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*President:* Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Khatri (Nepal), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 97

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/6954)

*Mr. Dashtseren (Mongolia), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, presented the report of that Committee and then spoke as follows:*

1. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: As will be noted from paragraph 3 of the report [A/6954], in connexion with its consideration of the item the Committee invited the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations to send representatives to the Committee's meetings. In taking that decision the Fourth Committee was fully aware that on the basis of existing agreements between the United Nations and

the agencies those organizations were entitled to be represented, as appropriate, at meetings of the General Assembly and of its main committees. As will also be noted, from paragraph 10, the representatives of some of the specialized agencies, in response to the Committee's invitation, made statements concerning the item.

2. Practically all Members who took part in the general debate on the item recognized that the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations should extend their full co-operation to the United Nations in achieving the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. Many Members, while expressing their appreciation to the specialized agencies and the international organizations which have co-operated with the United Nations in this field, noted with regret that the assistance provided by many of those international agencies did not reach the peoples who had most need of it, namely those peoples who still remained under colonial domination. In this connexion, they urged the international agencies to take urgent and effective measures for extending their assistance to those peoples and, in particular, to those who were suffering under the rule of oppression in Southern Rhodesia and Territories under Portuguese domination. It was suggested that such a system should be worked out in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity and, through it, with the national liberation movements in those Territories.

3. The majority of delegations agreed that those international agencies should not grant any assistance to South Africa and Portugal until they renounce the policy of racial discrimination and colonial domination. In this connexion, it was urged that all States, directly and through action in the specialized agencies and the international institutions of which they are members, facilitate the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. It was pointed out that, to this end, the policies and activities of the specialized agencies needed to be co-ordinated by the Economic and Social Council in consultation with the Committee of Twenty-Four.

4. These views are reflected in the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee for adoption by the Assembly [A/6954, para. 12].

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

5. The PRESIDENT: Since no Member wishes to explain his vote before the vote, the Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee [A/6954, para. 12].

6. Separate votes have been requested on operative paragraphs 3 and 4. I shall therefore first put to the vote operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Barbados, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Singapore, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Against:* Australia, Brazil, Netherlands, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Uruguay, Venezuela.

*Operative paragraph 3 was adopted by 63 votes to 7, with 24 abstentions.<sup>1/</sup>*

7. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote operative paragraph 4.

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Barbados, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Against:* Australia, Brazil, Malawi, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Uruguay, Venezuela.

*Operative paragraph 4 was adopted by 66 votes to 7, with 27 abstentions.<sup>2/</sup>*

<sup>1/</sup> The representatives of Kenya and Mali subsequently stated that if they had been present when the vote was taken, they would have voted in favour of the draft resolution [see paras. 18 and 20 below].

<sup>2/</sup> The representatives of Kenya and Mali subsequently stated that if they had been present when the vote was taken, they would have voted in favour of the draft resolution [see paras. 18 and 19 below].

8. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole [A/6954, para. 12].

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Against:* Portugal, South Africa.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 81 votes to 2, with 18 abstentions (resolution 2311 (XXII)).<sup>3/</sup>*

9. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of their votes.

10. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): The General Assembly has just adopted the resolution on agenda item 97, entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations".

11. It is reassuring to note that the moral and practical significance of that matter has been brought out by an overwhelming majority of the delegations participating in the vote, especially in the discussion that was held in the Fourth Committee. That was further reflected in the resolution that has been adopted, as well as in the support it received from all States in the Organization.

12. Indeed, it was high time to put some order into the relationship between United Nations activity in the area of decolonization and the activity of the institutions that are an integral part of the United Nations family. The adoption of that resolution has achieved a useful purpose. The text takes into account the provisions in the Charter, in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and in other important documents dealing with that problem and with United Nations activity in the area of decolonization.

<sup>3/</sup> The representatives of Kenya and Mali subsequently stated that if they had been present when the vote was taken, they would have voted in favour of the draft resolution [see paras. 18 and 19 below].

13. Countries that were more or less opposed to the granting of assistance by such organizations to national liberation movements in colonial territories have demonstrated their opposition in the vote that has just been taken. The General Assembly's position on the role of the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations has now been unequivocally stated.

14. The purport of that resolution is the need for specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations, each within its own sphere of activity, to take effective measures leading to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV), in order to assist the Organization in the efforts it is making to further the historical process of decolonization and liberation of colonial territories and peoples. The resolution contains clear directives and recommendations designed to make effective the participation of the specialized agencies in that task. The specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations are now able and in duty bound to lend more effective assistance to national liberation movements.

15. The education of young people in the colonial territories, the organization of medical services, the feeding of children, represent a wide field of action for the application of the humanitarian ideals that animate our Organization. Here, we must note with satisfaction that that feeling would appear to be shared by nearly all those institutions themselves, as witnessed by their answers to the appeals of the General Assembly as well as by the statements made by some of their representatives during the discussion that was held in the Fourth Committee.

16. We are hopeful that the General Assembly's adoption of that resolution will promote the cause of peoples struggling for freedom and national independence against the last bastions of colonialism. The final eradication of colonialism and the completion of the peoples' progress to national liberation are among the guiding ideas of our era and of the United Nations. Consequently, so long as colonialism is not completely wiped out, and so long as the peoples' struggle for national liberation is not crowned with success, the United Nations, along with the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations, will have an important and active part to play in the achievement of those goals.

17. By firmly declaring itself in favour of the independence and liberation of all colonial peoples, by acknowledging that the national liberation struggle is a legitimate and a just struggle, by making an appeal for moral and material assistance to peoples struggling for their independence, our Organization has acted in conformity with its obligations and responsibilities, and it is our conviction that it has, in addition, performed constructive work in the sphere of decolonization and of the peoples' liberation from the colonial yoke.

18. Mr. GATUGUTA (Kenya): Kenya is a co-sponsor of the resolution which has just been adopted, which we voted for in the Fourth Committee. Unfortunately, due to unavoidable circumstances, my delegation was unable to be present this afternoon at the time of its

adoption by the General Assembly. My delegation, therefore, would like to apologize to the General Assembly for being absent. We should like to make it quite clear that, had we been present this afternoon, we would have voted for the resolution. If it is possible, we should like to be recorded as having voted for the resolution.

19. Mr. Mamadou THIAM (Mali) (translated from French): The General Assembly has just voted on the Fourth Committee's report containing the draft resolution adopted by that Committee during its 1744th meeting on 11 December of this year [A/6954, para. 12].

20. I am sure it will be noted in that report that Mali sponsored the text in the Fourth Committee and voted in favour of all the paragraphs of the aforementioned draft resolution. Owing to other duties, my delegation was unable to be present here when the vote was taken, and we offer our deep apologies. Nevertheless, I should like to assure the Assembly and to state, for the record, that Mali would have voted in favour of the draft resolution.

#### AGENDA ITEM 89

##### Draft Declaration on Territorial Asylum

##### REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/6912)

#### AGENDA ITEM 90

United Nations Programme of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law: report of the Secretary-General

##### REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/6950)

*Mr. Gonzalez Galvez (Mexico), Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee, presented the reports of that Committee and then spoke as follows:*

21. Mr. GONZALEZ GALVEZ (Mexico), Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee (translated from Spanish): First, I have the honour to submit for the Assembly's consideration the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee on agenda item 89, which appears in the Committee's report (A/6912, para. 70).

22. In commending this draft resolution to the General Assembly, I should like to point out that it is the first time that the United Nations has before it a specific draft resolution dealing exclusively with an aspect of the institution of the right of asylum—a question of great importance for the work of codification to be undertaken in due course by the International Law Commission pursuant to resolution 1400 (XIV) of 21 November 1959.

23. The declaration on territorial asylum contained in the draft resolution is a valuable elaboration of article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and, of course, lays down not legal rules but humanitarian principles, which will undoubtedly serve as guidance to States in the unification of their practices in the matter of asylum.

