. Once again the Members of the United Nations have indicated a desire to move forward simultaneously on every possible road to disarmament.

96. Unfortunately, the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee will resume its work against the background of a war that seems to be gathering fresh and dangerous momentum. Nothing could more quickly and surely improve the prospects for agreement on disarmament than bringing an end to this conflict. Nevertheless, the world will doubtless experience some feeling of reassurance when the disarmament talks resume.

97. The substantive results of your deliberations are clear. The General Assembly has taken the steps that are feasible for it to make the prevention of the direct or indirect proliferation of nuclear weapons the paramount objective of immediate disarmament

efforts. The goal of non-proliferation has been buttressed by the most recent resolutions calling for the suspension of all nuclear tests and by the Declaration on the denuclearization of Africa.

98. I note with satisfaction that the resolution on nuclear testing alludes specifically to the improved possibilities for international co-operation in the field of seismic detection. Nations must ask not only what is already possible by way of detection and identification techniques to sustain confidence in a test-ban treaty, but also—and perhaps more immediately—what they can do together to develop still better means so as to facilitate a treaty acceptable to all.

99. Once again the Members of the United Nations have called on the nuclear Powers to suspend all nuclear weapon tests. Difficult as it may be for sovereign States to abstain voluntarily from testing, producing or deploying nuclear weapons which are technically feasible for them, their willingness to do so may be decisive in halting the arms race.

100. The disarmament negotiations in Geneva cannot but benefit from regional efforts in Latin America and Africa. The initiative taken by the countries of these geographical areas is a most heartening recent development in the field of disarmament. The countries of Africa and Latin America, if they succeed in their great endeavour, may provide real stimulus and leadership in concrete disarmament achievements. It is, of course, my intention to comply fully with the request of the Assembly, and to make available to the countries of these regions all possible facilities and assistance.

101. The resolutions adopted point the way to progress through the sharing of initiative and responsibility in the field of disarmament among nuclear and non-nuclear, among small and large Powers, among Members and non-members of the United Nations. But the main responsibility for the curbing of the arms race throughout the world remains with the great Powers. The international atmosphere is quick to respond to positive initiatives of the great Powers.

102. I am sure that we all derive great satisfaction from the overwhelmingly favourable votes which the resolutions on disarmament have received this year. Certainly this demonstration of agreement on objectives and machinery for their attainment is most welcome.

103. The main task now is to turn the overwhelmingly positive votes into concrete acts that will help stem the spiralling trend of fear and of armaments. For this, it is essential that all Powers, and first of all the great Powers, give evidence of a real desire to make the mutual concessions and accommodations that are necessary for agreements to be achieved. In the field of disarmament, perhaps even more than in other areas of international action, agreements can be reached only if Governments are convinced that such agreements are in their interest, and if there is a real will on the part of Governments to agree. As I have indicated on previous occasions, it would help to achieve such agreements, and at the earliest possible time, if the highest levels of Government were to demonstrate once again their active and continuing

interest in the negotiations and their desire to reach specific agreements.

104. Mr. President, I should like to conclude by thanking you and the Members of this Assembly for affording me this opportunity and by expressing the fervent hope that the forthcoming year will be marked by concrete achievements. The dangers of failure and the need for success are very great.

105. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): As President, I am glad to associate myself with the Secretary-General's words concerning the decisions on disarmament and denuclearization taken by the General Assembly at its twentieth session. I would add that I hope that the decision we have taken today will mark further progress towards the strengthening of peace. On behalf of the Assembly, I thank the First Committee and its Chairman, whose assistance has enabled us to achieve the good results I have just mentioned.

### AGENDA ITEM 8

#### Adoption of the agenda (concluded)\*

106. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before taking up the next item, I would draw the Assembly's attention to a question relating to the allocation of agenda items. The United Kingdom representative in the First Committee has proposed that item 99, relating to the peaceful settlement of disputes, should be transferred from the First Committee to the Special Political Committee. The Chairman of the First Committee and the Chairman of the Special Political Committee have been consulted. The First Committee has approved this step. If there are no objections I shall take it that the General Assembly agrees to transfer agenda item 99 to the Special Political Committee for consideration and report.

*It was so decided.*

*Mr. Vizcaino Leal (Guatemala), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

### AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: reports of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (continued)

107. Mr. BHUIYA (Pakistan): My delegation has studied the report of the Special Committee on the colonial situation with mixed feelings. While we are happy to note that the historic movement for the decolonization of colonies has taken its relentless course forward towards the goal of a world from which all traces of colonialism have been removed, that has still not been achieved. We in Pakistan are impatient with the pace of the decolonization process.

108. We know that the United Nations has been playing a significant part in this process. We have supported the United Nations in its endeavours and we have contributed all we could to that end. However,

the realization that, even to this day, there are territories and peoples that have still to achieve full freedom weighs heavily on our conscience. Pakistan has asked on many occasions for a speeding up of the process of decolonization and a most active role for the United Nations in this process. We are in conscience bound to express our dissatisfaction at the fact that many things which could have been done were not done, that many measures which could have been adopted were either not adopted at the time when they should have been or not adopted in the spirit in which they should have been.

