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**President:** Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Ohin (Togo),  
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 11**

**Report of the Security Council**

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): The first item on the agenda of this afternoon's meeting is the report of the Security Council for the period 16 July 1967 to 15 July 1968. A draft resolution has been submitted by Canada and India [A/L.554], under which the Assembly would take note of the Council's report.

2. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution.

*The draft resolution was adopted [resolution 2405 (XXIII)].*

**AGENDA ITEM 21**

**Fourth International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of  
Atomic Energy: report of the Secretary-General**

3. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): A number of delegations have asked to speak in explanation of their vote on the draft resolution before us [A/L.558].

4. Mr. COX (Canada): At the outset I should like to express the appreciation of my delegation for the valuable work done by the United Nations Scientific Advisory

Committee in its April 1968 session, when it gave preliminary consideration to a number of questions relating to preparations for the Fourth International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. These included financial and certain technical and organizational aspects of the Conference. It still remains for the Scientific Advisory Committee to draw up a detailed provisional agenda for the Conference and to decide certain less vital but nevertheless important questions such as the timing of the Conference.

5. As a general comment on the Fourth International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, I should like to say that Canada believes that since the benefits to be derived from the peaceful application of atomic energy are constantly expanding, this Conference will present a useful opportunity to bring new information to the attention of those responsible for the development of national atomic energy programmes. We therefore support the proposal that the Fourth International Conference should be directed towards all those concerned with the preparation of nuclear policy. In that we would include public officials, economists and planners, as well as scientists and engineers.

6. My next comment relates to the agenda of the Conference. Although we do not wish to prejudge the topics to be placed on the agenda, the thematic title of "Benefits for mankind from the peaceful uses of atomic energy" offers a very wide scope. We would hope one of the topics would relate to the production of nuclear power. This would include questions such as the techniques of producing power at lower cost, the introduction of nuclear power into distribution networks, the development of dual-purpose plants for the production of power and the desalination of water, and the creation of agro-industrial complexes. On a more general level within the context of the industrial uses of nuclear power, the Conference might also wish to consider the growth of energy demands in coming years and the role which nuclear power might play in meeting them. In addition, the Conference might review the expected supply, demand and source of special nuclear materials and of heavy water. The environmental benefits and methods of controlling pollution resulting from the uses of nuclear power should also be studied by the Conference, along with the broader social and economic implications of agro-industrial complexes.

7. A further broad area of interest is the application of radio-isotopes to agriculture, hydrology, biology, medicine and industry, where benefits could result from increased crop yields, food preservation, pest eradication, radio-diagnosis and therapy.

8. The conference might also examine support activities ancillary to the development and application of atomic

energy, such as the transportation of radioactive materials and waste management, including problems of regulation and international liability. Returning to the recommendations of the Scientific Advisory Committee, we note that it has suggested that the size of delegations participating could be reduced with advantage in comparison with the Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.<sup>1</sup> The agenda therefore should not be so broad as to dilute the effectiveness of the conference. With this in mind we would hope that very careful consideration be given to the choosing of an agenda which will cover the most important topics. And of course the recommendation included in the draft resolution [A/L.558] of which Canada is a co-sponsor that the costs of the conference to the United Nations should be minimal is also relevant to the preparation of the agenda.

9. Having given my delegation's detailed comments on certain of the questions remaining to be considered by the Scientific Advisory Committee I should like to say that our views on other related matters are indicated by our co-sponsorship of the draft resolution in document A/L.558. My delegation considers that the draft resolution before us provides the Secretary-General and the Scientific Advisory Committee with sufficiently detailed instructions to proceed with the preparation of the type of conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy envisaged in resolution 2309 (XXII) which was adopted at the last session of the General Assembly. We hope that the present draft resolution will be adopted unanimously.

10. Mr. NASHER (United States of America): My Government is very pleased with and wholeheartedly supports the recommendations which the Secretary-General has put forward in his report [A/7186] concerning the Fourth International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. We believe that this Conference has taken on an even greater importance and significance than it had when this body last discussed the question. That is so because of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex], which has now been signed by more than 80 nations. Article IV of the Treaty recognizes the "inalienable right" of all the parties to the Treaty to develop fully the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and therefore the right of all parties to: "participate in, the fullest possible exchange . . . of scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy". The United States is pledged by its President to share its technical knowledge and experience in peaceful nuclear research, and the Fourth International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy will provide a major vehicle for making significant contributions towards the fulfilment of that pledge. We believe that scheduling the Conference now for 1971 should provide the necessary time to ensure the best possible organization and execution of the Conference.

11. My Government is particularly pleased with the Secretary-General's proposal that, following the precedent established by the Third Conference in 1964, the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency be responsible for the scientific aspects of the Conference. This proposal fully recognized the competence established

by the IAEA in its special field and will build on the very considerable body of expertise which the IAEA has accumulated over the past ten years in the many conferences and symposia which it has held.

12. My Government welcomes the Secretary-General's suggestion that the size of the delegations participating be reduced by one third in comparison with the Third Conference. We believe this reduction will impose no serious handicaps on the Fourth Conference. We believe that the Secretary-General's suggestion simply reflects the current situation taking full account of the schedule of the conferences dealing with the peaceful uses of atomic energy convened over the last several years by the IAEA and the Agency's schedule of conference for the coming year or so.