24. It remains for me to thank the Codification Division, and particularly Mr. Scott, for their very valuable co-operation on this item and in the preparation of the report, but for which it would not have been submitted.

25. I am also pleased to present to the General Assembly the Sixth Committee's draft resolution on agenda item 90 [A/6950, para. 31].

26. I hope that, like the Sixth Committee, the General Assembly will bear in mind the need for further efforts to stimulate and co-ordinate the activities of States and international organizations concerned with promoting the teaching, study, dissemination and wider appreciation of international law.

27. With that in view, the Sixth Committee recommends in its draft resolution that the General Assembly should authorize the Secretary-General to carry out in 1968 the activities recommended in his report (A/6816 and Corr.1), in particular the provision of fellowships and expert advisory services as well as the sending of sets of United Nations legal publications to Governments of developing countries. The recommendation of the Sixth Committee on this item notes with thanks the offer of the Government of Ecuador to provide facilities for a regional seminar to be held next year.

28. Accordingly, the General Assembly is recommended to adopt the draft resolutions now before it on the items I have referred to.

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

29. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly consider first the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 89.

30. I shall put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the Committee [A/6912, para. 70]. The draft resolution was adopted unanimously by the Sixth Committee. May I take it that the Assembly also adopts it unanimously.

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 2312 (XXII)].*

31. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who wish to explain their votes.

32. Mr. BORCH (Denmark): May I take this opportunity to express, on behalf of the five Nordic countries—Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark—our gratification that the Declaration on Territorial Asylum has been unanimously adopted by the General Assembly. We are, of course, fully aware that the present Declaration represents a compromise. We are convinced, however, that it will help to strengthen and to gain new adherents for a liberal policy on the right of asylum. The principle of non-refoulement, as incorporated in article 3, is of great importance. With regard to that article, as well as to the Declaration as a whole, I want to make it clear, however, that we do not find that the Declaration imposes any limitation on the past policies of our Governments. We may indeed, in some respects, have gone further than is provided for in the Declaration in safeguarding the interests of the individuals to be granted asylum, and we therefore consider the Declaration as a minimum criterion for the granting of asylum.

33. We regard the Declaration as a valuable supplement to the humanitarian principles embodied in the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, done at Geneva on 28 July 1951.

34. Mr. THAUNG LWIM (Burma): In explanation of my delegation's vote on the Declaration on Territorial Asylum, now adopted by the General Assembly, I should like the following observations to stand as a record of our general attitude towards the Declaration.

35. As many delegations in the Sixth Committee pointed out, the Declaration is a compromise and therefore contains many ambiguities and other imperfections. The delegation of Burma, however, appreciates the dedicated effort that has, over the years, gone into its drafting, and believes that it represents a measure of progress in this humanitarian field. The delegation of Burma is of the view, moreover, that while the Declaration emphasizes, and rightly, the essentially humanitarian considerations which have in the first place brought forth the principle of territorial asylum, the actual application of that principle would be better assured if it served also to contribute towards easier and happier intercourse of one nation with another. There is therefore a real need that in applying the principle of territorial asylum, it should be done only in good faith and should not, however unintentionally, result in lessening good will and understanding, and consequently in prejudicing friendly relations between States; nor should it be done in contradiction of the accepted norm of international law which places States granting territorial asylum under an obligation to assure that the person granted such territorial asylum does not in any way act to disrupt the harmony and security of the State whose jurisdiction he has left.

36. To act otherwise would, in the view of my delegation, be contrary to the principles and purposes of the Charter, which are intended to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security and the strengthening of international co-operation, and also contrary to the spirit of friendship and the maintenance of friendly relations among States along the lines of the Declaration on the Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States.

37. It would therefore appear to my delegation that, in being guided by the principles laid down in the Declaration on Territorial Asylum, our adherence to the high humanitarian ideals on which they are based would be stronger if we were to keep constantly, in sight the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, to which all Members in this Assembly are dedicated.

38. It is in this spirit and in the assurance that, present ambiguities notwithstanding, the Declaration represents a forward step in the field of humanitarian effort, that the delegation of Burma voted in its favour.

39. Mr. TIMOCO (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): Costa Rica has always been proud of the fact that it was one of the first Latin-American nations to adopt as a policy of its international diplomacy the granting of asylum to all who for political reasons find it necessary to leave their native land and seek refuge on its soil.

40. More than 100 years ago, in 1865, Costa Rica, a peace-loving nation with a very small army, faced a threat of war from four other nations precisely be-

cause it had respected the right of territorial asylum, which even at that time was part of its policy and its concept of the law of nations.

41. It is therefore with great pleasure that I have just voted on behalf of Costa Rica in favour of this Declaration on Territorial Asylum, which, while it does not cover all aspects of the problem of territorial asylum, is a step towards the universal attainment and the adoption by all nations of this principle as a law of mankind.

42. At the same time, I should like to state that Costa Rica will be equally pleased to see the adoption of a convention on territorial asylum and a convention on diplomatic asylum, since we realize that declarations express a principle, a hope, but are not binding on nations without a treaty.

43. I hereby place on record the satisfaction that my delegation and my country feel over the decision taken this day by the General Assembly.

44. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 89. I invite the Assembly to turn to the report of the Sixth Committee relating to agenda item 90. The Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendation of the Sixth Committee [A/6950, para. 31]. The draft resolution was adopted unanimously by the Sixth Committee. May I take it that the Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 2313 (XXII)].*

### AGENDA ITEM 23

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

45. Mr. CERNÍK (Czechoslovakia): The question before us is directly linked with the historical process of the disintegration of the colonial system, a process which is typical for the present epoch. In the past decades, in consequence of this process, more peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America gained their freedom and independence. It is to the credit of the United Nations that it has sided with the national liberation movements, too.

46. It was the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples that marked a turning point in the involvement of the United Nations in the struggle for the eradication of colonialism. The Declaration not only confirmed the right of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence but also renounced any foreign supremacy and exploitation. The Declaration brought forward the demand of immediate and unconditional liberation of all colonial Territories and peoples. In the respective resolutions adopted in the past years the United Nations recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples and upheld the right of those nations to moral, political and material assistance in their struggle.

47. Peoples have put an end to colonial system in a number of formerly dependent Territories. The

peoples which embarked upon a new road of independent development succeeded, with the help of progressive forces in the world, in strengthening their freedom and independence.

48. In recent days the national liberation struggle of the people of Aden and South Arabia brought about victory after many hardships caused by British colonizers. A new independent State which we have just today welcomed as a new Member of our Organization arose on the debris of one of the last bastions of colonialism in the Middle East. Within a few weeks also the Trust Territory of Nauru will become independent. From the bottom of our hearts we wish the peoples of the two countries well-being and progress in the years to come so that they can relish, in peace and freedom, the fruits of their victory without interventions by their former masters.

49. On the other hand, a mere glance at the map will reveal the fact that the just struggle waged by the peoples has not reached the planned objectives so far. More than 50 million people still live in conditions of colonialism and racism. Recent developments testify to the fact that at present the struggle of subjugated nations is being waged in particularly difficult conditions and is encountering fierce resistance from all the colonial and racist régimes, as well as their allies. The main positions of the colonizers and racists are concentrated now in southern Africa, where the forces of international reaction are building a bastion of resistance against the independence and freedom of Africa as a whole.

50. The racist policy of apartheid pursued by the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the gradual annexation of the Territory of South West Africa by South African racists, the arrogant course of action adopted by the Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia where the fundamental rights of the 4 million members of the indigenous population are being trampled underfoot, the war of extermination being waged by the Salazar régime in Angola and Mozambique against the people living in those Territories, together with the military provocation against independent African States and the exploitation and suppression of the fundamental rights of the African peoples in all those places—that is the picture of southern Africa today.