109. Pakistan has argued again and again, in this Assembly and outside it, that the responsibility of the international community does not end until the dependent peoples have arrived at their destination. The colonial Powers have vested interests which they find it hard to relinquish with good grace. That is why, on many occasions, they hatch all sorts of devious schemes to retain the substance of control while parting with the semblance of authority. This phenomenon has been imaginatively described as neo-colonialism. We take satisfaction in the fact that the existence of these reactionary hankerings after a fast-vanishing status quo is generally known to the people whose interests are involved. We are at one with them in opposing and struggling against it. Neo-colonialism is not only the enemy of newly independent peoples. It is the enemy of all freedom-loving peoples.

110. Pakistan wants to make sure that the peoples that are still dependent are saved from the scourge of this contemptible conspiracy. It is for that reason that we have insisted not only that their dependent status be ended as speedily as possible but that the freedom when it comes to them be genuine. We should rather not have these unfortunate people move from manifest domination to covert exploitation. Our perusal of the report has created in our minds an apprehension that these possibilities, however unlikely they may seem at the moment, have to be taken into consideration in our deliberations of the colonial situation. If we do not start checking these tendencies before they have the time to grow, we must eventually be faced with many serious situations in all parts of the world. In our view, a good way to do so is by treating with scepticism the common excuse of the colonial Powers that a territory is still not ripe for independence. We should insist on a complete elimination of the colonial presence within the next few years. A time-limit was suggested by the representative of Singapore yesterday [1387th meeting] when he was speaking on this situation. Pakistan would also welcome such a time limit.

111. The position of my delegation with regard to South West Africa and other colonial strongholds in Africa is clear and unambiguous. We are in favour of the United Nations as a whole exerting all the pressure at its command, including enforcement measures of an extreme nature, to bringing an end to this intolerable situation. We look upon the situation in these territories as a continuing aggression against the indigenous peoples. We further consider that this aggression creates a serious danger to international peace and security, because, unless speedily remedied, this situation leaves no recourse open to the victimized

\*Resumed from the 1340th meeting.

peoples except that of a massive armed struggle. We perfectly well understand why such a struggle might break out, if it were to break out tomorrow. That is why we have insisted and still insist that the United Nations live up to its responsibilities and provide an alternative to the victimized African people to bring them to independence on the cardinal principle of self-determination.

112. Political domination has its roots in the economic exploitation of the people. Our examination of the situation in many Trust Territories has given us reason to believe that the natural resources of those Territories are being exploited at an alarming rate. In our view, the Trusteeship System was not created to serve colonial greed.

113. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 1803 (XVII) on permanent sovereignty over natural resources, the rightful owners of the natural wealth of the Territories are the inhabitants thereof. We are concerned with the rate at which this wealth is being used up. The dependent status of people does not give any Power the right to tamper with the resources. Indeed the fact that they are unable at this stage to stand up and demand what belongs to them imposes an obligation on the international community to safeguard their rights. We are not satisfied with the situation in many territories. The report of the Special Committee has made a useful contribution in drawing attention to that fact.

114. In the light of the situation revealed by the report, the Pakistan delegation has made certain proposals in the course of the deliberations in the Fourth Committee. We have suggested that the information about all Trust Territories should contain such statistics with regard to the exploitation of natural resources as the volume of benefits which actually accrue to the inhabitants of these Territories. We have made our position clear that we will support the claims of people who are dependent now and who are being deprived of their wealth, if at any stage they should seek restitution for their natural wealth. Let there be no doubt that Pakistan will support such claims without any reservations and will insist that adequate and speedy compensation be paid, including damages for previous wrongs suffered. In our view, such claims for compensation would apply to any wrongful deprivation of wealth and would not necessarily be confined to internationalization of assets.

115. Mr. MOD (Hungary) (translated from French): Five years ago—or five General Assembly sessions ago, if we measure time by the United Nations chronometer—there occurred the decisive change in the work of the United Nations and in the definition of its task which transformed the Organization from an office which recorded the activities of the colonial Powers into an international agent taking an active part in the struggle against those activities.

116. The history of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), the debates on the resolutions adopted since then and on their application, all show that the alliance of the forces which struggle against colonialism in the Organization is a solid one, because it is based on common principles. It is gaining in strength from year to year and extending its struggle against all forms of colonialism.

117. The struggle against colonialism is a sphere of activity in which the United Nations has been able to achieve relatively good results. It is precisely because of this success that I would recall what was said by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country during the general debate this year:

"Since 1960, when the Declaration on the liquidation of the colonial system was adopted, it has been stated in this hall again and again that by the time of the twentieth session all the colonial territories should have regained their independence and sovereignty. And what is the situation now? Not only have all the left-overs of the colonial era not been liquidated, but a colonial war par excellence has been brought to the Indo-Chinese peninsula." [1350th meeting, para. 3.]

118. It is an incontestable fact—and the simplest proof of this is that the number of Members of the United Nations is increasing from year to year—that the geographical area of colonialism is decreasing. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of all its other aspects. During the five years of anti-colonial struggle against the various overt and covert forms of colonialism, the United Nations has accumulated a vast amount of experience, the analysis of which is one of the first conditions for the definition of subsequent activities.

