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AGENDA ITEM 24

Special programme of activities in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (*continued*)

1. Mr. SPÁČIL (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from Russian*): When the Czechoslovak delegation voted for the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, it was fully aware of the importance and urgency of that decision. The Declaration which, on the initiative of the Government of the Soviet Union, was adopted by an overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations has become a symbol of the condemnation by the peoples of one of the worst anachronisms of our time, colonialism. For that reason the adoption of this document is one of the most important decisions taken by the United Nations during its 25 years of activity.

2. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was the result of qualitative changes in the alignment of forces in the world, and it undoubtedly strengthened the authority of the United Nations and enhanced its prestige in the eyes of the progressive world public.

3. Immediately after its proclamation, the national liberation movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America entered upon a new phase of vigorous development. Some 30 new States with a population of more than

60 million emerged. The old colonial Powers collapsed. The peoples embarked on a new road of independent development and, with the help the progressive forces in the world, were able to achieve freedom and independence.

4. On the other hand, we are unfortunately obliged to note at the same time that the just struggle of the colonial peoples has not yet achieved its goals. The Declaration of 1960 has not yet been fully implemented, either. More than 28 million persons in 45 Territories—mainly in southern Africa, the Pacific and Indian Oceans and the Caribbean area—are still living under brutal colonial domination.

5. It is natural that the tenth anniversary of the Declaration should impel us to consider how the efforts of Member States arrived at the implementation of the humanitarian ideals of equality and self-determination of peoples—ideals on which the United Nations Charter is based—have been reflected in the activities of the United Nations. What must be done to ensure that the Declaration is finally implemented as soon as possible?

6. Unfortunately, we are today faced with the fact not only that the purposes of the United Nations with respect to the struggle against colonialism have not been fulfilled but also that there has been an evident, even if temporary, slowing down of the final stage in the process of the liberation of colonial and dependent peoples.

7. The course of events in recent times shows that the struggle of the enslaved peoples is being waged under extremely difficult conditions and is encountering ever-stronger opposition, mainly from the racist minority régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonial régime, which enjoy the full understanding and support of their imperialist allies.

8. On the other hand, though the role and main purpose of the Declaration—the elimination of colonialism once and for all—have still not been fulfilled, we are nevertheless witnessing attempts to prove that the activities of the United Nations in the struggle against colonialism have already lost their relevance. In addition, attempts have been made in every way to minimize the importance of the Declaration and to impair its effectiveness in future. We cannot agree with this.

9. The Czechoslovak delegation, like other delegations which have expressed their views today, has no

illusions on this subject. We believe that the main obstacle in the way of the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is the economic, political and strategic interests of the imperialist Powers which, despite the decisions of the United Nations, are using every possible means of pressure in order to maintain their domination of colonial and dependent Territories.

10. For that reason today, when we are discussing the next important document designed to speed up the implementation of all the basic requirements of the Declaration with respect to the remaining colonial and dependent Territories, we wish once again to emphasize that the Czechoslovak delegation considers that the best way of commemorating the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the Declaration would be to take effective steps for its full implementation. If the aims of decolonization have not yet been attained, the fault lies not in the Declaration but in the fact that the colonial Powers and their allies refuse to implement it. The Czechoslovak delegation is therefore wholly in favour of the adoption, with a view to further action on decolonization, of a specific plan of measures along the lines of those contained in the draft submitted to the General Assembly by the Special Committee on decolonization [A/8086, para. 40]. We fully agree with the idea expressed in this draft that at the present stage in the national liberation struggle it is necessary to arouse world public opinion and promote practical action for the speedy liquidation of colonialism in all its forms.

11. We attach particular importance to the provision in the draft programme which declares that the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations is a crime which constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the principles of international law.

12. The Czechoslovak delegation also attaches great importance to the provision reaffirming the inherent right of colonial peoples to struggle by all means at their disposal against colonial Powers, i.e., even by armed force. The formulation contained in the draft under consideration is in full accord with several earlier resolutions adopted by the United Nations between the fifteenth and the present sessions of the General Assembly. In this connexion I should like to draw attention to resolution 2105 (XX), which defined the continuation of colonial rule and the practice of *apartheid* and racial discrimination as a crime against humanity. I should also like to recall those decisions of the United Nations in which, *inter alia*, the activities of the colonial Government of Portugal and the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia—which are using every available means to stifle the aspirations of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia and Zimbabwe to freedom and independence—as well as the activities of foreign monopolies which are exploiting the peoples of the colonial Territories are condemned as contrary to the United Nations Charter. The United Nations has also already recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of

the peoples of colonial and dependent Territories for national independence and the full exercise of their right to self-determination.

13. The draft before us is fully in line with the spirit of the draft Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [A/8082, para. 8], which was recently discussed in the Sixth Committee and approved in the General Assembly [1860th meeting].

14. Today, the attention of the colonial peoples is once again quite justifiably focused on our Organization. The United Nations cannot betray the trust of the peoples which have placed their hopes in it.

15. The Czechoslovak delegation will vote for the draft programme of action for speeding up the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in the form in which it has been submitted to us by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We understand that this draft is the culmination of persistent efforts to find a way out of the situation which has arisen with regard to the struggle against the remnants of colonialism, and my delegation accordingly considers the draft to be the result of perseverance and creative work by the Special Committee.