51. Recently we have been witnessing how colonizers and racists have been intensifying and strengthening their mutual co-operation. The economic co-operation of the colonial and racist régimes and the support given to them by the Western Powers, allies in NATO, constitute the main reason for the failure of the present system of sanctions declared by our Organization against Southern Rhodesia, Portugal and the Republic of South Africa.

52. In this connexion I should like to draw attention to the memorandum of the Government of the German Democratic Republic [A/6491], which notes that it is the Federal Republic of Germany that, together with the United States and Great Britain, grants the most substantial assistance to South Africa and Portugal and to the Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia. Military co-operation in those regions, also with the assistance of NATO countries, results at present in the co-ordination of military action against national

liberation movements. Thus a military coalition with the objective of halting the decolonization process in South Africa and endangering the freedom and independence of the African continent is being established in southern Africa. After all, the recruitment and sending of white mercenaries from Angola to the Congo offer crystal-clear proof as to how reactionary international forces hamper the progressive development and violate the territorial integrity of African States.

53. We have followed with apprehension the development in the South African region by which a reactionary bloc is coming into being on a territory with more than half of its population still living under colonial and racist supremacy.

54. Moreover, the report of the Special Committee draws attention simultaneously to the fact that the colonial Powers have not taken effective measures so far in other dependent Territories, including small colonial Territories in the Pacific, the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean, which would make it possible for the peoples living there to enjoy freely the right to self-determination and independence. Contrary to all the appeals of the United Nations, Great Britain maintains its colonial régime in Oman, Fiji and other Territories. The United States strengthens its domination on Guam, in the Pacific Islands, and also prevents the people of Puerto Rico from exercising in freedom its right to independence. Colonialists exploit those Territories exclusively for their own ends while the interests of the indigenous population are disregarded. An analysis of the reasons for this state of affairs shows that an important role is played by the military and strategic considerations of the colonial Powers which maintain military bases in dependent Territories.

55. The United States and Great Britain are preparing to build a network of military bases in the Seychelles, the Chagos archipelago and the Cocos Islands in order to maintain their control in the Indian Ocean. A like situation exists in the Pacific where, for example, the island of Guam is used by the United States as an important base for the conduct of its aggressive war in Viet-Nam. U.S. News and World Report of 7 August 1967 mentions that as a part of United States territory Guam is already a much-used base for B-52 bombers sent to Viet-Nam, as well as for Polaris nuclear submarines patrolling in the Far East. It is also a big logistical centre for warships. Guam is an ideal base in the Pacific. The above-mentioned magazine goes on to say that the United States plans a substantial expansion of military bases in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and is considering the separation of the Mariana Islands from that group and their linking with Guam with the objective of strengthening the structure of its military bases.

56. Thus it is evident that the colonial Powers are turning small colonial Territories into a system of military bases and strategic points which they do not intend to leave voluntarily. That is an open violation of those United Nations resolutions which characterized the existence of military bases in dependent Territories as a serious impediment to the implementation of the 1960 Declaration and at the same time urged the colonial Powers to dismantle their

military bases and installations in dependent Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones.

57. During the deliberation in the Fourth Committee on the role of international monopolies, the economic basis also of the existence of colonialism was pointed out in a distinctive manner. The discussion confirmed the conclusions resulting from the meritorious work of the Committee of Twenty-Four contained in its report [A/6868 and Add.1] as to how international monopolies transform the sweat and blood of colonial peoples into billions of dollars, pounds and West German marks. Favourable colonial conditions make it possible for the monopolies to earn profits surpassing two or three times the rates of profits earned from investments in other parts of the world.

58. No hypocritical statements concerning the assistance which capital gives to the people of those Territories can hide the fact contained in the conclusions of the report of the Committee of Twenty-Four and in a number of resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly to the effect that foreign monopolies at present constitute a bastion of the existing colonial and racist régimes and that their activities in the dependent Territories consequently prevent the people of those Territories implementing their right to self-determination and independence. Besides that, the conclusions of the report of the Committee of Twenty-Four have furnished ample evidence as to how foreign monopolies are hampering concretely in Southern Rhodesia the implementation of the sanctions adopted by the United Nations. Therefore it is right that our Organization gives increasing attention every year to the activities of foreign monopolies which stand in the way of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

59. Recently the struggle for the full liquidation of the remnants of the colonial system has been encountering growing resistance on the part of colonizers and racist régimes. This is reflected also in our Organization where the efforts aimed at finalizing quickly the decolonization process in the sense of the Declaration adopted in 1960 find themselves in a blind alley. This can be seen, in the first place, from the fact that the resolutions adopted are not implemented but remain, in an overwhelming number of cases, on paper only. However, that is not because we take erroneous decisions but because those decisions are sabotaged under various pretexts by the colonial Powers and some other States.

60. Whereas in the United Nations we discuss, on many occasions without result, questions linked with the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the people of those Territories, supported by progressive forces of the world, are bearing the main weight of the struggle for freedom. However, neither the aggressive acts of the colonial Powers nor the military or other assistance rendered to the colonialists by their allies can thwart the desire of the nations for independence. The national liberation movement that has become deeply rooted in most of the Territories under colonial or racist régimes gains further strength. In the Territories where the patriots have liberated even whole regions, as for

instance in the Portuguese colonies, the foundations of a new State régime begin gradually to be laid. Representatives of the struggling peoples turn, quite rightly, to the Member States of the United Nations and the United Nations itself, as well as to the specialized agencies, with requests for assistance in the search for the solution to new questions.

61. We believe that for the future an untenable situation would be created if colonizers and racists made use, as we have witnessed already, of advantages emanating from their membership in specialized agencies. In that respect the situation should be remedied without delay. We hope that the results of consideration during this year's session of the General Assembly, upon the initiative of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, of the question of the assistance of the specialized agencies in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, will contribute to the attainment of that objective.

62. In order to accomplish the implementation of the 1960 Declaration it is necessary, above all, that the administering Powers and all States should fulfil, without reservations, the resolutions of the United Nations ensuing from that Declaration. In particular it is necessary that the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as some other States of the military grouping of NATO, should start to observe consistently all decisions of the United Nations containing requirements for the cancellation of economic, financial, military and other assistance to colonial and racist régimes. In our opinion that would be of fundamental importance for a successful termination of the struggle aimed at eliminating the remnants of colonialism.

63. In concluding its statement, the Czechoslovak delegation wishes to express its appreciation of the valuable work of the Special Committee, which exerted considerable efforts in order that the 1960 Declaration, and the resolutions proceeding therefrom, might be implemented as soon as possible in the interest of the colonial peoples. The Special Committee adopted this year also a number of recommendations, upon which the present deliberations of the General Assembly are based. During its existence the Special Committee has gained considerable authority among States Members of our Organization. We resolutely denounce the attempts of the colonizers and their allies to weaken the authority of the Special Committee and to play down its valuable activities.

64. The Czechoslovak delegation considers it highly desirable that next year the Special Committee should focus its attention on a thorough and detailed check-up of all United Nations resolutions pertaining to the struggle of colonial nations. Such a check-up would be particularly conducive to an analysis of the reasons preventing the consistent implementation of the resolutions which have been adopted.

65. As far as Czechoslovakia is concerned, the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America know that our sympathies and support have been and still are on the side of national liberation movements, on the side of peoples who are fighting colonialism, racism and imperialism.

66. Mr. SAMMAH (Afghanistan): The General Assembly is discussing the report of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Afghanistan, as a member of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, has made its modest contribution to the work of that Committee, therefore it is not necessary for us at this stage to go into a detailed discussion of matters before the Assembly under this item. We would, however, like to recall certain principles which we have put on record since the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples were brought before the General Assembly. We would like to do so at this stage because we think that two points should be emphasized

67. First, although many dependent peoples and nations have achieved their independence, there are still many territories under alien domination. In some cases it takes the form of classic Western colonialism and in others that of neo-colonialism and domination of peoples against their will by alien Powers. We think that now we have reached the stage where we can demand the independence of the colonial Territories more forcefully, on the basis of undeniable conviction of all members of the international community of nations except a few colonial Powers which, by ignoring the resolutions of this Organization, have ignored the desire of all mankind, so explicitly expressed in the United Nations. That is particularly regrettable, because those same colonial Powers are Members of this Organization and have a responsibility and an obligation to report the decisions taken by the United Nations.