119. The first and most general of the questions to which we are seeking an answer was raised in the passage just quoted from the statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Hungary. The question could also be put in another way: why, as in the case of disarmament, is the struggle against colonialism obtaining only partial results, while making no headway towards its main objectives?

120. I should like to try to reply first on the basis of an analysis of the various forms of colonialism. I shall begin by examining the present situation with regard to the so-called classic form of colonialism. We could consider for example the situation in Angola or Mozambique, or in Aden or any other United Kingdom colony. All the objectionable and revolting elements of classic colonialism invariably exist there.

121. Here are a few facts about the Portuguese colonies: 99 per cent of the indigenous population are illiterate; in certain regions, infant mortality is high as 60 per cent; in Angola, only 3.3 per cent of the African children of school age attend school and the cotton farmers, who number about a million, have an average annual per capita income of \$11.17. A highly qualified western specialist, who is well acquainted with the situation in the Portuguese colonies, has this to say on the subject:

"...but the patterns of Portugal's African policy have remained pretty much the same: the concept of the African as a ward of the state whose tribal authorities and values are to be replaced by Portuguese authority and values; the indiscriminate use, and abuse, of African labour; a seeming indifference to the physical and social welfare of the African peoples; an equal indifference to their educational needs; and ex-

exploitation of African agriculture and the promotion of white estate agriculture to the detriment of African land rights and interests; the encouragement of white immigration; and the repression of the African dissatisfaction, real and imagined, by imprisonment, exile, beatings, torture, and even murder. This has been the past, it is the present, and the Portuguese would like to make it the future."<sup>2/</sup>

122. A partial answer to the question why Portugal wishes to continue to dominate its African colonies by force is given by the Angola correspondent of the Washington Post in the 11 November 1965 issue:

"Portugal is reported to be spending up to \$100 million a year to carry on the military suppression of rebels in its African colonies. But it apparently is paying off...Portugal, by dint of shrewd management, has turned a colony whose most valuable export for 55 years was whale oil, into a thriving money-maker and reserved market for Portuguese products."

123. As was shown by the debates in the Special Committee, the commercial profits which Portugal derives from its colonies are estimated at \$150 million a year. According to The New York Times of 23 August 1965, "The African war has proved something of an economic blessing for metropolitan Portugal...". I should like to quote another statement of a similar tenor: "We do not like to think about it but the war has improved the economy and given great prosperity to some...". This statement was made by James Reston in The New York Times of 24 November 1965 in connexion with the United States aggression in South Viet-Nam.

124. The colonizer's essential motive has therefore continued to be material profit and the exploitation of the indigenous population. In the contemporary world, however, a colonizing country is unable and unwilling to accomplish this task by itself. The interests of monopolies and States are so interlaced that they form an impenetrable undergrowth of exploitation.

125. In order to avoid being accused of prejudice, I shall now quote an example relating to South West Africa. In its report, which is supported by voluminous data, the Special Committee noted that foreign capital held a dominant position in the economy of South West Africa, that the foreign companies had no interest in developing any sort of a balanced economy in the Territory and that the international companies supported the annexation policy of the South African Government. The Special Committee's report states that the international monopolies are concerned above all with making profits and that consequently the profits flow abroad and are not reinvested in the Territory. Paragraph 172 of the report states that the mining companies and industrial facilities are controlled by financial interests in the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Republic of South Africa. Lastly, the Special Committee states:

"The above study leads to the conclusion that the activities of the international companies in South

West Africa constitute one of the main obstacles to the country's development towards independence."<sup>3/</sup>

126. In the Portuguese colonies, too, industry, transport and mining are controlled by financial interests in the United States, the United Kingdom, Belgium and Portugal. Recently the participation of West German private capital has also been increasing sharply.

127. These activities are highlighted by the following figures. According to data published in the August 1964 issue of the Survey of Current Business,<sup>4/</sup> in 1963 United States private capital realized and repatriated profits of 5.1 per cent on its investments in the countries of the European Common Market and 10.6 per cent on its investments in South America; according to information published in the 9 March 1963 issue of France Observateur, the corresponding figures for southern Africa ranged from 20 per cent to 45 per cent.

128. Of course, South African financial interests, too, have a part in the exploitation of the Portuguese colonies. Consequently, the two Governments have already begun negotiations concerning the extration and purchase of Angolan oil. According to the 1 August 1964 issue of the Johannesburg Star

"Angola could save South Africa if the Afro-Asian bloc succeeded in cutting off the supply of oil, which is of vital importance for South Africa... In the case of a total embargo, Angola could furnish the industry and the defence of South Africa with sufficient oil to enable them to survive."