13. Finally, we urge that in drawing up the detailed agenda of the Conference full regard be had to the emphasis in the General Assembly's resolution 2309 (XXII) that the Fourth Conference should be directed to public officials, economists, and planners as well as to the scientists and technologists. We believe that this emphasis is particularly important for this Fourth Conference. We believe that because of the evidence which now lies on every hand of the contribution which atomic energy can make to the development of national economies and the well-being of a nation's people. This has been strikingly revealed in the development of economic nuclear power but it is also true in the application of radioisotopes to agricultural developments, industrial processes, hydrological problems, and others, not to mention the potential contribution of atomic energy to health and medicine. It is, therefore, particularly relevant that the Fourth Conference, in contrast to the three previous conferences, be planned with a direct appeal to public leaders and economic development experts and policy planners.

14. For those reasons, my delegation has sponsored, along with the delegations of Canada, France, India and the United Kingdom, draft resolution A/L.558. We commend this draft resolution to the membership and hope that it will receive the unanimous support of the General Assembly.

15. Mr. THOMPSON FLORES (Brazil): My delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.558 for it strongly supports the proposals set forth by the Secretary-General in his report and is well aware of the importance of convening a Fourth International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.

16. I should like however to draw the Assembly's attention to the final part of paragraph 2, sub-paragraph (b), where it is said that the Conference should be held "at minimum expense to the United Nations". My Government does not consider that this wording should imply any sort of limitation on the scope of the Conference solely on the grounds of purely budgetary considerations, and that is because we strongly hope that the Fourth Conference will be a significant forum and that all items inscribed on the agenda will be fully considered. We hope that greater dissemination of scientific and technological knowledge will be attained.

17. Many aspects of the application of nuclear technology are of fundamental importance for developing countries

<sup>1</sup> Held in Geneva from 31 August to 9 September 1964.

and the Conference may make a very important contribution in that regard.

18. Mr. PROKOFIEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The General Assembly is today considering the question of the Fourth International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.

19. The Soviet Union attaches great importance to international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, *inter alia* by holding international conferences, in the belief that such co-operation will contribute to accelerated scientific and economic development to the benefit of all peoples. We note with satisfaction that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)] opens up completely new prospects for the expansion of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, which holds out the promise of a more rapid advance of civilization. The Soviet Union, which was the first to turn to the use of atomic energy for constructive purposes, is steadfastly devoting great attention to the maximum development of this important branch of its national economy. What is more, the Soviet Government spares no effort to broaden co-operation with other States for the peaceful uses of atomic energy in the furtherance of human progress. In his message to the twelfth session of the General Conference of IAEA, Mr. A. N. Kosygin, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, stressed the fact that:

"The Soviet Government ascribes particular importance to co-operation with other States in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, including co-operation within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency. We intend in the future also to make our contribution to strengthening this co-operation, and to developing the role and authority of the International Atomic Energy Agency."<sup>2</sup>

20. Guided by this position of principle, the Soviet delegation has no objection to holding the Fourth International Conference on Atomic Energy in 1971 in accordance with the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report [A/7186]. It is particularly noteworthy that those recommendations include one which envisages the fullest participation in the work of the Fourth Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency, whose role in the development of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy and whose competence in that field have earned wide international recognition.

21. It goes without saying that all States, without exception, which so desire, should be given the opportunity to take part in the Conference and to make their contribution to the further development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

22. The Soviet delegation would like to emphasize particularly the fact that it is inadmissible to discriminate, as regards participation in the Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, against States that are not members

of the United Nations or its specialized agencies. There cannot be two standards here: all States, including all Socialist States, which are not members of the United Nations, the specialized agencies or IAEA, must have an equal right to take part in the Fourth International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.

23. In that connexion, we wish to state in the strongest terms that any attempt to discriminate, with regard to participation in the Conference, against the German Democratic Republic—a sovereign State whose great achievements in the peaceful uses of atomic energy are well known—is inadmissible. The German Democratic Republic was one of the first to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and has declared its readiness to accept IAEA safeguards for its activities in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. It has every right to take part in the Fourth Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, and we are convinced that its participation will have a very beneficial effect on the work of the Conference.

24. The manoeuvres of the circles that are attempting to prevent this are, we must say, a typical example of the notorious "cold war" policy.

25. The Soviet Union favours the broadest possible participation of States in atomic energy conferences. Indeed, the greater the number of participating States, the more useful and interesting will be the material presented and the more each participant will be able to extract what is beneficial and useful for itself. We firmly insist that there must be no discrimination in the invitations to the Conference based either on the level of development of a particular State, or on the degree of its direct participation in atomic research and the utilization of atomic energy, or on the fact that it is not, or not yet, a member of the United Nations, its specialized agencies or IAEA.

26. Mr. GLINNE (Belgium) (*translated from French*): The Belgian delegation has noted with great interest the proposals [A/7186] which the Secretary-General has made to the General Assembly concerning the holding of a Fourth International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. My delegation can endorse those proposals unreservedly.

27. I might perhaps point out that each year the International Atomic Energy Agency, alone or in co-operation with other international or regional atomic energy institutions, holds many legal or technical conferences, seminars and symposia, which are open to the experts of all Member States. Consequently, we feel that the fourth conference should stress the problems that are of concern to politicians, economists, planners and men of finance, as well as certain technological aspects in which there have been some spectacular developments since 1964.

28. The division of functions between the Secretary-General and the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, as recommended in the report, seems appropriate to us.

29. As for the physical organization of the Conference, we feel that it would be useful if the Secretary-General also enlisted the aid of UNIDO, since it is the intention of the

<sup>2</sup> Message of Mr. A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, to the twelfth session of the General Conference of IAEA, document GC(XII) INF/104.

organizers that the Conference should deal primarily with the planning and economic, rather than the scientific and technical, aspects.

30. Care should also be taken to limit rather strictly the number of participants for each country invited, as the Secretary-General's report suggests.