68. Secondly, we believe that now is the appropriate time, after the progress which has been made in the field of decolonization, to emphasize the necessity for paying special attention to the fate of the dependent peoples who are under alien domination. We do not wish at this stage to itemize the specific cases, which are well known to the Members of this Organization. In other words, it is the appropriate time to think of and to bring about the abolition of alien domination in all its forms and manifestations.

69. This is not the first time that we have brought this matter to the attention of the General Assembly: On 5 December 1960 the representative of Afghanistan, Ambassador Pazhwak said:

"The serious interest demonstrated in the consideration of the item before the General Assembly is in itself evidence of the great importance which the people of the world and the United Nations attach to the necessity of an immediate end to the system of domination of peoples and nations. I do not see any need to restate my country's traditional firm policy of full support of the absolute elimination of the system of domination in all its forms and manifestations. Our stand on this matter is not only clear but has been outstanding." [935th meeting, para. 77.]

70. In the same meeting the representative of Afghanistan stated:

"First, the system that we should like to see immediately abolished is the domination of any people by an alien people in all its forms and manifesta-

tions. Second, independence from domination should apply not only to those peoples and territories which are usually called colonies but to all dependent peoples. Third, the abolition of domination by giving independence should be complete; it can be completed only if it is meant to stop forever any attempt at the revival of any alien influence on peoples and nations after they have achieved their independence. Fourth, independence should not mean only political independence, but should mean economic and cultural independence, free from any direct or indirect influence or exercise of pressure of any kind on peoples and nations in any form and under any pretence. Fifth, the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration should be universal and should apply to all peoples and territories, not only for the achievement but also for the preservation of their full and absolute independence, solely dependent on the free will and determination of the peoples themselves, and free from any influence whatsoever." [*Ibid.*, para. 81.]

71. I would also like to recall the statement of Ambassador Pazhwak when he said:

"We should like this independence to apply not only to those territories which are under the domination of the so-called colonial Powers, but also all peoples and nations under any kind of domination, because we do know of cases of people being dominated against their will and desire by certain Powers which themselves had been colonies but which forget their former position and now suppress the will of peoples under their own domination." [902nd meeting, para. 240.]

72. It is our hope that, in the future deliberations of the General Assembly and the Special Committee, we shall be able to deal with these matters and elaborate on our aspirations, which are a portion of the universal aspirations of mankind, particularly of those who are deprived of their right to self-determination and independence in one form or another.

73. We should like to make special mention of the question of sending visiting missions of the United Nations to the colonial and Non-Self-Governing Territories. It is the belief of my delegation that these missions will help the United Nations to study more accurately the problems of the territories and also enable the people of the territories to become aware of their future. My delegation attaches great importance to such visits as a means of collecting first-hand information, and further urges the administering Powers to co-operate with the United Nations in enabling these visits to take place.

74. Again this year the Committee of Twenty-Four visited some African capitals. These visits gave ample opportunity to the members of the Committee to come in closer contact with the people of the dependent territories and to hear petitioners who, due to financial difficulties, were not able to come to New York. My delegation is convinced that such trips contribute vitally to publicizing the aims of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. I should like to take this opportunity to thank most sincerely the Government and people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Republic of Zambia and the United

Republic of Tanzania for their kind invitation and for their efforts in making available every facility necessary for the work of the Committee of Twenty-Four.

75. In this connexion also we should like to stress the hope that the future efforts of the United Nations for the restoration of the legitimate rights of peoples will allow such fact-finding missions to visit all territories under foreign domination against the will of the people.

76. Mr. RUDA (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): My delegation makes a statement every year on agenda item 23 (Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples), because we have the opportunity of making an over-all assessment of the work done during the past year in this field and particularly of the report of the Special Committee [A/6700/Rev.1].

77. From even before the foundation of the United Nations, Argentina has always paid great attention to colonial problems, and its traditional policy, ever since it achieved independence in the nineteenth century, has been to support movements aimed at putting an end to colonial manifestations.

78. We consider it only fair to the United Nations to state that it has been the main political lever in the decolonization process, which is taking place in several continents.

79. Within the United Nations machinery, we must recognize that it is the Special Committee which has been the driving force for the implementation of what was laid down in the Charter and by the General Assembly for the purpose of eliminating colonialism in a short space of time.

80. Although history sometimes appears to move at a slow pace, the United Nations, in its twenty years of existence, has had much success in this field, and today we can say that the relevant objectives of the Charter are, in the main, being achieved particularly since 1960, with the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which accelerated the whole decolonization process. As we all know, Chapter XI of the Charter containing the Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories had to be supplemented by the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) so as to set in definite motion that process, which is now irreversible.

81. Seven years have passed since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and although it is obvious that the number of dependent Territories has decreased substantially, the task of decolonization is not finished, and the United Nations may now be faced with much more difficult and serious problems than those it confronted in the recent past.

82. During the past year we have happily been able to welcome to independence two new countries, Nauru and the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, whose application for membership in the United Nations was supported by my delegation a few days ago in the Security Council and again today in the General Assembly. In the case of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen the attainment of independence was a long and difficult process. My Government hopes that this new country

will be able to enjoy the political stability, national unity and territorial integrity needed to open the road to economic and social development.

83. We cannot fail to mention the magnificent contribution made in this connexion by the United Nations Special Mission on Aden, under the chairmanship and guidance of Ambassador Manuel Perez Guerrero of Venezuela, which performed its arduous task with firmness and tact and helped to advance the date of independence.

84. We hope that in the course of the coming year we shall witness further encouraging events, with the creation of new States to join our international community. However, as I said before, we must not forget that, particularly in Southern Africa, there are some very important Territories which are still under the colonial system.

85. First, we must mention the problem of South West Africa, which occasioned the fifth special session of the General Assembly in early 1967. At that session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2248 (S-V), which reaffirmed resolution 2145 (XXI) terminating the Mandate over South West Africa and deciding that South Africa had no other right to administer the Territory. Argentina was particularly interested to support section I of resolution 2248 (S-V), which reaffirmed the territorial integrity of South West Africa. As my delegation has frequently stated in the United Nations, the indiscriminate application of the principle of self-determination cannot be used to cover or conceal the desire of certain Powers to preserve the colonial status of a country by dismembering it. We must reject any attempt at partial or total disruption of national unity and territorial integrity in certain Territories which are in the process of decolonization, as provided in General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI), which established the Special Committee.

86. By resolution 2248 (S-V), the General Assembly established the United Nations Council for South West Africa and the office of United Nations Commissioner for that Territory. We trust that the proposed machinery for the administration of the Territory will be a useful instrument for achieving the purposes of decolonization and that, upon further reflection, the Government of South Africa will find it possible to co-operate with the United Nations in that regard.

87. The situation in Southern Rhodesia has also been a subject of our concern this year. In December 1966, in the Security Council, Argentina firmly supported the proposal of the United Kingdom Government to apply some of the measures envisaged in Article 41 of the Charter, i.e. measures which do not involve the use of force. My country felt then—and still feels—that before taking the ultimate action, it was right to try some measures which might achieve the same object of maintaining international peace and security while avoiding armed confrontations with really unpredictable repercussions. As to whether force should be used, Argentina has been in favour of acting with caution, but that is by no means the same thing as any lack of firmness.

88. The measures adopted under Security Council resolution 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966 are mandatory for all Members of the United Nations. How-

ever, many countries have apparently failed to implement the decision of the Security Council. Unless there is co-operation, and I will go further and say, unless the obligations of the Charter are fulfilled, it will be impossible to solve this problem. But we must also remember, as we have said on several occasions, that the primary responsibility in this matter lies with the administering Power.