129. It is common knowledge that forced labour too is widespread in the Portuguese colonies. Consequently, the indigenous populations of Mozambique are forced to work like slaves not only in the Portuguese colonies but also in the neighbouring country of South Africa. According to the information provided by the Liberation Front of Mozambique, Portugal sends 100,000 workers from Mozambique to the Transvaal gold mines every year. In exchange, 45 per cent of the products of the Transvaal are transported via Lourenço Marques. According to the petitioners, South Africa pays the Portuguese Government \$6 per worker and half the wages of each forced worker for the first four months. About 200,000 other workers from Mozambique are employed as industrial, agricultural and domestic workers in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

130. From the examples I have just given, it may be concluded that a group of Western countries has an interest, which can be estimated at several thousand million dollars, in retaining the status quo in the colonial territories. It is for that purpose that they are united in what is known throughout the world as the Unholy Alliance. No matter what aspect of the question we consider, we always find the same group of countries, which originally, during the classic period of colonization, were the group of

<sup>3/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 15, document A/5840, para. 176.

<sup>4/</sup> Periodical published by the United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Washington, D.C.

<sup>2/</sup> James Duffy, Portugal's African Territories: Present Realities, New York, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1962, p. 12.

colonial Powers and which today can be symbolized very briefly by the name NATO. In fact, we are today dealing with a collective colonizing activity, and more specifically with the colonizing activity of NATO.

131. In this joint empire of several thousand million dollars, common interests are involved in the status quo and for that reason joint efforts are made to maintain it. As the West German newspaper Frankfurter Allgemeine wrote:

"In the last analysis, the Western States must be able to defend their economic interests and investments in Africa."

And in fact they do everything to defend them.

132. According to The New York Times of 3 May 1965, West Germany has sold Portugal a large quantity of automatic weapons and sixty F-86 aircraft bought from Canada. When the Canadian Government protested, Bonn replied in these words, according to the 17 February 1965 issue of the West Berlin Newspaper Tagesspiegel:

"The prevailing opinion of Bonn is that there could be no objection to the sale of the aircraft, since Portugal, like the Federal Republic of Germany and Canada is a member of NATO."

133. To complete the picture, I shall quote a Portuguese opinion culled from the 18 February 1965 issue of the West Berlin newspaper Der Kurier-Der Tag:

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal has stated that Angola is not a colony but is part of Portugal. The Government cannot therefore accept any regulation which would limit the use of jet fighter aircraft".

134. This shows how much the Western Powers' promise that the arms they deliver to Portugal will not be used against the peoples of Africa is worth.

135. The military co-operation between South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal is also being continually strengthened. Systematic negotiations are going on this subject and a number of Western sources have referred to the existence of a secret military agreement. The arms supplied to Portugal often make a surprising detour before arriving at their destination. According to the article in the Washington Post quoted above, for example, the "equipment is largely old United States surplus, bought from Brazil".

136. These are the facts. Their importance, however, goes far beyond geographical frontiers. They prove, by irrefutable logic, that the principal instigators of so-called local wars are the colonial Powers, which in order to consolidate their material interests and their power do not hesitate to condemn distant countries to the flames of war and to endanger international peace and security. This is what Portugal is doing in Angola, what the United Kingdom is doing in South Arabia and what the United Kingdom, through its apparent indecision, has made possible in Southern Rhodesia. To tell the truth, it is because of this policy that the United States, as a new colon-

izing Power, has entered the scene in South Vietnam, not to speak of Latin America.

137. Colonization, pursued with the help of the brute force of overwhelming military power, has produced strange excesses in the course of time. One might cite, for example, the fact that the colonizer or the ex-colonizer claims the right to the natural resources and to the land cultivated on the factory built with the sweat and blood of the colonized peoples. Another example is the completely false idea that the white settlers in southern Africa had more rights, both quantitatively and qualitatively, than the indigenous inhabitants. It is this false idea—which, in the interests of mankind, must be uprooted as soon as possible—that has been the basis for the presumption, the so-called right, of the Power in question to intervene in the domestic affairs of other countries whenever and wherever it pleases. And for that same reason what is happening in South-East Asia is a colonial war par excellence.

138. Only this illegitimate claim of the colonizing "proprietor" can explain the attitude adopted by the United States at the recent Conference held at Rio de Janeiro,<sup>5/</sup> which the New York Herald Tribune of 23 November 1965 succinctly and pertinently described in the following way: "We tell OAS: fight Reds or we intervene". There, as in South East Asia, we find ourselves face to face with the outlook which leads one Power to regard all the others as its colonies.

139. The basic truth is that for the liquidation of the colonial system the question of the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States is of great topical importance. This question has been placed on the agenda at the proposal of the Soviet Union [see A/5977]. With a view to the liquidation of all forms of colonialism, it is essential that the General Assembly should declare, in the terms of operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution submitted by the USSR [A/C.1/L.343], "that every sovereign State and every people has an inalienable right to freedom and independence and to defend its sovereignty and that this right must be fully protected".

140. This, in substance, is a reference to the fact that certain Powers are trying militarily and on a world-wise scale to prevent social progress and the liquidation of the colonial system. An editorial in The New York Times of 3 July 1965 stated:

"The United States also has a sometimes deserved reputation as a defender of the status quo, a capitalism as we interpret it, of democracy only in our form, of opposing social reform if it comes from the left and of complacently accepting coups d'état from the right."