16. This document will also be a worthy contribution to the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations and will undoubtedly enhance the Organization's prestige.

17. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is ready to take part in the accelerated implementation of this programme, and to this end it will continue to give not only moral but also the necessary material support to the peoples struggling for their sacred right to self-determination, freedom and independence.

18. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): "Anything that is excessive carries no weight." That remark uttered by Talleyrand to be pondered by diplomats and Governments is just as pertinent 150 years later, in an organization with a world-wide mission. Having taken full advantage of it for 25 years, the United Nations—albeit haltingly—has arrived at a haven despite many shoals and difficulties and is now starting ceremonies in celebration of its arrival. It is regrettable that the sponsors of the programme of action [A/8086, para. 40] forgot that wise and effective maxim when drafting the document they have submitted to us.

19. France flatters itself that a long time ago it proclaimed certain universal principles, first and foremost among which was the right of peoples to self-determination. My country is also gratified this year to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the accession to independence of countries that France earlier adminis-

tered. My delegation feels in a good position, serenely and calmly, to analyse the resolutions regarding application of Chapters XI and XIII of the Charter.

20. As we recalled from this rostrum during the twenty-fourth session, on 14 December 1960 we could not approve a text which, although doubtless extremely generous in spirit, went beyond a solemn reaffirmation of the principle of self-determination and a condemnation of any type of subjugation, or any threat to the integrity, of a country, and thus beyond certain provisions of the Charter. We have of course in the last few years applauded the accession to sovereignty and independence of a number of once dependent Territories, and we have upheld all steps that might effectively lead to the achievement of the process of decolonization. We are still determined to follow that same line, which is the only one compatible with our ideals and responsibilities.

21. In the same spirit, and with the same thoughts in mind, we shall not be able to vote in favour of the adoption of a document we believe to be flawed. Substantively, it transgresses a number of Charter provisions. It also runs counter to certain other declarations and programmes intended to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization which would call for unanimity. As far as form is concerned, this catalogue, subdivided into numberless parts, mixes together the important with the secondary, and because of the violence of some aspects and the weakness of others, is not in keeping with the solemnity of these moments in the life of the Organization. But—most important—it will not serve the purpose for which it is intended. Need I recall that the Organization had reason to rejoice not because one side or the other obtained a majority for one or the other of the drafts, but because, united in a single effort, the Member States triumphed over a scourge, avoided a threat to peace or restored freedom to a human community? Need I recall that our objective, sole objective, in this matter must be the free exercise of the right of self-determination by those who are still deprived of it?

22. This programme, as we all know, is intended first of all to contribute to redressing the situation in the southern part of Africa, but in the text proposed to us one finds neither the thought nor the style of Africa as evidenced, for example, so successfully in the Lusaka Manifesto.¹ All that would have constituted in our view so many reasons to vote against a text that could not serve the interests of decolonization. However, out of a feeling of understanding towards our friends from Africa, and because, on the objective sought, the self-determination of all peoples, we have never compromised, we shall abstain.

23. Mr. BRONNIKOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The great October Socialist Revolution in Russia dealt a powerful blow to the colonial system, under which an insignificant handful of imperialist countries had dominated the majority of the population of the world, plundered

the colonial peoples and divided and redivided whole continents.

24. On the initiative of Lenin, the Soviet State solemnly proclaimed a complete break with the barbarous policies of *bourgeois* civilization which had built up the prosperity of the exploiters in certain chosen nations by enslaving hundreds of millions of workers in Asia, in the colonies in general and in the small countries. The peoples of the colonies found in the first socialist State a loyal friend and staunch champion of the national liberation of all oppressed peoples. With the friendly and constantly increasing support of all kinds given by the Soviet Union, by the other socialist States and by the entire world revolutionary movement, the national liberation struggle has brought about the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism. Dozens of young national States have embarked on the path of independent development.

25. Noting this development—one of the most momentous of modern times—the peoples of the world are paying due credit to Vladimir Ilich Lenin who, even at a time when the system of colonial oppression appeared to be invincible, foresaw—on the basis of a profound scientific analysis of trends in the development of human society—that the national liberation movements would inevitably triumph and that the liberated peoples would assume a growing role in international life and international relations.

26. Guided by Leninist principles of national policy, we have unswervingly upheld the view that the United Nations should contribute to the maximum possible extent to the liberation of colonial peoples. Among the measures adopted by the United Nations for the elimination of the shameful system of colonialism, a special place is quite justifiably occupied by the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was adopted in 1960 on the initiative of the Soviet Union.

27. Reflecting the demands of the peoples of the entire world that colonialism in all its forms and manifestations should be brought to a speedy and unconditional end, this Declaration has now for 10 years played an important mobilizing role in the struggle against colonial oppression. The achievements in this field have been the result of the persistent and heroic struggle of the oppressed peoples with the support of all progressive forces in the world.

28. However, the colonialists, guided by their political, economic, military and strategic interests, are disregarding the will of the peoples and the decisions of the United Nations and are still clinging to the remnants of the crumbling colonial system.