89. The situation of the Territories under Portuguese administration, especially in the southern part of Africa, is also a matter of serious concern to my delegation. The lack of signs heralding even the start of a tendency to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly, which after all are nothing else than the reflection of the irreversible tide of history, and the colonial Power's persistence in a stand which is incomprehensible to the international community of today, poses a serious problem for our Organization.

90. The Argentine people is particularly sensitive to all colonial problems, not only because it had to exert great efforts in the nineteenth century to achieve its own independence by force of arms, but also because a part of its territory very dear to it, the Malvinas Islands, is still under foreign domination. As my country's Minister for Foreign Affairs put it in his statement during the general debate at this session of the Assembly [1569th meeting], there is no objective that moves our people to greater sacrifice than that of obtaining, as soon as possible, the full exercise of its sovereignty over the Islands.

91. It has always been my delegation's understanding that decolonization must be carried out in all the countries that were victims of the colonial process, including those in which part of their territory was unjustly and forcibly occupied and the population was removed and replaced by a group of colonists of the occupying Power. The General Assembly has explicitly recognized the existence of this dispute with the United Kingdom in resolution 2065 (XX) and also in the consensus it adopted on 20 December 1966 at its twenty-first session. In both decisions the United Nations recommended to the parties negotiation as the way to resolve the dispute.

92. In accordance with its long-standing and respected international tradition and in fulfilment of the United Nations resolution, Argentina agreed to enter into direct negotiations to resolve the dispute. During the past year active negotiations have taken place between the United Kingdom and Argentina with respect to this dispute. As a result, progress has been made in reducing the area of divergence between the two Governments. The negotiations are continuing with a view to achieving a peaceful solution as soon as possible, as recommended by the United Nations, and my Government hopes to be in a position to furnish the Assembly with fuller information in the near future.

93. I do not wish to conclude without stressing the importance of two resolutions on colonial problems adopted at the present session. The first [resolution 2288 (XXII)] establishes general criteria to guide the economic processes of decolonization with a view to ensuring the material viability of newly independent States. The second, adopted today [resolution 2311 (XXII)], contains general guidelines for the specialized

agencies and their member States, with the objective of providing colonial countries and peoples with humanitarian assistance in the fields of education, nutrition and health.

94. Finally, my delegation considers that while not all colonial problems have been solved and while it is very mindful of the fact that among them are some which show no signs whatever of progress towards a solution, this session of the General Assembly and this past year mark a new step forward in an historical development leading towards the complete elimination of colonialism.

95. Mr. MATSEIKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The powerful upsurge of the national liberation movement, which in the past ten years has embraced all continents, has shaken the imperialist system of colonial oppression and has dealt it devastating blows. More than sixty new States have arisen on the ruins of colonial empires. The liberation of many countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America from the colonial yoke is the result of the selfless struggle of the peoples of those countries, with the fraternal support of all the world's progressive forces.

96. Seven years have passed since our Organization issued the historic Declaration calling for an end once and for all to the shame of colonialism and for the guaranteeing to all peoples, without any reservations, of their inalienable rights to freedom and independence [resolution 1514 (XV)]. Lately, however, the process of decolonization has been lagging, and this is causing concern.

97. Today, seven years later, the General Assembly finds itself obliged to discuss the question of why this Declaration has still not been implemented and why tens of millions of people are still in colonial bondage.

98. As the facts show, the reason lies in the stubborn resistance of the imperialists and colonialists which are doing everything possible to hold back the course of history and retain their hold on the remaining colonies, having no wish to be deprived of the fabulous profits they draw from the ruthless exploitation and oppression of the colonial peoples.

99. Let us take Africa, for example. The African continent, particularly the southern part, which is still fettered by colonialism and apartheid, contains untold wealth and offers its peoples unlimited possibilities for the sovereign and independent development of its people. Nevertheless, millions of Africans living there are to this day in the fetters of colonial slavery, burdened by poverty and ignorance, and deprived of the most elementary benefits of civilization.

100. This situation is the result of the dominion of the colonialists and international monopoly capital, and their ruthless exploitation of the continent's peoples and the natural wealth.

101. South Africa is a region totally dominated by international imperialist monopolies. These control almost the entire economy of the Portuguese colonies, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa. As we have seen, the imperialist Powers have capital investments of more than \$5,000 million in those territories and monopolies of the United States, the United Kingdom,

the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium and other capitalist countries are operating there.

102. This is the first time the question of the activities of foreign economic and other interests in colonial territories has been discussed in the General Assembly as a separate agenda item. In this connexion we should like to mention the impressive analysis produced by the Committee of Twenty-four. That Committee's report on this topic (A/6700/Rev.1) contains a wealth of facts and presents a broad picture of the rapacious activities of foreign monopolies, which emerge as the chief obstacle facing the colonial peoples on the road to freedom and independence.

103. We should also like to mention the important statement made by the Government of the German Democratic Republic [document A/6941]; this reveals the criminal role of West German monopoly capital in acting against the interests of the peoples in colonial territories.

104. The adoption, at the current session of the General Assembly, of a resolution condemning the activities of foreign monopoly interests in colonial territories, making a number of recommendations and providing for further discussion of this matter at a future session, is a significant step in the right direction on the part of the United Nations, for it provides an opportunity of taking practical measures to restrain the criminal activities of foreign monopolies in colonial territories and thereby opens up new ways of fighting colonialism.

105. With the direct help of the imperialist Powers and their monopolies, an "unholy alliance" has been formed in southern Africa and has become both a stronghold of colonialism and an instrument of oppression against the African peoples. Through the colonialists, the forces of imperialism, in order to uphold their political, military, strategic and economic interests, are trying by any means they can find to keep their hold on Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa, which are now colonialism's main preserves. The people of those territories are waging a dedicated struggle for their liberation, and in our opinion the Committee of Twenty-Four should pay special attention to the problems of giving them assistance.

106. The Portuguese colonies are governed by truly mediaeval methods—cruel terror, forced labour and inhuman exploitation.

107. The barbaric Salazar régime is exterminating the indigenous population of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau): there are mass executions, and thousands of patriots are languishing in concentration camps, subjected to barbaric ordeals and humiliations.

108. In order to keep the colonial régime in existence, the Western countries—particularly the members of NATO—and their monopoly interests are giving every kind of assistance to Portugal. Some sixty European and American banks are at present financing Portugal's colonial war. The Portuguese colonialists are receiving aircraft, tanks, bombs, napalm and the most up-to-date weapons of all types from the United States, Western Germany, Belgium and Israel. Only this assistance is enabling Portugal for the moment to keep its colonial empire.

109. In Southern Rhodesia, another member of the "unholy alliance", the illegal racist régime of Ian Smith is growing in strength, with the blessing of the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States and other Western countries. The gang of adventurers and racists, having seized power, does what it pleases and imposes its villainies on the long-suffering land of the Zimbabwe people.

110. Two years have passed since the so-called independence of Southern Rhodesia was declared. Since that time we have heard numerous statements and assurances on this matter from the United Kingdom Government. There have been declarations and memoranda, and even forecasts of the time it would take for the illegal régime of Ian Smith to collapse. However, as the saying goes, the cart hasn't budged.

111. This situation is explained by the fact that the racists are supported by powerful foreign monopolies, which are protecting and strengthening this fascist régime. According to the London periodical Labour Research, there are more than 180 United Kingdom industrial and commercial companies with over 290 branches in Rhodesia. The Rhodesian Anglo American Company Ltd. owns copper, gold, diamond, coal mines and so forth in Southern Rhodesia. The biggest landowner in Southern Rhodesia is the British South Africa Company. These and many other foreign companies are extracting fantastic profits from the territory, robbing and growing fat on the blood and sweat of the Zimbabwe people. Despite the Security Council's decisions on sanctions, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and their monopolies are buttressing Smith's economic and financial position.