141. This attitude of the United States, both in its entirety and in its details, is diametrically opposed not only to the United Nations Charter but to the basic principles of the anti-colonialist struggle, by virtue of which the United Nations recognizes the legitimacy of all forms of struggle waged by the colonial peoples for their national independence.

<sup>5/</sup> Second Special Inter-American Conference of the Organization of American States 17 to 30 November 1965.

142. I think it is already possible to try to define the place of colonialism in global politics.

143. First, the aim of colonialism is to procure raw materials and human resources cheaply.

144. Secondly, colonialism is designed to provide certain Powers with virtual "aircraft carriers" that they can use as Belgium, the United Kingdom and the United States used Ascension Island, as the United Kingdom is using Aden or the military base which it is installing on Mauritius, or as the United States is using the island of Guam as a base for attacks against Viet-Nam by B-52 aircraft. These examples, and others that I shall refrain from mentioning, have a common feature, namely, the fact that the colonizer acts either in defiance of the vigorous protests of the people or without even consulting them.

145. Thirdly, the colonizers turn the ideas of intervention and non-intervention inside out, in a manner reminiscent of the cloak in the fable. For example, the people of Puerto Rico have become a part of the United States without realizing what has happened; the United Kingdom intervened in British Guiana because the Government elected by the people was not to the liking of the real colonizer, namely, the United States; and the United Kingdom has intervened in Aden because in that case the Government was not to its liking; on the other hand, the United Kingdom does not intervene in Southern Rhodesia because the handful of racist and fascist settlers is acceptable to the Unholy Alliance.

146. With the passage of time, the activity of the colonizers has undergone certain changes. At the present time, when the struggle for the complete liquidation of colonialism is going on, colonialism, while retaining its classic forms, has been enriched with new elements. The colonial Powers, which once fought among themselves have now formed the Unholy Alliance of colonizers, pursuing common objectives, using collective means and having a collective military authority: NATO. Physical presence has been supplemented—or replaced—by economic oppression through the international monopolies. Racial discrimination, which is one of the weapons of repression used by capitalist society, is once more playing an important role, as it did during the Hitler era, with the assistance of the white settlers and the policy of apartheid. The network of military bases encircling the whole world, from Guam to Gibraltar, is called upon to shore up the old system, which is disintegrating everywhere. When that is not enough, the colonialists resort to the violent overthrow of Governments, military intervention or "local wars", as has happened or is happening in Guiana, Aden, Viet-Nam, Angola and the Dominican Republic; or they resort to the sabotage of effective measures, as in the case of Southern Rhodesia.

147. These, then, are a few of the characteristics of the present colonial system. Whether the methods are old or new, they are always prompted by the same motives. Facts prove this, despite all efforts to throw powder in the world's eyes.

148. After all that I have said, it is easy to understand why my delegation favours the adoption of a resolution condemning all forms of colonialism and

making it the duty of the United Nations to combat them.

149. In the present circumstances, however, we consider it particularly important to draw the Assembly's attention briefly to two aspects of the question.

150. The first relates to the work of the Security Council. During the past few years, most of the Council's work has been caused by the international tensions arising from opposition to the liquidation of the colonial system. In the resolutions it has adopted on the questions of South Africa, South West Africa, the Portuguese colonies, Southern Rhodesia and Aden, the General Assembly formally states that the situation in those Territories is a threat to international peace and security. The same can be said of the military bases in territories which are still reduced by violence to the state of colonies—for example, Aden or Guam. It would therefore be advisable for the General Assembly to recommend to the Security Council that it should deal with this whole question at the earliest opportunity, in view of the fact that the very survival of colonialism constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

151. The other aspect of the question relates to one of the most important activities of the General Assembly: the protection of human rights. The United Nations is based on the sovereign equality of Member States. We have already recognized that every people, as a people, has the right to national independence, but we have not so far taken satisfactory action to ensure the protection of human rights in colonial Territories. In 1960, Belgium committed an aggression in the Congo, alleging the need to defend the rights of its nationals. Many similar examples could be cited to show that the Western Powers have committed a whole series of acts of aggression, alleging the need to defend the rights of their nationals abroad. But at the same time the colonial Powers, in their own colonies, trample under foot the most elementary provisions of the declarations and conventions on human rights adopted by the United Nations. To cite just one example, the ink is not yet dry on the final text of the first articles of the draft International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, yet the relevant provisions are already being violated in Africa. Paragraphs 1 (b) and 1 (d) of Article 2 (A/C.3/L.1239) provide that:

"Each State Party undertakes not to sponsor, defend or support racial discrimination by any persons or organizations . . .

"Each State Party shall prohibit and bring to an end, by all appropriate means, including legislation as required by circumstances, racial discrimination by any persons, group or organization".

152. As I have just shown, the monopolistic capitalist companies of the United States, the United Kingdom, Belgium, West Germany and Portugal trample all these provisions under foot. The United Nations should force the Governments concerned to see that these provisions are respected by their financial groups as well, for they apply to them too. It is impossible to speak of realizing the ideals of human dignity, the freedom of the individual or

human rights as long as they do not apply also to the indigenous peoples of the colonial Territories. We cannot allow the sublime principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to be reduced to propagandistic rhetoric.