31. Those are the brief remarks which the Belgian delegation wished to make concerning the affirmative vote it will cast when draft resolution A/L.558 is put to the vote.

32. Mr. PARTHASARATHI (India): Last year the General Assembly, by its resolution 2309 (XXII), requested the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly on the implementation of that resolution. Pursuant to the resolution, the Secretary-General has presented his report [A/7186] which is based on the recommendations of the United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee. The proposals made in his report may be summarized as follows.

33. First, the Fourth International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy should be convened in Geneva during the year 1971 for eight or nine working days, interrupted by a two-day weekend, at dates convenient from the point of view of the programme of conferences for that year.

34. Second, the thematic title of the conference should be "Benefits for Mankind from Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy".

35. Third, the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency should share responsibility in the organization of this Conference, as was done for the Third Conference held in 1964.

36. Fourth, the Conference should be organized in two parts, that is, a general session and parallel technical sessions in order to avoid lengthy oral presentations of technical papers. The adoption of a system of rapporteurs for specific technical sessions would be desirable.

37. Fifth, the size of delegations should be reduced by 20 per cent to 30 per cent in comparison with the Third Conference held in 1964.

38. Sixth, there should be evening lectures, film shows and exhibitions organized for the public to enhance the impact of the Conference. Technical papers should be limited both in terms of length and numbers, and pre-publication of papers prior to the opening of the Conference would be essential. Member States should be encouraged to arrange for the publication of their relevant material on their own after the Conference.

39. Seventh, the drawing up of a detailed list of topics would be the subject of further consultation with the Scientific Advisory Committee.

40. The Secretary-General has also stated in his report that he would present a further report to the twenty-fourth session indicating the requirements in 1970 of the preparatory arrangements, and again in 1971 for the actual holding of the Conference and the subsequent publication of its proceedings. The Secretary-General also indicated that the

detailed cost estimates would be worked out after the General Assembly had taken decisions on the recommendations made by him.

41. The Secretary-General, in his report, has stated that "the drawing up of a detailed list of topics will be the subject of further consultation with the Scientific Advisory Committee" [A/7186, para. 2 (j)]. In this regard we should like to make certain suggestions, which should be considered as illustrative, regarding topics for the general session of the Conference, as well as topics for the technical sessions of the Conference. We trust that the detailed list will be developed by the Scientific Advisory Committee. The topics we have in mind for the general session are the following:

(a) Food, water and other social and economic implications of Atomic Energy. Social implications, including health applications, and agro-industrial complexes, making desert regions habitable and economically viable;

(b) Survey of energy demands in coming years and the role of nuclear power in meeting them;

(c) Supply and demand aspects of source and special nuclear materials including enriched uranium, plutonium and heavy water;

(d) Pollution controls and environmental benefits from the expanding use of nuclear power;

(e) International safeguards including legal, regulatory, technical and organizational aspects;

(f) Supporting activities, such as transportation of radioactive materials, and waste management, including the regulatory problem and international liabilities;

(g) Educational aspects of atomic energy.

42. Some of the topics that we would like to suggest for the technical sessions are as follows: first, the techniques of developing still lower-cost power including large-size plants, integration in power distribution networks and agro-industrial energy complexes; second, the applications of isotopes and radiation in agriculture, hydrology, biology, medicine and industry, including increasing food crop yields, food preservation, insect eradication, radiation diagnostics and therapy; third, technical progress in safeguards; fourth, technical aspects of sources and special nuclear materials; fifth, reviews of recent IAEA Conferences and of promising advances in other atomic developments, such as the peaceful uses of nuclear explosions and controlled thermonuclear fusion.

43. My delegation has co-sponsored draft resolution A/L.558, which is based on the recommendations made by the Secretary-General in his report. We trust that the Secretary General, with the assistance of the United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee, will finalize the specific programme of the Conference for the approval of the General Assembly at its next session.

44. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I now invite the General Assembly to take a decision on draft resolution A/L.558.

45. As there has been no request for a vote, may I take it that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution without objection?

*The draft resolution was adopted without objection [resolution 2406 (XXIII)].*

46. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): That completes our consideration of agenda item 21.

## AGENDA ITEM 22

### Installation of mechanical means of voting: report of the Secretary-General

47. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): We shall now consider the Secretary-General's report [A/7330] on agenda item 22.

48. In this document, the Secretary-General indicates that he proposes to continue gathering the necessary data for a firm recommendation to the General Assembly on the advantages of buying, as compared to hiring, the voting equipment. Once this question has been clarified, the Secretary-General would make a definite proposal to the Assembly and would request the necessary appropriation for the installation of the equipment.

49. The General Assembly is not required to take a decision at this stage. It is only being asked to take note of the Secretary-General's report on this item. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to take note of the Secretary-General's report [A/7330].

*It was so decided.*

50. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): This concludes our consideration of agenda item 22.

## 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*)

51. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I would remind representatives that, in accordance with the decision taken this morning, the list of speakers will be closed at 6 p.m. today.

52. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The collapse of the colonial system of imperialism and the emergence of young independent States upon the world arena is one of the characteristic features of our time.

53. The great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia struck a heavy blow against the whole system of imperialist colonial domination and was a powerful stimulus to the development of the national liberation movement. Soviet power was born with the slogan of

national freedom on its banner. In its very first documents—the Decree on Peace, the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, the Message to the Working Moslems of Russia and the East—the world's first Socialist State unconditionally condemned national oppression in all its forms and manifestations, both in Europe and in the "distant countries beyond the sea". It solemnly proclaimed the right of every people to its own independent State and declared that the struggle for national freedom was holy and just.