112. The General Assembly has been considering the question of South West Africa for more than twenty years. At yesterday's meeting the Ukrainian delegation availed itself of the opportunity to state its position on this question and I shall not dwell on it in detail now. I wish only to point out that the people of South West Africa are to this day living in conditions of colonial slavery and oppression. The South African Government, conscious of the support of international imperialism, is acting in defiance of the United Nations resolutions and ignoring world public opinion.

113. In this way the Western colonialist Powers, acting in concert with the infamous partners of the "unholy alliance", are attempting to preserve the last stronghold of colonialism in Southern Africa by preventing the liberation of the peoples of that region and flouting the decisions of our Organization.

114. In our view, these examples should suffice for drawing the appropriate objective conclusions.

115. The main conclusion to be drawn is that there still exist corrupt colonial régimes which cruelly oppress millions of people and that the responsibility for this state of affairs rests with certain Western countries. They make a hypocritical show of support for the United Nations by outwardly advocating the liberation of the peoples from the yoke of colonialism; but in reality, through their policy of support for the colonial régimes, they are sabotaging the implementation of United Nations decisions, particularly resolution 1514 (XV).

116. The United Nations has a duty to create in the international community a situation in which colonialism will not be tolerated and to mobilize all the forces and means at their disposal for a decisive, active fight to end the colonial system once and for all.

117. The Special Committee of Twenty-Four will also have an important part to play in this activity.

118. In the view of the Ukrainian delegation, that Committee has done a great deal of useful work during the past year.

119. This work is excellently described in the report submitted by the Committee for the Assembly's consideration—a comprehensive document containing ample factual material. We should like, however, to lay special emphasis on the importance of the Committee's travelling session in African countries, an arrangement which brought the United Nations nearer to the national liberation movements and established closer contacts with them, thereby helping the advance of the colonial peoples' struggle for freedom.

120. In this connexion we feel also that the Committee of Twenty-Four should pay more attention to the implementation of the resolutions already adopted by the United Nations, particularly those concerned with devising and putting into effect practical measures to put an end to the baneful activities of the imperialist monopolies in colonial territories, and to the prompt liberation from colonial subjection of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Southern Rhodesia, and South West Africa, whose peoples are waging an armed struggle for national liberation.

121. This year's debates have again made it abundantly clear that the forces of imperialism and colonialism are making use of the minor colonial territories in order to create a world-wide system of military bases for the purpose of maintaining colonial rule in those areas, suppressing the national liberation movement in various parts of the world and carrying out provocative acts against independent States in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The presence of such bases on colonial territories is an obstacle to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). In our opinion, therefore, the Committee of Twenty-Four should look into this problem more thoroughly, and should call upon the colonialists to dismantle their military bases in the colonial territories and withdraw their troops from them.

122. It is also essential that the Committee of Twenty-Four submit to the twenty-third regular session of the General Assembly a report on the situation with regard to the implementation of United Nations resolutions on colonial questions, giving a clear analysis of the causes preventing the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

123. The past year has been one of intense struggle by the peoples against the forces of colonialism. And something has been achieved; today we have the great satisfaction of welcoming to the United Nations a new Member—the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, whose people have fought for and won their freedom and independence. In a month from now the people of Nauru will also become independent.

124. We are sure that the approaching new year will bring no few achievements and victories in the struggle against colonialism. It is the duty of the United Nations to co-operate as fully as possible in the noble cause of liberating the peoples from colonial bondage.

125. Mr. BOYE (Chile) (translated from Spanish): This debate is always a time for reflection and assessment: a time for reflection because the international community is once again pausing to consider one of its most important decisions, namely, General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

126. That resolution, like others, such as resolution 2131 (XX), which marked an important milestone for relations among States by solemnly reaffirming the principle of non-intervention, affirms in the most categorical terms the central interest of colonial countries and peoples in the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence. In this way, the United Nations is demonstrating its firm and unshakable determination to strive for a more just and better organized world in which peace and harmony prevail among peoples.

127. As I said, this debate is also a time for assessment, for it provides the opportunity to make an overall evaluation of the process of decolonization. Significant advances have been made in recent years which have had major repercussions on international politics, and, of course, within the United Nations. This year, we have had the pleasure of welcoming a new independent State, the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, which just this morning became a Member of the United Nations. We salute this courageous people today, and wish them peace and prosperity.

128. But the assessment of which I spoke also reveals a negative side which we must condemn. Centres of resistance to decolonization have emerged, and we cannot conceal the gravity of this fact. These centres are particularly intense in the southern part of the African continent. With a sense of both realism and sorrow, we note that the present situation in that part of the world will not quickly be resolved. That is why our agenda in the Fourth Committee is being expanded by the addition of new items, such as that relating to the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and that concerning the implementation of the provisions of that Declaration by the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations.

129. My country views sympathetically all the efforts being made to improve the policy of decolonization charted especially by the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

130. As many colonial countries and peoples achieve their independence, the most difficult situations and the most obdurate resistance stand out in greater contrast. As we have noted, among these is the extremely serious situation which prevails throughout the southern part of Africa. There is no doubt that this is a situation which threatens international peace and security. That has been recognized by the General Assembly in many resolutions and, especially, by the

Security Council, which is the body empowered by the United Nations Charter to determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression.

131. In this area are to be found the features most characteristic of colonialism, in combination with policies of racial segregation, repression and social injustice. The policy of apartheid imposed by the Government of the Republic of South Africa constitutes the most refined form of oppression.

132. The administering Powers and those Powers which practise apartheid or support it by act or omission are assuming a grave responsibility before the international community. Until they adopt a more energetic and positive attitude, the impediments to progress towards the liberation of the great oppressed masses of Africa will continue to increase and will contribute more and more to the aggravation of existing tensions.

133. Briefly, I should like to mention a few criteria which my Government considers basic to the acceleration of the process of decolonization. First, we feel that all the work being done by the United Nations through the Organization of African Unity to assist movements of liberation is fundamental. This work should be intensified, for it constitutes a responsible and serious way of making progress towards the final liberation of the peoples who are now under colonial domination.

134. Secondly, we believe that the existence of military bases in colonial Territories constitutes a serious obstacle to the liberation of the peoples of those Territories, and we consider that the administering Powers should do everything possible to dismantle existing installations and, it goes without saying, to refrain from establishing new ones in Territories under their administration, so as to co-operate in the process of decolonization.

135. Thirdly, we believe that the General Assembly should pay special attention to the problem of small Territories. Various resolutions give particular emphasis to the subject, and we are convinced that this complex problem must be dealt with in the near future with all the attention it deserves, as the Secretary-General pointed out in the Introduction to his Annual Report on the Work of the Organization. As he said:

"It is, of course, perfectly legitimate that even the smallest territories, through the exercise of their right to self-determination, should attain independence as a result of the effective application of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. However, it appears desirable that a distinction be made between the right to independence and the question of full membership in the United Nations. Such membership may, on the one hand, impose obligations which are too onerous for the 'micro-States' and, on the other hand, may lead to a weakening of the United Nations itself." [A/6701/Add.1, para. 164]

136. Article 4 of the Charter states that in order to become a Member of the United Nations, States must not only be peace-loving, but also, in the judgement of the Organization, must be able and willing to carry

out the obligations contained in the Charter. We support these basic criteria.

137. This last matter brings me to the fourth and last point I wish to make. We believe that the General Assembly should ask the administering Powers to receive United Nations visiting missions in the Territories under their administration.

138. In recent years we have seen positive examples which throw light on this question. In the Pacific, New Zealand has been particularly co-operative with the United Nations. Let us hope that the other Powers will follow its example. Spain as well is worthy of our commendation. The forthcoming independence of Equatorial Guinea, to which we all look forward eagerly, is due in great part to the understanding which was reached among Member States on the real problems which stood in its way. The Sub-Committee which visited Equatorial Guinea made recommendations which helped to guide the Assembly. We believe that co-operation between the administering Powers and the United Nations in this extremely important field should be intensified.