153. In conclusion, I should like to congratulate the Special Committee on behalf of my delegation for its good work, and particularly for the successful meetings it held in Africa and for the pertinent and sensible resolutions it has adopted.

154. Mr. BATCHI (Congo, Brazzaville) (translated from French): The United Nations has recently celebrated its twentieth anniversary, not without rejoicing, although the obligations laid down in the Charter—that Charter which is an achievement to which every nation in the world has made its contribution—are still being flouted. The United Nations is slowly but surely sinking into the same abyss as did the League of Nations, that defunct organization which was incapable of fulfilling its noble functions of guaranteeing the freedom of peoples, and international peace and security.

155. In the light of the events which are now shaking the world, the disappointment of the nations of Africa seems to be increasing. After suffering colonial barbarity, denial of their personality, scandalous exploitation of the wealth of their continent, the policy of exterminating their people, they were convinced that the United Nations, after the wave of independence in 1960, which has been called the Year of Africa, would be able to restore the rule of true international co-operation.

156. To-day all the peoples of Africa are concerned at the trend of recent events, which could well divert the Organization from its responsibilities in relation to the ambitions of some of its Member States, whose activities are increasingly in conflict with the principles to which they solemnly subscribed in ratifying the United Nations Charter. The difficulties which obstruct the application of the principles laid down in the Charter are occasioned primarily by the Powers which manipulate the United Nations to satisfy their own blood-thirsty ambitions. Among those Powers is the United Kingdom, whose theoreticians of the colonial epics are among the most erudite the world has known; the memory of the great conquests of British colonization still inspires the authorities in London, who dream of giving their crumbling power a new guise.

157. The best picture of British colonization, the best definition of the new trend of London's twentieth century style colonial policy, has been given here, in very eloquent terms, by the eminent representative of the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom, in response to the recommendations of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, takes pride in the fact that it is shouldering the responsibility for more than thirty-one of the sixty-seven or so Non-Self-Governing Territories which have been listed. The United Kingdom representative is proud to inform the General Assembly of the steps taken by his Government to guide the peoples still subject to it towards independence in accordance, he tells us, with a noble British principle: the princi-

ple of the consent of the governed, that being the most revolutionary—he meant the most democratic—principle applicable to decolonization.

158. Such statements in the General Assembly throw doubt on the good faith of the English and on the willingness of the United Kingdom Government to consent to the demands of an irreversible phenomenon: the liberation of and granting of independence to peoples under foreign domination, a principle engraved in letters of gold in the United Nations Charter.

159. My delegation was shocked by the words of the United Kingdom representative and wishes to state that the United Kingdom's actions with regard to decolonization are the most confusing of any, because they follow no programme. Accordingly Lord Caradon's statement [1386th meeting] will convince no one, at any rate no one in this Hall, except perhaps himself and his Government.

160. Through these revelations of the United Kingdom representative, African opinion within the United Nations has received information from the very source, which has enabled it to become better acquainted with the policy which that Power intends to follow while taking care not to apply the recommendations of the Declaration, which are the subject of the report of the Committee of Twenty-Four [A/6000/Rev.1] now under discussion.

161. We can therefore understand how carefully, in defiance of the international community, the United Kingdom made preparations for Rhodesia to proclaim independence, following South Africa, which is also a "British product". Since the consent of the governed coincided with the interests of the administering Power, these two countries, at different times, gained independence without striking a blow. London rejoices at having thus fulfilled its civilizing mission.

162. The United Kingdom's liability for what, in diplomatic jargon, is called, "Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence" is unlimited. The best support Smith and the other 230,000 Rhodesian cowboys of European origin have is to be found mainly in London, and specifically in the British Parliament, where voices are continually raised in abuse of the Wilson Government for the embargo against Rhodesia, thus providing the best proof that the economic sanctions recommended by London—which the leading British diplomat made a great show of displaying to the Security Council in order to convince it—are merely "English bluff". The United Kingdom is alone in respecting itself for having attained the objective of its Rhodesian policy. The preparations go back to 1923 and culminated in 1961, the date of the Constitution which allowed power to be exercised by the racist minority of Captain Smith.

163. Consequently Mr. Stewart's visit to New York is no more than one of the journeys a business man customarily has to make to talk with his partners and give them every assurance that the turnover of foreign companies established in Rhodesia will in no way be affected by the declaration of independence by the authorities appointed by the 1961 Constitution, which was, in fact, remodelled on 11 November 1965.

164. Another argument advanced by the United Kingdom, that concerning the non-utilization of military measures to end the rebellion, if it really is an insult to the Crown, is that Ian Smith is a hero of the last war and consequently British forces cannot be used to oppose other British forces, those based in Rhodesia. To speak more clearly, the United Kingdom is giving *de facto* recognition to the Smith Government and problems between the various Rhodesian communities are "the domestic affairs of Rhodesia". This, then, is the literal application of the principle of the consent of the governed, as it was explained to us by the representative of the United Kingdom, a country which, after all, has a noble democratic past.