29. Against the background of the tremendous successes of the national liberation movement, the inhumanity of the ideologies and practices of colonialism and the monstrous crimes committed by the colonial racists of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal—who, by force of arms and with the support of the major imperialist Powers and the NATO bloc,

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

are trying to hold tens of millions of people in bondage—stand out in particularly sharp relief. The colonialists are also making extensive use of neo-colonialist methods for suppressing the national liberation movement.

30. The United Nations will not have completed its task in regard to the liberation of the colonial peoples until all peoples at present held by force under the yoke of colonialist bondage have obtained freedom and independence. It is precisely from this standpoint that we view the draft programme of action [A/8086, para. 40] for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, submitted to the General Assembly by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration.

31. The text of the programme before us rightly notes that the Declaration has played and will continue to play an important role in assisting the peoples under colonial domination in their struggle for freedom and independence. This historic document has unquestionably contributed to the fact that in the past 10 years, some 30 more countries have achieved political independence.

32. On the basis of the provisions of the Declaration and subsequent resolutions of the United Nations, the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia, Zimbabwe and other colonial Territories are waging the struggle for their freedom and independence.

33. We attach particular importance to the provisions in the programme declaring that the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations is a crime, reaffirming the inherent right of colonial peoples to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against colonial Powers which suppress their aspiration for freedom and independence, and calling upon States to render all necessary moral and material support to the struggling peoples in colonial Territories.

34. The programme rightly demands the adoption of effective measures for the complete elimination of colonial rule in all dependent Territories and the cessation of all forms of repression by the colonialists against the colonial peoples.

35. It is perfectly natural that major attention should be focused on the problems of southern Africa and the need to end the political, military, economic and other forms of aid given by the Western Powers to the Salisbury, Lisbon and Pretoria régimes.

36. We also welcome the provisions of the programme aimed at putting an end to all military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration and stopping the activities and practices of foreign economic, financial and other interests operating in colonial Territories for the benefit and on behalf of the colonial Powers and their allies. Although this programme, which provides for a number of other useful measures as well, has not yet dotted

all the "i's" and will undoubtedly have to be supplemented in future by more specific and thoroughgoing measures, it can play a positive role in the struggle for the complete elimination of colonialism. We therefore support this document.

37. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic wishes once again, at this commemorative session of the General Assembly celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations and the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, to reaffirm its determination to contribute in every possible way to the attainment of the lofty objective proclaimed in the Declaration and to assist peoples striving to attain and strengthen their national independence, and all peoples which are fighting for the complete abolition of the colonial system.

38. Mr. BENITES (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Government that I have the honour to represent is one of the members of the Committee of Twenty-Four and my delegation has had the satisfaction of participating in the work of the Group designated to prepare the document that the General Assembly is today considering [A/8086]. That is why I come to the rostrum today to explain the point of view of my delegation.

39. In the course of the work of the Group my delegation consistently endeavoured to serve as an element of liaison and conciliation. We at all times tried to find common ground of understanding. We have tried to soften harshness and to remove stridence; in a word to serve as an element for the settling of existing differences cordially. Thus the draft was prepared, and I wish to state today, that it was only at the eleventh hour, only when the draft had been prepared and almost completed after a very lengthy discussion that there appeared amendments, modifications and suggestions, many of which were not at any time similar to those that have been voiced from this rostrum today. My delegation would specifically have preferred conciliation and harmony in order to seek the best ways of achieving a document which might have been adopted by consensus.

40. I must say that it has not been imposed by the Group nor is it the result of immaturity since the document was widely discussed for the last two months. Perhaps the only thing which did occur was that political differences regarding the approach to colonialism were so great that it was impossible to arrive at a solution satisfactory to all those people still suffering under the colonial yoke and to those who still wield colonial power.

41. My delegation agreed to form part of the Working Group as my Government agreed to belong to the Special Committee—usually termed the Committee of Twenty-Four—because we felt it a duty born of the very essence of our history and therefore one that brooked no delay. We, of Latin America, obtained our independence and freedom at the cost of blood, at the cost of lengthy struggles, at the cost of immense

sacrifices, and until very recently paying back the loans necessary to carry out those liberating campaigns. Over fifteen years of strife, the very flower of our youth slaughtered on the battlefields: that was the price we paid for our emancipation and that was little more than 150 years ago.

42. Although at present I speak only on behalf of Ecuador, I believe I am expressing the feeling of all when I say that for that same reason we, the Latin American nations, have at all times placed ourselves in the forefront of the battle for those peoples that are still living under colonial domination. We would assist them, if possible, to achieve their freedom and independence without having to pass through the struggles, the sorrows and the sacrifices that we of Latin America paid for our own.

43. From the very moment the Charter of the United Nations laid down the basic and fundamental duties towards oppressed peoples, we feel we have done our duty. The Charter very clearly lays down as one of its basic aims—since it too was born of a war, one of whose main factors was discrimination—respect for human dignity and the value of the human person. There can be no concept of the value of the dignity of the human person while in the world there still exists that collective form of slavery which we call colonialism.