54. The October Revolution brought freedom to the Byelorussian people also. For the first time in its history, the people of Byelorussia acceded to statehood and sovereignty. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed on 1 January 1919. As it prepares to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its State, our people, which is making a worthy contribution to the building of a communist society, is justly proud of the great changes that have been wrought in the past half century and of the great successes that have been achieved in the economic, scientific and cultural fields. These successes have been made possible by the implementation of the wise nationalistic policies of Lenin, the mutual assistance and co-operation of the great brotherhood of all the peoples of the Soviet Union, the socialist economic system, which emerged triumphant from the ruins of the once backward and underdeveloped Russian empire, and the Soviet way of life.

55. We note with satisfaction that during the last fifty years immense colonial empires, whose founders had intended them to last for centuries, have perished in the flames of national liberation revolutions. Through the resolute combined actions of the progressive forces of the national liberation movement, supported by the world revolutionary movement, by all freedom-loving peoples including, above all, the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries, the overwhelming majority of countries which were under the colonial yoke have gained their political independence. Whereas in 1919 colonies and semi-colonies covered almost three quarters of the world's land area and contained more than two thirds of its population, they now account for only 3.5 per cent of the world's land area and 0.9 per cent of its population. In the past half-century, in place of the repetitious colours of the colonial empires, the many-coloured flags of some seventy independent States have been unfurled.

56. However, the vestiges of colonialism still exist. Bastions of colonialism remain in various parts of the world. The peoples of South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, so-called "Portuguese" Guinea, Oman and other colonies are still compelled to live and struggle under the colonial yoke.

57. The blame for this lies entirely with the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Portugal, the Republic of South Africa and the other colonial Powers which are resisting the application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to the remaining colonies. These Powers, which regard colonies as cheap sources of raw materials, advantageous markets, investment opportunities and strategic military strongholds, continue to plunder and oppress the peoples of their colonies.



58. With the direct assistance and support of these States and the Federal Republic of Germany, the most reactionary forces of colonialism and racism are consolidating their position in southern Africa. There, a criminal alliance of South African and Southern Rhodesian racists and Portuguese colonialists has been created to serve as the main striking force in their struggle against the national liberation movement.

59. It must be obvious to everyone that Portugal, one of the most backward countries of Western Europe, could not maintain its colonial domination and wage its dirty wars against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called "Portuguese" Guinea if it did not receive every kind of assistance, including arms, from its allies in the NATO military-colonial bloc—primarily the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany. The South African racists could not behave so brazenly if those Powers did not give the *apartheid* régime generous economic, military and other assistance. The racist régime of Southern Rhodesia, which has enslaved the people of Zimbabwe, would have collapsed long ago if the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, had taken effective measures in time to strip it of authority.

60. It is no accident that the Western Powers take the position they do. To them, the southern part of Africa is a treasure-house of mineral wealth—gold, diamonds, uranium and other minerals. For the sake of their super-profits, the international monopolies which have established themselves there—primarily the notorious "Oppenheimer empire"—and which are dominated by United Kingdom and United States capital, do as they please, uncontrolled and with impunity, and plunder the area's physical and human resources, becoming fabulously rich through the fiendish exploitation of the indigenous population. Suffice it to say that, according to United Nations Secretariat figures, the profits of Western investors in South Africa amount to as much as 20 per cent of invested capital, as against not more than 10 per cent in the rest of the world and even less in their own countries. In other words, the monopolies recover the whole of their outlay in the southern part of Africa in five years.

61. Foreign monopoly capital exploits all colonial territories mercilessly. The activities of international monopolies are ruinous for colonial peoples; these monopolies bear the main responsibility for the continuation of colonial slavery and oppression and are a serious hindrance to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other United Nations decisions on decolonization.

62. Not only do the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and other Western countries do nothing whatever to curb the harmful activities of the monopolies in the colonies, but they even take them under their wing and advertise the notorious "blessings" that the monopolies are supposed to bring to colonial peoples, thereby encouraging them to enagage in their criminal activities.

63. The history of colonialism and the economic spoliation of the peoples of the colonial territories are indis-

solubly linked with the military activities of the colonial Powers and their establishment of strategic military strongholds in the enslaved territories. Numerous military bases are still maintained in the colonies to serve the ends of the global policy of reaction, anti-communism and the struggle against the national liberation movement. The colonial Powers ignore the repeated appeals by the General Assembly to do away with existing military bases, and to refrain from establishing new ones in the colonies.

64. Military bases in the colonies, including bases on small island territories, are being widely used by the colonialists to suppress the national liberation movement, interfere in the domestic affairs of independent countries and organize aggressive acts and provocations against them.

65. As is rightly pointed out in the report of the Special Committee,

"Military bases and the military activities of the colonial Powers represent one of the most serious obstacles to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and in a number of cases represent a serious and constantly growing threat to international peace and security." [A/7200/Rev.1, chapter IV, section II (1)].

The Committee also correctly concluded that:

"Foreign military bases are one of the principal instruments of the policy of neo-colonialism and one of the main sources of tension throughout the world." [Ibid.]

66. Modern colonialism is a dangerous and insidious phenomenon. It conceals its nature beneath the many-coloured coat of demagogy and trims its sails to the prevailing winds. The arsenal of modern colonialism contains the most varied forms and methods: the fanning of tribal hatreds, encouragement of separatist tendencies, and various forms of economic and political subjection of peoples, such as the export of capital, unequal terms of trade, donations made on certain political conditions, the involvement of States in aggressive military blocs, the establishment of military bases on their territories, the installation of puppet régimes, and so on.

67. The course of events attests to the validity of the conclusion that the struggle of a people for genuine freedom does not end with accession to political independence by a Territory. The struggle against neo-colonialism, for economic liberation from imperialism, for social progress, goes on.