165. Although they avoid alluding to the organization of the Second World War armies, the colonial countries will undoubtedly remember that overseas forces played a praiseworthy part in the destruction of Fascism and Nazism in Europe, when Europe was torn by an atrocious war, certain moving episodes of which still remain in the memories of these same Powers which, then victims and imploring the aid of African soldiers, are now preparing international opinion for other dreams of military and economic hegemony and so letting mankind run the risk of another conflagration, a more frightening one because it would be atomic.

166. For a cause which was not their own—and here I am making no distinction among the colonial troops—the African contingents, with their armies, saved what only recently was being called in colonial literature "the mother country". The ex-servicemen, who include a number of war-wounded, even if they did not, like Smith, pilot military aircraft, are the best proof of their fighting courage, especially when it is remembered that very often those soldiers were fighting in impossible climatic conditions, being used as cannon-fodder for Hitler's and other armies.

167. Africa's contribution to peace honours that continent against which the West is today aiming its most deadly machine-guns in return for its services to the liberation of a Europe steeped in blood.

168. Thus, as a token of gratitude to Africa, London has offered the Rhodesian gift, which was dispatched at the very time of the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1960 (resolution 1514 (XV)).

169. NATO, which has most of the colonialist and imperialist Powers among its members, is a force operating against progress, particularly the progress of the African, Asian and Latin American countries. It is relevant to the present debate to deplore the fact that the countries members of NATO are still doing their utmost to keep in subjection more than sixty-seven Non-Self-Governing Territories with approximately 45 million inhabitants.

170. Even a brief survey shows that, in the history of nations, each member of NATO has been directly or indirectly responsible for an armed conflict, mainly in Europe but also elsewhere. This union of aggressors therefore provides a clear geographical site for the hotbeds of aggression in the world. If

the geometric locus of all these aggressions is the ocean which gave its name to that organization, NATO can be compared to a hideous monster, which delivers humanitarian and "altruistic" lucubrations while its tentacles spread death and disorder in Africa, Latin America and Asia.

171. It therefore becomes easier to understand the role of the military bases established in strategic areas: Guam, Aden, Ascension, Gibraltar and elsewhere. Each of these bases has obviously already played its part, whether in joint or individual undertakings, or in so-called humanitarian operations such as the Anglo-American-Belgian exploit at Stanleyville, the suspension of the Constitution in British Guiana and Aden, or the colonial war in Viet-Nam.

172. In keeping with the anti-imperialistic tradition of the country which I have the honour to represent, my delegation wishes to reaffirm, in the presence of all the other delegations of Asia and Latin America which are directly concerned, that the Congo (Brazzaville) supports and will support all liberation movements, wherever they may appear. A general survey of the situation with regard to the Non-Self-Governing Territories does, however, show that among the territories enumerated and described in the report of the Committee of Twenty-Four, African territories are, unfortunately, preponderant and that the resolution on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples is therefore of particular importance for the integrity of that continent.

173. The delegations of Mali and Tanzania have given a very clear definition of the policy to be applied to small territories in the light of their area and their demographic importance. My delegation wishes to associate itself with what was said by the representatives of these two delegations about the smaller territories and to endorse the remarks and conclusions in the report of the Committee of Twenty-Four on the future of those territories.

174. At this stage of the discussion on the Non-Self-Governing Territories, let us turn to Africa, where, in addition to Rhodesia, on which I have just stated my delegation's point of view, the Territories under Portuguese administration and South West Africa are the object of constant attention by the international Press and where bloody occurrences plunge the continent into mourning, while speeches are made in the United Nations about the principle of the self-determination of peoples, a principle voluntarily accepted by Portugal and South Africa, which arrogate to themselves the privilege of belonging to the Organization.

175. As for Portugal, that small territory with an area of 90,000 square kilometres, probably one of the poorest in Europe and in any case the poorest of the countries members of NATO, it still controls in Africa a vast colonial empire of 2,110,000 square kilometres and more than 12 million inhabitants. The so-called Portuguese provinces of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) contribute over 80 per cent of its economic resources.

176. This anachronistic situation, at this stage in the history of the United Nations, is of extreme concern to Africans generally and in particular to those

which have common frontiers with Territories under Portuguese administration. Is there not reason for alarm when it is remembered that to speak of Portugal is to speak of NATO and the mention of NATO immediately brings to mind aggression and a dangerous threat to peace in Africa?

177. Of these Territories, two—Angola and Mozambique—are situated in a region which is regarded as a kind of game preserve and in which the final convulsions of imperialism sometimes create complex situation which endanger the independence and security of neighbouring sovereign countries.

178. The considerable wealth to be found in that part of the African continent whets the greedy appetites of the capitalistic and monopolistic economic circles, which are shocked at the thought that Africa, through a more rational use of its own wealth and by its own means, might escape from the exploitation to which the international companies established in these regions are subjecting it.

179. In all the countries in a region extending from the Gulf of Guinea to the Mozambique Channel, the action of foreign monopolies and the predominant role of the international mining companies constitute the principal obstacle to independence.