44. It is significant to note that when we, the Latin American countries, emerged from that colonial status the most brutal and opprobrious form of colonialism reared its head. The time when we were emerging from that colonial existence to enter independent life was the moment when the great economic forms born of the Industrial Revolution began to explore the distant world and to subjugate Africa. The ignominious slavery of individual man was followed by the ignominious slavery of collective man, named colonialism. That was accepted in the League of Nations because, although mention was made there of a sacred charge, the concept of colonialism was allowed to persist and Field-Marshal Smuts created forms of mandate, two of which at least were to be applied to those he termed irremediably lost and barbaric people who could never live within the framework of civilized existence.

45. We have fought for 25 years to abolish this concept, to eradicate it from minds and uproot it from hearts. Surely much has been accomplished. It is true that many of the colonial Powers—I specifically point to the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands among others—have led many of their peoples to independence and self-government. Others present in this Assembly hall have had to obtain their independence at the cost of blood. Many are still fighting on the borders of the freed countries of Africa in order to free themselves from other colonial yokes.

46. We are criticized because at times we explain our sympathy for those men who fight with weapons in their hands to achieve the independence of their countries. I reply that when I vote on behalf of my country in favour of giving help to peoples that take

up weapons to achieve the freedom of their countries I am being true to the history of my country, which thus achieved its own independence and thus came to freedom.

47. That is why my delegation, which has at all times sought to find formulas for conciliation, considers and formally states from this rostrum that the draft resolution is not perfect, that it obviously has points which might have been changed if improvements had been suggested at the right time. Fundamental changes might have been made had they been put forward and negotiated in time. But even if it is flawed, we cannot always look to the past and restate the Declaration of ten years ago. In those ten years there has been progress, in a world of change and transformation where obsolete concepts and anachronisms such as colonial domination can no longer be allowed to exist.

48. For that reason, although my delegation does not believe the draft we presented to the Committee of Twenty-Four perfect—and we offered to co-operate to improve it, to negotiate it, to make it more viable, we shall nevertheless vote in favour of it because it is the only one we can offer at this moment with dignity, to those countries which are still suffering under the domination of peoples that have no right to keep them in subjection, under racist régimes which outrage human dignity—régimes like those in southern Africa which are contrary to the Charter because they lack respect for the dignity and worth of the human person.

49. Mr. ENE (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is among those events that could not give us full satisfaction, because a number of peoples and Territories in various parts of the world, and particularly in southern Africa, are still under foreign domination.

50. Adopted 10 years ago on the initiative of the Soviet Union, the Declaration at that time confirmed the irreversible march of the historic process of achievement by peoples of a free and independent life and it was intended to speed up that development.

51. Now that we are celebrating this anniversary we feel that the common will of Member States must be expressed to fight with determination for the final liquidation of the last vestiges of the colonial system and to support the struggle of peoples against colonialism and neo-colonialism for their freedom and national independence. The programme of action, a draft [A/8086, para. 40] of which has been submitted to us by the Committee of Twenty-Four, contains a number of plans along those lines.

52. The Romanian delegation continues to believe, as we have declared at other times and in other places, that United Nations action in the field of decolonization must be concentrated primarily on two mutually complementary aspects: first, measures must be taken to ensure that the administering Powers will give up their colonial and racist policies, which are incompatible with the imperatives and requirements of our day; and

second, the Organization is in duty bound to give all moral, political and material assistance to oppressed peoples by supporting national liberation movements.

53. It is true that the United Nations has made some progress in those directions; but we believe that those steps are not yet completely effective. The programme of action that we are called upon to consider and approve is also designed to make the actions of the United Nations in the field of decolonization more effective which is why we support it.

54. In this connexion the Romanian delegation considers it particularly important to reaffirm in the programme the inherent and natural right of colonial peoples to fight with all the means at their disposal to obtain their freedom and independence. This is a unanimously recognized right of all the peoples that our delegations represent here and therefore we could hardly deny these rights to peoples still under the colonial yoke.

55. Furthermore, the appeal to Member States to give all necessary moral and material assistance to the peoples in colonial Territories in their struggle to attain independence seems extremely important and most significant at a time when the sacred right of all peoples to a free and sovereign existence is vigorously gaining more ground.

56. The Romanian people, which suffered under foreign oppression for centuries and from which it freed itself after very harsh conflicts, cannot but warmly support the just cause of those that are struggling to obtain their freedom. Romania is firmly convinced of the need to act in accordance with the political and moral imperatives of today which require that all peoples enjoy the right to self-determination, which must be the essential premise of any true co-operation among nations, and has always spoken in favour of full and urgent compliance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It is because we base ourselves on those principles that the Romanian delegation intends to support any act or measure that will lead to the achievement of that goal.

57. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): Pakistan, which is not a member of the Special Committee, welcomes and supports the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples as set forth in that Committee's report [A/8086, para. 40].

58. The historic General Assembly resolution on decolonization, namely resolution 514 (XV), the tenth anniversary of which is being observed in this commemorative session, has undoubtedly provided aid and comfort to peoples struggling against colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. There is no need for me to recount the great progress that has been made since that resolution was adopted in promoting the freedom and independence of dependent peoples in the regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

59. The task before us is not so much to look back at what has been accomplished, impressive as that is,

as to adopt a programme of action to liquidate the remaining vestiges of colonialism and alien domination wherever they still exist. That task must remain a priority item of our agenda, for unquestionably it is among the top priorities set for us by the imperative of maintaining international peace.