68. An indispensable condition for the success of this struggle is the unity and solidarity forces of the national liberation movement and the strengthening of their ties with all anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces advocating support for the ideals of freedom, progress and peace.

69. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR has carefully studied the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In our view, the Special Committee has done useful work in 1968: its results speak for

themselves. It has continued the work it started as long ago as 1964 on studying the harmful activities of international monopolies in southern Africa and other colonies. The Special Committee's study of the question of military activities and other actions by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which are liable to impede the implementation of the Declaration is an important contribution to the struggle against colonialism and to unmasking the policy of the colonialists. On that question it has arrived at some highly constructive conclusions and recommendations, which our delegation fully supports. It has also examined the question of the implementation by States of the Declaration and of other United Nations decisions on decolonization. And as a result of all this it was incontrovertibly demonstrated that certain Western Powers were opposing with all their might the implementation of these of these important United Nations decisions. The Committee has continued its study of the role of the specialized agencies and the institutions associated with the United Nations in the implementation of the Declaration and of other United Nations decisions on decolonization, as well as its study of the situation in the small Territories.

70. On the whole, the Byelorussian delegation endorses the decisions taken by the Committee on the questions it considered. However, even the best decisions may remain mere decisions. It is essential that the decisions of the United Nations, which reflect the will of the majority of its Members, should be given effect.

71. The year 1970 will mark the tenth anniversary of the adoption, on the initiative of the USSR,<sup>3</sup> of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That date coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. In our view, in order to celebrate the anniversary fittingly, we should not confine ourselves to formal measures and ceremonies. The most appropriate action would be the complete and unconditional implementation of the Declaration so as to leave the earth without a single colony, or a single people plundered by imperialism.

72. It is our common duty, the duty of the United Nations, to support the struggle of colonial people for their national liberation and give them the utmost assistance and support.

73. The policies of the colonial Powers, which undermine the implementation of the Declaration under various pretexts, must be vigorously condemned and they must be required unconditionally to implement the Declaration and the many other United Nations decisions on decolonization. They have an obligation to heed the voice of the United Nations, which demands that they curb the harmful activities of foreign nationals and companies in colonial territories, eliminate the privileges accorded them and fulfil their responsibility under the Charter to lead the peoples of the dependent Territories under their administration to self-determination and independence.

74. The General Assembly must firmly declare that it expects the colonial Powers to dismantle their military

bases in colonial territories and to cease military activities in such territories as one of the main impediments to the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization.

75. The use of foreign mercenaries in colonial wars should be vigorously condemned and prohibited. These professional killers are being used by the imperialist and colonial forces, particularly in southern Africa, to combat the national liberation movement and to restore colonial conditions in independent African States. The practice of using mercenaries must be declared a crime, the mercenaries themselves must be declared criminals and all States must be called upon to take appropriate steps, including legislative measures, to prohibit the training and recruitment of mercenaries in their territory. It would be just if peoples who have been harmed by the activities of mercenaries were given the right to claim compensation for their losses from the countries and organizations responsible for the mercenaries activities.

76. We share the view that the specialized agencies and institutions associated with the United Nations should increase their assistance to the colonial peoples, particularly those in the areas of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) that have been liberated from the colonialists. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund must be required to re-examine their positions and not only withhold financial and other assistance from Portugal and South Africa, but also—as was recommended by the Fourth Committee—withdraw the loans and credits they have granted to those countries, which are being used by them to suppress the national liberation movement in Africa.

77. The most stringent measures possible under the Charter of the United Nations should be taken against the Republic of South Africa and Portugal, which are still obstinately refusing to comply with the relevant decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

78. The Byelorussian delegation supports the United Nations decisions aimed at achieving those ends.

79. As is stated in the reply of the Byelorussian SSR to the Secretary-General's questionnaire on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other United Nations decisions on decolonization [*A/7200/Rev.1, chapter II, annex 1, section II*]:

"From the time of its founding, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic has supported, and continues to support, all peoples struggling against any form of colonial oppression and for their freedom and independence. It is one of the basic principles of the foreign policy of the Byelorussian SSR to support the national liberation movement and to co-operate in every way with the young developing States."

80. The reply goes on to say:

"The Byelorussian SSR is determined to continue to support the national liberation movement in every way possible and to co-operate with all States and peoples fighting against colonialism and neo-colonialism and against the imperialistic policy of enslaving other peoples."

<sup>3</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, agenda item 87, document A/4502.*

81. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I hesitate to reply to the speech to which we have just listened, coming though it does from an expert in modern colonialism, partly because the points which he raises have already been adequately answered in the Fourth Committee, but also because I expect the the speeches to which we are about to listen from the Soviet Union and the Ukraine will bear a marked resemblance to the speech to which we have just listened. It may therefore be preferable to listen to them all before we consider whether they justify a reply.

82. I remember that the first speech I made in this General Assembly seven years ago was in the colonial debate and since then I have regularly spoken in the annual debates on this subject. In these seven years another 50 million people, in countries formerly administered by mine, have attained independence. While the debates have been continuing, colonialism has been ending. Coming to speak yet again in this subject, I feel like an actor repeatedly recalled by an enthusiastic audience when the performance is in fact over.

83. I have had frequent occasion to remind this Assembly that in less than a quarter of a century my country has assisted and participated in an advance to independence by a quarter of the population of the world. All the 850 million people of the Commonwealth now live in independent sovereign countries—all except less than 1 per cent. What is more, in nearly all the countries previously under British administration the advance to independence was on the basis of full adult suffrage, free parliaments and independent courts. That is a success which cannot be denied or belittled. We claim that our greatest achievement was the conversion of an empire into a free commonwealth. Now the work is almost done.