180. Assured of the military support of its NATO partners, Portugal has constantly defied the United Nations, thus preventing it from applying the measures which the Charter provides for dealing with such situation. Portugal's conduct, which is in flagrant violation of the Charter cannot be interpreted as anything other than aggression against the United Nations; this necessarily calls for the adoption of sanctions, as stipulated in Chapter VII of the Charter. In the opinion of my delegation, the least of these measures might be, for example, the expulsion of Portugal from the United Nations. Portugal is a country with very meagre economic resources, its principal products being wine and cork, yet it devotes more than \$200 million to the maintenance of an expeditionary force in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. It is clear to the whole world that such an adventure is beyond the real capacity of a country which is unable to solve the serious problems connected with the development of its own territory. From all these facts we are forced to conclude that without the military and financial assistance of its NATO partners Portugal would have been obliged to comply with the resolutions which the United Nations has repeatedly adopted on the question of the territories still under Portuguese administration.

181. Moreover, the existence of a triple military alliance consisting of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia in that part of the African continent is indicative of the explosive situation that these forces with expansionist designs are seeking to establish on the false pretext of anti-communism, while preparing and committing genocide.

182. The statements of the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom reveal the complicity of these States in their support of the reactionary policy of Portugal and its two allies; everyone is now aware that the programmes of Smith, Salazar and Verwoerd in the southern part of the

continent are aimed at: first, the systematic expropriation of territory in the hands of Africans; secondly, the extermination of the indigenous inhabitants, as has, in fact, taken place in certain areas which have now become the most economically developed parts of the world; thirdly, the establishment of highly prosperous mining companies which are managed and administered from outside the continent.

183. With regard to the situation in South West Africa, my delegation deplores the ineffectiveness of the United Nations—as shown by the numbers of resolutions adopted—and favours a definite solution that will immediately lead the Zimbabwe people to independence and sovereignty.

184. In view of the cautious attitude of the Powers whose economic interests in South West Africa seem to be the only obstacle standing in the way of the measures advocated by the United Nations for the complete liberation of this Territory, the United Nations must display greater realism in the light of the situation prevailing there. The steps to be taken would be: (1) the termination of the Mandate for South West Africa; (2) the drafting of a constitution that would take into account the aspirations and profound wishes of all the people of the Territory; (3) the establishment of an interim government; (4) the holding of elections on the basis of universal suffrage, with a view to the definitive establishment of the country's institutions; (5) the setting of a date for the independence of the Territory.

185. The delegation of the Congo (Brazzaville) pays a tribute to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples for the valuable work it has achieved under the terms of reference given to it by the General Assembly. The conclusions of its report on each of the Territories to which resolution 1514 (XV) applies provide a basis for the solution to all the problems relating to the independence of these Territories.

186. In examining the report of the Special Committee, the General Assembly should, without undue delay, formulate a new decolonization policy in order to ensure that the principles of the Charter will be respected by the Powers which still have a number of Territories under their administration.

187. The United Nations should set up a special commission whose duty it would be to fix a date for the achievement of independence by the Territories we are now discussing.

188. Before concluding, my delegation would like to make an earnest appeal to the United Nations and to the Security Council to rouse themselves from their fatal inertia. According to an article, dated 24 November 1965, which appeared in the 25 November issue of Le Monde:

"Only three days after their setback in the Rhodesian affair, the Africans have just suffered a second one in the Security Council on the question of economic sanctions against Portugal."

Further on in the same newspaper we read:

"The Africans must rely on themselves alone. It must be recognized, on the other hand, that by

refusing to vote for any sanctions against Portugal, including an embargo on arms shipments, the Western Powers have once again acted with more frankness than is usually the case. Their vote yesterday...—that is, of course, the vote on the Territories under Portuguese administration—"is very characteristic of the state of mind prevailing in the West with regard to the last remaining problems of decolonization in Africa. One may sympathize with the African demands, condemn the principle of apartheid and Mr. Ian Smith's régime and find it absurd that Portugal, a poor and backward country, is the only one which persists in seeking to retain colonies in Africa...nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of Americans and Europeans have no desire whatever to see their countries involved in such complicated and delicate operations as an economic boycott of Portugal or a blockade of Rhodesia, operations which would raise a vast number of legal, economic and political problems.

"The policy which the African countries have been following in the United Nations for the last few

years in order to force the Western countries to take steps against 'the vestiges of colonialism' in Africa—because they are not in a position to do so themselves—has not produced positive results. They can admittedly boast of having had some success against French or British colonialism....

"On the other hand, the United Nations has proved powerless against the dictatorships of the Portuguese or South African type. In order to complete the decolonization of their continent, the Africans will henceforth have to rely on their own strength. This is the conclusion which they must draw from the double setback which they have just suffered in connexion with the votes last Saturday on the Rhodesian question and yesterday, Tuesday, on the Portuguese colonies."

189. That is why my delegation invites all countries that cherish freedom and peace to provide effective assistance to the African States and to implement the decisions which are being taken at Addis Ababa while we go on talking in this Hall.

*The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.*