60. The Special Committee has rightly listed as the first of the series of actions in the programme the duty of Member States to promote within the United Nations system effective measures for the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and, in particular, effective measures by the Security Council against Governments and régimes which engage in any form of colonial repression. Foremost among such Governments and régimes are those of South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia, whose intransigence constitutes the greatest impediment to the maintenance of peace and security in southern Africa.

61. It is a matter of regret to the Pakistan delegation that the Security Council has time and again stopped short of taking effective measures against any of the three régimes. True, it has imposed an arms embargo against the Government of South Africa and comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. But so far those measures have failed to achieve their objective. Those authorities, as well as Portugal, not only continue to pursue, but also intensify, their policies of colonial oppression and *apartheid* against the peoples of southern Africa, including Namibia.

62. The inability of the Security Council to take more effective measures to secure the implementation of its own resolutions on the situations in southern Africa stems, as is well known, from the unwillingness of three of its permanent members to proceed to enlarge at least the economic sanctions to include Portugal and South Africa. Accordingly, the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and the Portuguese Territories are losing faith in the ability of the United Nations to bring about a peaceful transition from colonial rule to freedom and independence. They are turning to the road of armed struggle to achieve their liberation.

63. Does not the history of the past 25 years strike us as pregnant with warning? Wherever colonial Powers have recognized the right of peoples to self-determination the world has been spared much war and violence; wherever the right has been denied or its fulfilment unconscionably delayed armed conflicts have broken out. At this time in the life of the United Nations all of us must seek to profit from this lesson of history. All of us must pause and ask ourselves: should history be allowed to repeat itself in southern Africa and elsewhere where peoples are denied peaceful deliverance from alien domination?

64. The United Nations and the international community have recognized the legitimacy of the struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination. This has so far been perhaps the United Nations' greatest contribution. This Organization is also committed to moral and material aid to the freedom movements. Con-

sequently, we believe that the programme of action suggested by the Special Committee needs to be adopted with as much support as possible.

65. We note with satisfaction the recommendation that the Special Committee should continue in being to examine the full compliance of all States with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and compliance with other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization. But the primary responsibility rests with the Security Council as the key organ, inasmuch as the Security Council has acknowledged the link between self-determination and the maintenance of international peace and security, and it is to that primary organ that the world will look for a peaceful resolution of the conflicts in the region of southern Africa.

66. Is it too much to hope that in the coming years the Security Council will take measures more effective than those it has taken in the past?

67. Mr. Yilma TADESSE (Ethiopia): My delegation takes the floor to add its voice to those of the delegations which have spoken already in support of this important document now before us. The draft programme of action contained in paragraph 40 of document A/8086 is designed, as its title suggests, to help lay out a programme which ought to be followed by States Members of this Organization in the over-all effort directed towards the eradication of colonialism.

68. Exactly a decade ago the General Assembly adopted the historic resolution 514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and 10 years thereafter there are still 28 million persons in 45 dependent Territories still deprived of their rights of self-determination and independence. What is more disheartening is the fact that, as stated by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report [A/8001/Add.1 and Corr.1], the pace of decolonization has markedly slowed down in recent years. This is an apt description of the general situation in regard to decolonization in the world today.

69. In the southern part of the African continent, however, the problem is even more critical. Massive violation of fundamental human rights continues unabated. Immense atrocities are committed in the name of the preservation of law and order, and Africans whose only crime is their wish to be free are subjected to arbitrary arrest and detention. Millions of persons in that part of the world remain the victims of racism and exploitation. The economic interests of outsiders and the military arrangements of colonial Powers have complicated the whole issue of decolonization.

70. In view of the gravity and complexity of the situation, it is only fair that a reassessment be made of the approach to dealing with this anachronism of our time, if this Organization is to be successful in restoring the inalienable rights of peoples to self-determination and independence, and thus live up to its obligation to mankind as a whole. The document before us, in my view, is a reflection of the prevailing

anxiety and deep concern regarding the problem of colonialism. In its preambular paragraphs the present document expresses, among other things, the need to arouse world public opinion against the evils of colonialism, reaffirms the right of colonial peoples to self-determination and underlines the fact that alien domination is among the principal impediments to the maintenance of international peace and security. In its operative paragraphs it declares colonialism to be a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It further reaffirms the right of colonial peoples to struggle, by all necessary means at their disposal, against colonial Powers which refuse to recognize the right of self-determination. In consequence, the document commends the adoption of a programme of action which, *inter alia*, requests Member States to promote effective measures in the United Nations and in its specialized agencies so that colonialism will be brought to a speedy end; and it further requests Member States to extend moral and material assistance to those who have chosen to struggle for their freedom, as millions of others have been compelled to do in the past.