84. When Swaziland was admitted to the United Nations during this session of the Assembly [1674th meeting] we were able to claim that the last of the seventeen Territories in Africa administered by my country had attained independence; the last, that is, except Rhodesia. I do not for a moment wish to suggest that the problem of Rhodesia is not of outstanding importance. On the contrary, I believe that it is one of the most important questions which the United Nations has ever had to consider. But I have suggested before, and I put it to you again, that the problem of Rhodesia is not a normal colonial problem. It is far more important. It is a racial and political problem; it is part of the whole problem of white supremacy in southern Africa. In Rhodesia it is not a matter of a metropolitan Power retaining domination over a colonial territory; the problem is very different. It is not that the administering Power has failed to accept its obligation to free the people; the administering Power has been prevented from doing so. It is a matter of a comparatively small white population in the territory refusing to allow the much greater African population to take a full share in the government of their own country. The white minority has so far defied and frustrated the intentions of the administering Power and of the United Nations as well. As I say, this is part of the whole problem of white supremacy in southern Africa. It is part of a world-wide racial problem of the utmost importance.

85. I am the last person to question the importance of the Rhodesian issue, or to question the need to deal decisively

with it. But to suggest that it is merely a colonial problem would be to misunderstand and misjudge it altogether. We are not here today to consider how the racial questions of the world should be tackled, nor are we here to deal with the racial and political problems of southern Africa. We shall have other opportunities to do so in this Assembly and in the Security Council. What we are here to do is to consider the question of the remaining colonial territories.

86. If we agree that Rhodesia and the Portuguese Territories in Africa are part of a different and much larger problem, and if we agree that Hong Kong is a special case, we may take it that the remaining colonial Territories number about thirty. They have a population of 3.5 million; that is the extent of the remaining problem. My country has a special concern in this, for among those thirty Territories, eighteen are under British administration. Those eighteen Territories have a total population of one and one-third million, with an average population of 75,000, ranging from nearly half a million in Fiji to under 100 in Pitcairn Island. It is the future of those thirty Territories to which I have referred which principally raises the question of "micro-States" to which the Secretary-General has several times invited our attention in his annual reports. Nearly all those Territories are not only small in size and in population, but also limited in resources. Many of them are isolated and remote islands. What is their future? What are their peculiar problems? How can they participate in the international community? How can they derive the benefits of international assistance and at the same time make their contribution to the international family of peoples and countries?

87. Which of those small countries, if any, should join the United Nations? That is one important question recently much discussed. Some of them may wish to be independent without applying for membership of the United Nations, like Western Samoa and Nauru—Nauru, incidentally, having followed its independence by applying for and being welcomed to special membership of the Commonwealth. But the question of membership or association with the United Nations and its agencies is only one aspect of the problem. By their nature most of those small communities have unusual needs and face unusual difficulties. They each have characteristics and aspirations which are peculiar to themselves. It is wrong to attempt to generalize about them, still worse to try to force them into a standard single mould. They constitute a quite separate problem—or rather a whole series of separate problems. They have the right to expect more from the United Nations than a mere repetition of old dogmatic slogans and the revival of stale resolutions. They need understanding of their peculiar problems and needs. They may well need exceptional assistance. We must not be so lacking in imagination and sympathy as to tell them that there is nothing for them except to walk the plank of isolated independence, to sink in a sea of troubles beyond their strength to overcome.

88. With all their differences and peculiarities, they have one need in common. There is one test which we can apply, one principle which we need not doubt: that is the principle laid down in the Charter that the interests of the inhabitants are paramount. The Charter spells out the aims clearly enough: to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to



assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions according to the particular circumstances of each Territory and its peoples and their varying stages of development. These are the directions of the Charter; these are the purposes we must all keep uppermost in our minds as we tackle this remaining problem—the problem of the remaining small Territories. This is the sacred trust—to use the Charter language—with which we are charged: that the interests of these peoples should be paramount and that their aspirations should prevail.

89. It is well, therefore, that the United Nations Institute for Training and Research should have begun a study of the subject of the “micro-States”. It is well, too, that the Committee of Twenty-Four should have accepted the need to direct special attention to this problem of the future of the smaller Territories; it is the Committee’s chief remaining concern, its last task..

90. When the Charter was drawn up at San Francisco the work of decolonization had still to be undertaken. In less than a quarter of a century the purpose has been accomplished, and my country is proud to have taken a leading part in that achievement. What now remains to be done is, by comparison of mere numbers, trivial. The remaining task might be regarded as inconsiderable in terms of wealth and power; I would not, however, call these Territories vestiges, as the previous speaker did. We recognize that the age of colonialism is over and done with; we welcome that. Now we have an obligation to see that the peoples of the remaining Territories are protected and assisted, with understanding and fairness and generosity. It is a task to which the international community can certainly contribute; and if we are to finish the work as it should be finished we must be guided now, as we have been guided in the past, by the principle that the interests and wishes of the peoples concerned must be paramount.

91. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The debate in the General Assembly on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples evokes the broadest response among all who cherish the ideals of freedom, independence and the elimination of colonialism and racism.

92. Soviet people have always sympathized with the struggle of colonial peoples for their liberation. The salvos from the revolutionary cruiser “Aurora” in 1917—heralds of the Great Socialist Revolution in Russia—not only proclaimed to the world the advent of a new era in which mankind would be freed from social oppression, but also signified the beginning of the great national liberation movement for the elimination of the shameful colonial system of imperialism throughout the world. The very fact of the birth of the Soviet Socialist State created favourable international conditions for the success of the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples. The principles of Lenin’s foreign policy of friendship and brotherhood with oppressed peoples were set out in the very first foreign policy documents of the Soviet State—the Decree on Peace, the Message to the Working Moslems of Russia and of the East, and several other documents.