139. I should like to conclude, Mr. Chairman, by repeating what I have had occasion to say in our discussions in the Fourth Committee: Chile participates in the work of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four and firmly supports the decolonization policy of the United Nations, relying on the same principles which once served as the basis for its own independence more than 150 years ago.

140. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): During the past seven years I have had many opportunities to speak in the Trusteeship Council, in the Committees of the United Nations and in this Assembly on the question now again before us.

141. During that period of seven years another nineteen countries previously under British administration have advanced to independence and all of them are now represented here in this Assembly. The population of those countries amounts to nearly 50 million.

142. Since the beginning of last year five more former British Territories have become independent. Two more will join them before our next session. Five more again have been decolonized by attaining self-government and voluntary association with Britain.

143. So the uninterrupted progress continues and now we have practically completed the historic task of converting a subject Empire into a free Commonwealth. In less than a quarter of a century a quarter of the population of the world, previously under British administration, has attained independence. Now more than 99 per cent of the people of the Commonwealth, more than 700 million people have become citizens of free nations. This is surely one of the main events of this generation and one of the principal achievements of this century. Moreover, this transformation has been achieved largely in peace and in co-operation.

144. In the overwhelming majority of the States which have emerged from British authority to independence, the process has been one not of division and conflict but of unity and agreement. In nearly all British Ter-

ritories the attainment of independence was the culmination of years of co-operation and preparation on the basis of adult suffrage, free Parliaments, independent courts and the establishment of schools and universities. No doubt we have made many mistakes, but throughout we have been guided by the principles of consultation and consent. We shall discharge our remaining responsibilities by the same methods and guided by the same principles. We shall go forward as we have come. We shall not shirk, nor can we share, our responsibilities. We shall bring the dependent Territories for which we are still responsible through self-determination to honourable independence.

145. I myself speak in these matters with some experience. For many years I was engaged in Arabia, in Africa and in the West Indies in working with Arabs, Africans and West Indians to establish systems of free government and to prepare constitutions for independence. At the same time I worked with the peoples of the Territories in which I served to make advances in economic development so that independence when it came could be sustained by prospects of increasing prosperity. Now all the countries in which I served are independent.

146. Certainly we never claimed that the problems facing those countries could all be solved in advance. Some problems are better dealt with after independence than before. But what we do claim is that what we endeavoured to give the countries of the Commonwealth on attaining independence was a good start in freedom. No one can take that proud record away from us.

147. With this experience in my mind I must admit that when I read some of the speeches made here, and particularly some of the speeches made in the Committee of Twenty-four, I find it very difficult to recognize the picture they draw of the process of decolonization. I regret to say that it is often a distorted picture. Indeed it is often a picture which bears no resemblance to the truth.

148. We might have hoped that now that we approach the end of colonialism, it would have been possible to work in close understanding and mutual respect with those who now represent the new nations here at the United Nations. We hoped to do so in order to apply the lessons of the past to the remaining problems, which, though small by comparison, are the most complicated and the most difficult. I regret that such co-operation and mutual respect seem too often to be lacking. Too often the speeches I hear and the speeches I read are a repetition of out-of-date slogans and ideological misconceptions.

149. We do not expect understanding from the countries which have no experience of free government. They are not experts in enfranchisement. They have no experience of emancipation. But we can reasonably expect understanding from the representatives of the new nations. Most of them, I am convinced, well understand the necessities and the methods of advance to independence. They understand too that the few colonial Territories still dependent have not yet achieved independence for some special reasons, often arising from the necessity to overcome special difficulties, such as those of lack of resources, small size, geographical remoteness and, in certain instances, racial

divisions. Had there not been such special problems those countries too would have been independent long ago.

150. Certain misconceptions persist, and I ask myself the reasons for them. I think that there may be three main reasons for those misconceptions. First, there is the confusion between colonial problems on the one hand and racial problems on the other. Secondly, there is the false assumption that the relations between a colonial people and the administering authority must necessarily be those of strife and conflict. Thirdly, there is the all too easy delusion that however complicated the remaining colonial problems they can all be solved by instant decolonization, without any regard to the particular circumstances of each case.

151. Much of our time in the Committee of Twenty-Four, in the Fourth Committee and in this Assembly is naturally directed to the problems of southern Africa. We see the forces of African nationalism north of the River Zambesi and the forces of white supremacy south of the river facing each other in a confrontation. That confrontation creates, so I have long believed, one of the greatest dangers of the world—the danger of race conflict, a conflict which could inflame the whole of Africa and involve the whole world. I make no complaint about the concentration of attention on that menacing problem. I noted that the Ambassador of Tanzania devoted the bulk of his speech to that issue [1627th meeting], and I agreed with much of what he said about the gravity of the problem. All I would say about that now is to suggest that it is of the utmost importance that we should say honestly what we can do and what at present we cannot do, and we should endeavour to take action within our clear capacity. We shall make a most serious mistake, we shall give encouragement to those who maintain white supremacy and we shall at the same time weaken the United Nations if we attempt to do too much too soon, if we delude ourselves by thinking that empty resolutions are a substitute for effective action.

152. But the point I wish to make now is that the problems of southern Africa are not colonial problems: they are racial problems. Rhodesia has never been a colony in the sense that it has been administered by Great Britain. It has been self-governing for more than forty years. And the centre of racial injustice, the Republic of South Africa, has been a sovereign independent State for even longer. If these had been colonial problems it would have been much easier to deal with them. It is because they are racial problems that the difficulties and the dangers are so great. It will do us no good, nor shall we be helped to find solutions, if we fail to make the distinction between colonialism on the one hand, which is happily near its end, and, on the other hand, racial domination, which continues to provide, in my opinion, the greatest menace amongst all the dangers of the world.

153. The second misconception to which I referred is the fallacy that a colonial people must always be in conflict with an administering Power. On this I take the example of Fiji. The Committee of Twenty-Four ignores the overwhelming evidence that a great body of opinion in Fiji wishes to establish in its own way

and in its own time a framework for racial co-operation and harmony. There is no question of a struggle for independence. There is no state of conflict between the people and the administering Power. On the contrary, we are acting in Fiji, as elsewhere, on the well-established principles of consultation and consent. Yet the Committee year by year repeats rigid demands for immediate independence and calls on Britain to sweep away overnight all the foundations which have been so carefully built up by the people themselves in a joint effort of racial harmony and co-operation.

154. Similarly, regarding the West Indies Associated States there has been a refusal in the Committee to recognize and respect the freely expressed wishes of the people. Since early this year the Associated States have become self-governing autonomous entities in a free and voluntary association with Britain—an association which they can end of their own free will at any time. But the Committee seems to have failed to realize the importance of this new experiment in the concept of self-determination, and to have failed even to acknowledge and respect the unanimous votes of the elected parliaments of each of the territories concerned. Many months after the new States had embarked on their new autonomous status and taken their rightful place amongst the emancipated peoples of the world we had the ridiculous spectacle of the Committee of Twenty-Four demanding that Britain should permit them to exercise their right of self-determination.

155. Another glaring example of bias was provided when the Committee adopted the amazing doctrine that petitions containing criticism about any country which is not an administering Power must be suppressed and denied circulation, while petitions which are critical or offensive to the administering Power are at once to be accepted and published.

156. It is those examples of prejudice which do so much harm to the reputation of the Committee and indeed reflect badly on the United Nations as a whole.

157. I come to the third misconception, the misconception that instant decolonization, whatever the circumstances, must mean an increase of freedom. We have today been discussing Gibraltar, in another place. The people of Gibraltar have the basic freedoms of speech, assembly and association. They have free political parties and trade unions, the right of dissent, universal suffrage and the secret ballot. Many independent countries cannot claim as much. Moreover, the people of Gibraltar have the right to have their own views and their own wishes heard and respected. In accordance with the principles of Chapter XI of the Charter their interests should be paramount. Yet we have seen the strange spectacle of a committee dealing with the implementation of decolonization declare that the voice of the people should not be heard and that the wishes of the people should be disregarded.