71. In its other provisions the programme of action requests, suggests and recommends various measures to be taken by Member States so that the objectives set out in the United Nations Charter and in the Declaration can be fulfilled and justice done to the cause of freedom and the millions of persons still suffering in the clutches of colonialism. The support of my delegation for the draft programme of action now before us is consistent with its Government's abiding commitment to peace, justice and equality. It is the conviction of my Government that all attempts to perpetuate colonialism must be resolutely rejected by the international community, not only on the basis of principle alone, but also because my Government feels that lasting peace and security will be in constant jeopardy as long as a significant portion of mankind remains condemned to bondage and serfdom and continues to be denied the recognition of its existence as part of the human family.

72. In conclusion, my delegation expresses its hope that this draft programme of action will command the wide support it deserves. May I also take this opportunity of drawing the attention of the Assembly to the fact that, by its own decision, leaders of liberation movements were to have been invited, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, to participate in the anniversary celebrations of the United Nations. The Special Committee, in the report now before Members, and the Rapporteur of that Committee have drawn attention to that fact. My delegation hopes that appropriate action will be taken in that regard.

73. Mr. SIMUCHIMBA (Zambia): On behalf of the people of Zambia and of my delegation, I rise to pay a special tribute to this Organization for its relentless fight against colonialism. It is also gratifying to note that Zambia was born on 24 October 1964, which is United Nations Day. We decided on 24 October as our national day as a sign of respect for this Organization.

74. In southern Africa and in West Africa there are still 40 million persons under the yoke of *apartheid*, in South Africa, Zimbabwe and in the Portuguese assimilations of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Most of those people are even more educated than their so-called masters, and the only reason for their subjugation is that they are black. The criterion is colour, and not the ability of those people. If one speaks in terms of numbers, one will find that in that area, under *apartheid*, no more than 4 million whites dominate 40 million blacks. They prevent their fellow men from exercising the very rights and aspirations which they enjoy themselves. They have kept their fellow men in slavery and servitude for all this time. Materialism has replaced the human soul. Balance of payments by certain big Powers has taken precedence over their fellow men in southern Africa.

75. Although we are celebrating in this Organization the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on decolonization we still have mixed feelings because we see that the architects of freedom and self-determination are the very people who deny others the enjoyment of the same right. We still find the same big Powers—whose countries revolted against their Governments in 1688 or 1797—not heeding what other Members of this Organization say.

76. As we celebrate this anniversary we say to our fellow representatives that the time has come when they must act with wisdom and that they should not use materialism or the balance of payments of their Governments as a justification for not giving their fellow men their rights. Let those big Powers be reassured that when freedom does come to those areas of colonialism the African people will never raise a finger against them and they will continue to balance their payments.

77. The PRESIDENT: We have now exhausted the list of speakers on this item. I therefore invite representatives to turn to the suggested programme of action recommended by the Special Committee in paragraph 40 of document A/8086.

78. Regarding the financial implications, I am informed by the Secretary-General that, as the activities envisaged under the various recommendations contained in the programme of action closely relate to the programme of work for 1971 which the Special Committee expects to formulate before the conclusion of the present session, it is the intention of the Secretary-General to submit the required report on the financial implications concerning those recommendations when the relevant report of the Special Committee and the draft resolution relating thereto become available to the General Assembly in connexion with its consideration of item 23.

79. The Secretary-General wishes to note in that connexion that a provision of \$200,000 was made in the budget estimate for 1971, on a provisional basis, covering the activities of the Special Committee for that year.

80. Before we proceed to the vote I should like to point out that the first preambular paragraph of the suggested programme of action appears in brackets. Its final wording will depend on the decision of the General Assembly—this afternoon, I hope—on the recommendation of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations regarding the organization of the commemorative session [A/8060/Add.1]. I would therefore propose that we leave this editorial change to the Secretariat. If I hear no objection I shall take it that the Assembly agrees.

It was so decided.

81. The PRESIDENT: It has been suggested that a vote should be taken on the programme of action. However, before we proceed to the vote I shall call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to explain their vote.

82. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand): Ever since the inauguration of the United Nations New Zealand has believed that this Organization has an immensely valuable role to play in promoting and facilitating the process of decolonization.

83. At the San Francisco Conference in 1945 the Prime Minister of New Zealand was Chairman of the Trusteeship Committee, which drew up Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the United Nations Charter. The New Zealand delegation also played a prominent part in formulating the constructive—and, for those days, the novel—ideas on international accountability which formed the basis of those three Chapters of the Charter.

84. New Zealand lost no time in meeting these new international obligations by placing all four Territories then dependent upon it under those Chapters. For some twenty years New Zealand was a member of the Trusteeship Council, participating actively in its work and serving as a member of many visiting missions. In 1960 New Zealand voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)—the Declaration on colonialism. We were the only administering Power to do so, and we have taken effective measures to comply with the Declaration's objectives in the relevant Pacific Territories in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of their peoples. In 1962 Western Samoa, which since 1947 had been a Trust Territory under New Zealand administration, became the first independent Pacific Trust Territory. In August 1965 the people of the Cook Islands, a Territory until that time under New Zealand administration, exercised their right to self-determination under United Nations supervision by choosing to become fully self-governing in full association with New Zealand.

85. That event was important for two reasons. It was the first occasion on which an Administering Authority invited representatives of the United Nations to be present to verify, on behalf of the international community, an act of self-determination in a Non-Self-Governing Territory. It was also the first time that a General Assembly resolution spelled out the legitimacy of a status other than full sovereign indepen-

dence. That was a development of considerable significance for the future status of many small dependent Territories.