93. The collapse of Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War, which they had unleashed

and in which the heroic struggle of the Soviet people played an outstanding part, gave a further strong impetus to the national liberation struggle of the colonial peoples.

94. In the years that have elapsed since the Second World War, the political map of the world has changed beyond recognition. These changes have, of course, been reflected in the United Nations. Today, in this General Assembly Hall, we see the representatives of scores of young States which would not have representatives here in the first years of the United Nations existence. In a fierce struggle with imperialism, many African, Asian and Latin American peoples have won their national liberation and independence.

95. From the very first days of the October Revolution in Russia, the Soviet Union has been in the forefront of this great liberation struggle of the peoples. It was therefore quite natural and logical that the Soviet Union should have taken the initiative which led to the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The principles enunciated in that Declaration have subsequently been developed and embodied in dozens of United Nations anti-colonial resolutions solemnly upholding the legitimacy and right of the colonial peoples to fight for their national freedom and independence against the imperialist enslavers and calling on all States Members of the Organization to assist the colonial peoples in their struggle. So far, some thirty countries have thrown off the colonial yoke and become independent States since the adoption of the Declaration in 1960. This is a victory, first and foremost, for the peoples of those countries themselves, and also for all the anti-colonialist forces in the United Nations and for progressive democratic forces throughout the world. This victory was won in a struggle against the colonial Powers, after overcoming the bitter resistance of the colonial empires, and not the other way round, as the representative of the United Kingdom has tried to make out. However, the fewer the colonial possessions still subjected to the imperialists, the more stubbornly do they try, with the desperation of the doomed, to cling to their remaining colonial territories. They resort to any means in their efforts to resist the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, particularly in southern Africa and in the small colonial island territories. Here the decisive battle for the full implementation of the Declaration still has to be fought.

96. Southern Africa has a special place in the plans of the imperialist States. This is the region in which the colonialists have their largest remaining colonial possessions, representing about 14 per cent of the area and 6 per cent of the population of Africa. Foreign monopolies regard southern Africa primarily as a source of important strategic raw materials and fabulous profits, gained through savage exploitation of the labour of African workers. Southern Africa is a colonial bridgehead from which the colonialists and racists wage aggressive wars against national liberation movements and threaten the independence of the young African States. Using southern Africa as a base of operations, the imperialist countries are trying to retain their control over the immense area of the world situated at the junction of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

97. The immediate execution of the aggressive colonial policy of imperialism in this part of Africa has been entrusted to the military-colonial bloc of South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia. This bloc was created with the support of the leading imperialist Powers. It constitutes a serious threat to the national liberation movements in southern Africa and to all the independent States on the African continent. The members of the bloc concert their strategy and tactics in connexion with the suppression of national liberation movements in colonial territories and in the struggle against neighbouring independent States. The London periodical *Africa and the World* recently stated that as a result of the military conspiracy between South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal, South Africa's frontiers had in effect been moved north to the borders of the Congo, Zambia and Tanzania. It went on to say that South African forces and police had occupied South West Africa and were openly operating in Rhodesia and Mozambique.

98. The leading role in this bloc is played by the Republic of South Africa. Its political and ideological basis is racism, which the international imperialist forces particularly hope to strengthen in order to preserve their opportunities for colonial exploitation of southern Africa. Supported by the assistance it receives from the Western Powers, white racism is trying to extend its domination from South Africa to other territories in southern Africa. The French magazine *Monde diplomatique* wrote at the beginning of November 1968 that Pretoria's new strategy is to "push north as far as Katanga".

99. As to the tense, explosive situation that has developed in southern Africa, the General Assembly must not ignore the practice of using mercenaries, with whose assistance the colonialists and racists are trying to halt the process of decolonization and national liberation in the colonies and to restore colonial conditions in the already liberated independent African countries.

100. As the debate on the Portuguese colonies at this session of the General Assembly has shown, the practice of using mercenaries continues despite the well-known decisions of the Security Council. The resolution on the Portuguese colonies [resolution 2395 (XXIII)] contains an urgent appeal to all States to take all measures to prevent the recruitment or training in their territories of any persons as mercenaries for the colonial war being waged in the Portuguese colonies.

101. While fully supporting that resolution, the delegation of the Soviet Union believes that, in its general resolution on the implementation of the Declaration, the General Assembly should go further on the question of mercenaries, and after reaffirming its strong condemnation of the practice of using mercenaries, call upon all States to take steps to prohibit the activities of mercenaries, including the enactment of national legislation declaring the recruitment and training of mercenaries to be a punishable offence.

102. During the discussion of the situation in the Portuguese colonies, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia and of other colonial questions relating to the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization, the representatives of various countries, including African countries, produced a

wealth of irrefutable evidence that the main reason for the refusal of the racist-colonialist régimes in Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon to comply with the anti-colonial resolutions of the United Nations is the protection and assistance these colonialists and racists receive from the Western Powers.

103. That is why the General Assembly must point out in its resolution that responsibility for the dangerous situation created by the bloc of colonialist-racist régimes in southern Africa lies not only with the direct participants in that bloc but also with the leading imperialist Powers, and principally the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany. There is no doubt that if those countries had stopped giving assistance to the colonialists and racists, the problem of liberating Africa would have been solved long ago.