158. In spite of these misconceptions, the progress of the remaining colonial Territories for which Great Britain is responsible goes forward. Next year, before our next session, Mauritius and Swaziland are also due to achieve full sovereign independence. Apart from the special cases of Southern Rhodesia and Hong Kong, barely a million people will then remain in

Territories still administered by Great Britain, barely a million compared with more than 700 million who have already emerged from British rule to full independence.

159. I wish that, as we now deal with the few and scattered colonial Territories still dependent, we could look for a spirit of responsible co-operation from all concerned here at the United Nations. But as the few remaining problems of colonialism become more complex, the solutions urged by the Committee seem to become more crude. As the targets become fewer, the shooting gets wilder. As the responsibilities of the Committee diminish, irresponsibilities increase.

160. But when I hear abusive and offensive language about those of us who are engaged on the responsible task of bringing colonialism to a final end I am comforted by the comments of responsible leaders, with some of whom I have had the privilege to work for years past on the practical tasks of decolonization.

161. I remember the day when in the Trusteeship Council I sat next to Julius Nyerere, now President of Tanzania, shortly before Tanganyika became independent. These were the words he used:

"People have often asked me why this transition to independence has been so smooth in Tanganyika. I am sure that there are many explanations for this... But one vital explanation is the fact that we are a Trust Territory under British administration... Three things were needed to make sure that these objectives would be obtained smoothly: First, a Trusteeship Council which took its responsibilities seriously and honestly; secondly, an Administering Authority which was sensitive to world public opinion; and thirdly, a people united and determined to achieve its independence... I pay tribute to my friends the British, whose sensitivity to world public opinion we have exploited more than once, both in the United Nations and outside."<sup>4/</sup>

162. Those were the words of the present President of Tanzania. It is on such evidence that we base our record, and it is such evidence which gives us confidence in our determination faithfully to carry through our task to the end.

163. Mr. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar) (translated from French): Seven years have passed since the General Assembly proclaimed the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Every year since, the implementation of that Declaration has been the subject of a special and separate item on the agenda of our Assembly. Madagascar has the honour of having been a member of the Committee of Twenty-Four since its inception, and consequently the question of colonialism is one that the delegation of Madagascar has examined most conscientiously. It has taken part in all the meetings held in New York and in Africa.

164. Over the past decade, many new, independent States have been freed from the colonialist yoke. Yet despite the efforts made by the United Nations and its

various bodies, millions of human beings are still being subjected to colonial domination.

165. Aware of the seriousness of the colonial problem as a whole, the Government and people of Madagascar consider that every people has an inalienable right to complete freedom, to self-determination and to independence. Madagascar, for its part, will lend its assistance in the struggle that is being waged to dispel the last traces of any shape or form of colonialism.

166. We agree with those who hold that certain Powers have not done enough to facilitate the Special Committee's task in its search for the appropriate means to ensure early implementation of the declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV). Some other States appear to be somewhat reluctant to implement relevant United Nations resolutions. The administering Powers must fully realize that they are entrusted with a noble mission, that of ensuring the prosperity of the territories placed in their charge. The Charter provisions stipulate that administration must be exercised solely in the interest of the peoples, and not in the interest of the administering authority; Article 73 furthermore sets forth the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of colonial territories are paramount.

167. Nevertheless, in the case of Southern Rhodesia, for example, my delegation is hopeful that an effective solution will soon be found to bring the rebel, unlawful minority régime in Salisbury to see reason and to restore constitutional legality. The Ian Smith régime, based on racial supremacy, must not disregard the rights of the oppressed Zimbabwe people. All peace-loving peoples must join their efforts to comply with General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

168. The Government and people of Madagascar are against racism and therefore they condemn South Africa's policy of apartheid. Madagascar is at one with all African States in their efforts to combat racism wherever it exists.

169. On the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, my Head of State, Philibert Tsiranana, spoke to the nation as follows:

"Apartheid is not only a grave injustice, but it is also a régime that denies its victims any hope of freeing themselves from oppression without a mobilization of international opinion and without international action. For that reason, we Malagasies are at one with the United Nations in promoting the eradication of racism and in encouraging the establishment, particularly in Africa, of a non-racial society based on the equality of all with respect to human rights and fundamental freedoms."

170. With respect to South West Africa, my delegation considers that the Republic of South Africa no longer has any right whatsoever over that Territory. The Mandate entrusted to it has been revoked. In any event, that Government has no right to change the status of South West Africa unilaterally.

171. My delegation voted in favour of the resolution [2145 (XXI)] that terminated the Mandate of the Republic of South Africa over the Territory of South West Africa.

<sup>4/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 4 (A/4818), chap. 6, para. 24.

172. We deeply regret the arrest of thirty-seven South West African citizens as well as their imprisonment and their trial by the Pretoria Government, events which, in my delegation's view, are in violation of the Territory's international status and of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI). We hope that in the face of aroused world conscience, South Africa will abandon its present course of action in this sorry affair.

173. My delegation also reaffirms its position with regard to the Territories under Portuguese administration. The colonial policy of Lisbon, based on force, must not endure. It must be brought to an end. Portugal will not succeed in settling the question of what it persists in calling "Portuguese provinces on African soil" by flouting world opinion.

174. With regard to the problem of decolonization in general, my delegation shares the opinion that the United Nations must devote the greater part of its attention to small territories. As a matter of fact, during 1967 some unrest was reported in areas of the Antilles and in the Pacific. In my delegation's view, the administering Powers, acting in conjunction with the United Nations and its specialized agencies, must augment cultural, administrative and technical training facilities, the inadequacy of which works to the detriment of the accepted process of decolonization. Public opinion must also be awakened to all the opportunities available to it in order that a Territory may freely decide its future status through a referendum carried out under United Nations auspices and in accordance with the democratic principle of "one man, one vote".

175. Another solution would also be to enable small Territories which for the moment do find themselves in an economically viable position to join with a State or group of States of their own choosing, in the form of a federation or confederation, with United Nations support. My delegation considers that that might be a concrete compliance with the objectives set forth in the Charter and in the declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XVI).

176. During the discussions in the Committee of Twenty-Four and in its sub-committees, the majority of delegations stressed the need for United Nations visiting missions to small, non-autonomous Terri-

tories in the Antilles, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. I am certain that the majority of delegations will agree on the obvious benefit of those visiting missions; they make it possible to obtain information of incalculable value concerning the exact situation in those Territories and to become acquainted on the spot with the wishes and hopes of the inhabitants before they have been expressed in legal instruments.

177. Here, I should like to address an appeal to the various administering Powers to assist the Special Committee in carrying out the heavy duties entrusted to it by the General Assembly, by lending it their full and complete assistance in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

178. I should not wish to conclude without paying tribute to the efforts made by the Committee of Twenty-Four during 1967, and I am hopeful that the General Assembly will continue to provide it with all the means at its disposal to ensure the earliest possible success of its mission.

179. I am most gratified to welcome here, on behalf of the Republic of Madagascar, the independence of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, and its admission to membership in the United Nations. What better reward could we have for our efforts than this striking confirmation that our efforts have not been in vain. We address our congratulations to the new State, and our wishes for happiness and prosperity.

180. In a few weeks, at least two new States, Nauru and Mauritius, will be acceding to independence and will be requesting admission to our Organization. We rejoice here and now and we express the hope that Nauru and Mauritius will peacefully and happily continue their march towards progress.

181. On many occasions, I have stated from this rostrum that the colonial question is not a uniquely African question, but that it concerns all States, large and small. It is in that light that we must act with loyalty and courage to hasten the advent of a future in which peoples still under colonial domination will be able to exercise their inalienable right to freedom, independence and dignity.

*The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.*