86. The responsibilities which New Zealand accepted in 1947 together with Australia and the United Kingdom under the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement for Nauru have also been discharged, and in January 1968 Nauru took its place as an independent State.

87. In complete accordance with the Declaration on colonialism New Zealand is assisting with the advancement of its two remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories, Niue and the Tokelau Islands, as rapidly as the islanders themselves consider appropriate.

88. For New Zealand, an administering Power which has extended every co-operation to the United Nations in the field of decolonization and has played a not inconsiderable part in the actual development and interpretation of the relevant principles of the Charter, it is a deep disappointment in these circumstances to be faced with the draft resolution contained in document A/8086. My delegation considers it to be singularly unfortunate that in 1970, a year in which we expected to mark the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on colonialism in a constructive way, the Special Committee has chosen to present us with a text which sweeps aside the provisions of the Charter and is marked by a complete failure to differentiate between different situations.

89. My delegation would not wish, in considering the examples of colonial domination which still exist in the world, particularly in southern Africa, to deny the manifest injustices and inequities which persist there. We agree that these problems are grave and call for urgent attention, but we find that the text of this programme of action is too inflexible over the whole range of colonial questions and that it fails to acknowledge the strenuous and determined efforts made by many former and present administering Powers to prepare and bring dependent peoples to freedom over the last twenty-five years. I would refer in particular to operative paragraph 1 which:

"Declares the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations a crime which constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the principles of international law".

90. Many of the paragraphs which follow are extreme in their formulation and unrealistic in their suggestions. We can find nothing of relevance to New Zealand's experience. We have looked in vain for any reference whatsoever to one of the major tasks remaining in this field, the problem of exercising self-determination in small Territories. This is a complex problem demanding careful study and understanding. What possible value is there in a programme of action which ignores this subject?

91. An additional disappointment is the fact that other formulations were before the Special Committee. The

report shows that the United States, Italy and the United Kingdom proposed alternative texts and amendments. It can only be a matter for deep regret that the Committee majority showed itself unwilling to consider seriously or to accept a single one of these suggestions for modification.

92. The present unrealistic text gives New Zealand no alternative but to cast a negative vote. In 1960 New Zealand voted in favour of the Declaration on colonialism, which we believed stamped with the seal of the world community the principles under which all Territories must freely exercise their self-determination. We believe that in accordance with the principles of that Declaration later developments in New Zealand's former Territories during the 1960s were significant. Unfortunately, a decade later we must cast a negative vote on a text which takes no account of these important developments or of the special characteristics of Pacific Territories.

93. Mr. FINGER (United States of America): It is with deep regret that the delegation of the United States will be obliged to cast a negative vote on this draft resolution. Decolonization is a process which we strongly endorse and we should most sincerely have desired to support this programme of action. To this end, while expressing its reservations in detail in the Committee of Twenty-Four, my delegation offered specific amendments which, in our view, would have made the document not only acceptable but practicable. It is therefore a matter of regret and concern that despite the long association of the United States as a member of the Committee of Twenty-Four, not a single amendment suggested by my delegation on this highly important draft resolution was adopted.

94. I do not propose to detail again our specific objections. However, the programme of action, while laudable in objective, does not represent a useful or constructive approach to this problem of deep concern. In particular, it proposes courses of action in the Security Council which experience has shown cannot obtain the measure of support necessary to make them practicable.

95. It is not an easy matter for my delegation to be forced to cast a negative vote. In the area of southern Africa which has so preoccupied the Committee of Twenty-Four, our support for the principle of self-determination is clear. We have been as conscientious as any other nation in support of the arms embargo against South Africa. We have conscientiously embargoed arms for use in the Portuguese Territories. We have supported the United Nations position on Namibia and we have unilaterally taken steps—concrete actions—to demonstrate that support. We have firmly implemented the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. We justifiably feel that we stand with those seeking self-determination and human dignity in southern Africa. We shall continue to do so.

96. Mr. VON HIRSCHBERG (South Africa): South Africa will vote against the draft resolution incorporating the programme of action for implementation of the

Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. I shall not list my delegations's objections to the draft resolution. We believe, in so far as it pertains to South Africa, that it is inspired by political bias and formulated on the basis of misconceptions and distortions of the aims and objectives of my Government in southern Africa.

97. We have explained these aims and objectives on many occasions in this Organization and I do not believe that any purpose will be served by repeating them in the context of this document. However, I cannot refrain from expressing our grave concern at the stature and encouragement given directly and indirectly by this document to the so-called liberation movements and their adherents.

98. The United Nations is an Organization of peace. By contrast, it is the declared intention of these movements and their adherents to secure their objectives by the use of force. How can an Organization of peace sponsor and support organizations whose *raison d'être* is the perpetration of acts of violence, subversion and the like? A few weeks ago the Secretary-General called for a halt to subversive activities. Today, we find the Organization of which he is the head called upon to adopt a programme of action which will serve as a green light to subversion and other acts of violence on an ever-increasing scale in the future. How can this possibly be condoned? If the United Nations condones acts of violence and the use of force in the so-called colonial context, its authority to prevent violence and the use of force in other contexts must surely be greatly undermined. For what respect can the world have for an Organization which speaks with two voices on such a cardinal issue as peace and security?