104. The General Assembly must not only vigorously condemn the military-colonial bloc of South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia as a tool of the imperialist Powers for collectively suppressing the liberation movement in southern Africa, but must also demand that the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany, France and other NATO members cease all assistance to the countries of that bloc and break all diplomatic, commercial, economic and other relations with its members.

105. Only by adopting such resolutions and presenting specific demands to the main imperialist Powers will the United Nations be able to attain the effectiveness needed in the implementation of its decisions aimed at accelerating the final disappearance of colonial régimes.

106. I should like to refer to another important aspect of the policy of the Western Powers in southern Africa. Because of these Powers' non-compliance with General Assembly resolutions, the measures taken by a number of countries in accordance with United Nations decisions regarding South Africa and Southern Rhodesia have actually done some of these countries a certain amount of economic harm. As a matter of fact, these measures have worked to the advantage of those Western Powers which are ignoring the decisions of the United Nations and the demands of the African peoples and are continuing actively to maintain close commercial and other economic relations with South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal. This is an abnormal situation.

107. The decisions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations bodies on colonial questions and particularly on Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the Portuguese colonies in Africa, will only be effective if they are strictly applied by all Members of the United Nations.

108. In recent years, the Soviet Union has introduced a number of important proposals in various United Nations organs. Their consistent application would be a valuable contribution to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. As a result of the joint efforts of the Soviet Union, the other Socialist countries and the African and Asian States in the Special Committee, the General Assembly has thoroughly discussed such important questions as the activities conducted in colonial territories by foreign

monopolies—whose sole objective is the merciless exploitation and economic spoliation of colonial peoples—and, among other things, it has analysed in detail the military aspects of the activities of the colonial Powers, which are directed towards the preservation of colonialism.

109. The delegation of the Soviet Union explained its position on these matters when they were discussed in the Fourth Committee. Nevertheless, we should like to emphasize again that, in our view, the main obstacles to the liberation of colonial peoples are the plundering activities of the foreign monopolies in colonial territories and the military policies of the colonial Powers in those territories, which are aimed at suppressing colonial peoples and protecting the interests of the imperialist monopolies. The resolutions adopted by the General Assembly condemning these colonial policies constitute an excellent basis for developing the further struggle in the United Nations against colonialism and racism.

110. The Soviet delegation also considers that the United Nations is following the right course when it involves in the implementation of the Declaration the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations, which, under article 58 of the Charter, are required to co-ordinate their policies with the United Nations.

111. We have some comments to make on the work of the Special Committee. As we have repeatedly pointed out, this Committee has adopted a number of important and useful decisions contributing to the national liberation struggle of colonial peoples and the mobilization of world opinion against the colonialists and racists, and the imperialist Powers that support them. In that sense the work of the Special Committee is on the whole constructive. As a rule, its anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist recommendations serve as a basis for important decisions by the General Assembly on questions relating to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

112. We oppose all attempts to weaken the activities of the Special Committee, because we believe that its main task will in the future continue to be to achieve the unconditional and complete international isolation of the racists and colonialists, to keep a close watch on the implementation by all Members of the United Nations of the decisions adopted, particularly those relating to the cessation of the harmful activities of foreign monopolies in the colonies and to the elimination of foreign bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from colonial territories, and resolutely to unmask those who, through their co-operation with the racists and colonialists, undermine the efforts of the United Nations to secure the liberation of the colonial peoples. It is particularly important to work out measures of specific assistance to the national liberation movements and organizations directly involved in the struggle in colonial territories for the liberation of their countries.

113. The Special Committee must continue to keep under constant review the implementation by the specialized agencies and other international institutions associated with the United Nations of the Declaration on decolonization

and of other United Nations resolutions on colonial matters.

114. We are in favour of the General Assembly's instructing the Special Committee to work out a plan of activities in connexion with the tenth anniversary, in 1970 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session.

115. Today the prophetic words of Lenin in 1921 are coming true:

"Although the peasants in the colonial countries are still backward, they will play a very important revolutionary part in the coming phases of the world revolution."<sup>4</sup>

116. The fight against colonialism is not over. Colonialism, though fatally wounded, is not yet dead and is resisting fiercely. This is particularly evident in the case of southern Africa. But no efforts on the part of the colonialist forces, which are doomed by history, can prevent the final victory of the national liberation movement.

117. The Soviet Union has always assisted, and will continue to assist, to the utmost, the colonial peoples in their just struggle for freedom and independence. It has been carrying out, unswervingly, the many United Nations decisions aimed at the speedy elimination of the colonial régimes in Africa and other areas. In conformity with those decisions, the Soviet Union does not maintain diplomatic, economic, military and other relations with Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. Some representatives of Western countries here often parade as friends of the African peoples. One cannot be a friend of the peoples of Africa and at the same time continue to have political and economic ties and co-operate with the racists of Salisbury and Pretoria and with the Portuguese colonialists, thereby defending the policies of racism and colonialism.

118. One of the urgent tasks of our time is to bring about the further consolidation of all anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces by every possible means, the creation of a powerful anti-colonialist front, and to deal a resounding rebuff to all attempts, from whatever quarter, to undermine this united front of the struggle to do away with colonialism and racism. The struggle against colonialism, started by the Soviet State in 1917, more than fifty years ago, has now become a mighty international flood which is relentlessly swirling over and sweeping away the last vestiges of colonial slavery.

119. The Soviet Union, faithful to the legacy of the great Lenin, is worthily fulfilling its international duty by regarding support for the national liberation movement in the colonies, and alliance and friendship with the peoples that have thrown off the yoke of colonial slavery, as one of the cornerstones of its foreign policy.

*The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.*

<sup>4</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works* (Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1965), vol. 32, p. 482.