99. It is remarkable in this respect that nowhere in this document is there any declaration that the assistance to be given to the peoples in colonial Territories should be in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the Charter. Nor is it stated anywhere that the United Nations insists that the recipients of the aid should act within the terms of the Charter. These elementary yet essential safeguards have been deliberately excluded from the document. The implication is clearly that the granting of military aid and the use of force for decolonization purposes are permissible so far as the United Nations is concerned. That is what the Assembly is being asked to endorse today.

100. This Organization is setting in motion something which it may in time come to regret, for this document is a prescription for the use of force and surely this Organization should not be a party to such a prescription. The General Assembly would do well to consider the implications carefully before approving the programme of action in the document before us. Having stated my delegation's position with regard to the programme of action, I would add that my Government is fully committed to the principle of self-determination and independence of peoples. That was reaffirmed by my Prime Minister in the South African Parliament last month and by my Foreign Minister in his statement in the general debate on 1 October [1857th meeting].

101. Specifically with regard to the Territory of South West Africa, my Government recognizes, and has so stated on many occasions, that the peoples of that Territory have an inalienable right to self-determination. We are committed to that principle and to creating conditions that will enable those peoples to realize their ambitions to the full.

102. I say that because of the numerous references to South West Africa in the debate today even though South West Africa is not a colony, and because it is important to place our aims in that Territory in true perspective.

103. Mr. SADRY (Iran): Ten years ago my delegation had the honour to introduce resolution 1514 (XV) in this very hall. Today, as we celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm that my Government's position in regard to the principles contained in that Declaration has remained unchanged. We have continued to give full support to all practical means that have been proposed to restore the rights of the colonial peoples and countries to freedom and independence. My delegation attaches the greatest importance to the sacred principles of human rights and self-determination as inscribed in the Charter and strongly believes that unless those principles are respected by the international community peace and security will continue to be endangered.

104. While we agree with some representatives that this programme of action is not ideal, we are nevertheless convinced that in the circumstances a perfect programme of action is not possible. However, this programme of action does in fact command the support of a great majority, and for that reason my delegation is happy to endorse it and will vote in favour of it.

105. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in paragraph 40 of the Special Committee's report [A/8086]. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Republic of the Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden.

The draft resolution was adopted by 86 votes to 5, with 15 abstentions [resolution 2621 (XXV)].²

106. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to explain their votes.

107. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): On behalf of the delegations of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and Norway I have the honour to offer the following explanation of vote regarding the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples that has just been adopted by the General Assembly.

108. The Nordic countries belong to that great majority within the United Nations that voted for the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which complemented the provisions of the Charter in this respect and has laid the foundation for a decade of further efforts by the United Nations in the historic process of decolonization. Over these ten years our countries have consistently striven to further the realization of the objectives of the Declaration by supporting such United Nations actions as appeared to us to be constructive, effective and consonant with the Charter of the United Nations.

109. Our countries share a firm conviction that all peoples of Territories under colonial administration have an inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence, and we remain committed to seeking the fulfilment of their aspirations.

110. In view of our commitment to support the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, our delegations had hoped that the observance of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration would have been accompanied by the adoption of a programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration that would have commanded the same wide support in the General Assembly as the Declaration itself. We had hoped that we could have avoided the divisiveness of a vote in order to avoid any impression which might promote the hopes and interests of those who do not share the common goals of the United Nations. To achieve a united expression of what we believe to be a unity of purpose among the great majority of Member States our delegations would have been willing to re-examine our own positions with a view to reaching agreement with the majority on meaningful steps towards the fulfilment of those ideals of self-

determination that are now embedded in the Declaration. That has been the background of our study of the draft programme of action presented by the Special Committee.

111. After searching consultations among ourselves and contacts with delegations that took part in the original drafting of the text before us, our delegations have regretfully reached the conclusion that was expressed in our abstention. This position has been materially influenced by the judgement that the programme of action does not adequately reflect a distinction between various forms of colonialism which in our analysis is fairly apparent today. In the work of the various United Nations organs we find a clear differentiation between the colonial problems of southern Africa and the problems that arise from the dispersion over wide areas of other parts of the world of smaller and more isolated Territories which for a variety of historical reasons have come to be administered under a colonial system.

112. Political conditions in southern Africa form one of the major international problems of the day, and the Security Council has characterized one aspect of that situation, the situation in Southern Rhodesia, as constituting a threat to international peace and security. Questions relating to all areas of southern Africa have been the subject of consideration by the Security Council. The potential for effective United Nations action to deal with the situation in southern Africa is subject to recognized limitations, which follow from certain basic political realities which we cannot disregard. The Security Council must, however, continue its search for effective and constructive means by which the peoples of the colonial Territories of that area could be enabled to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence.

113. With regard to that other category of smaller colonial Territories, there seems to be scope for considerable further action by the United Nations. Our delegations feel that it might have been possible to work out a programme of action which could have set out certain guidelines for the future work of the United Nations in this respect, and that it could have been possible in the process of working out such a text to find ways of enlisting the support and co-operation of the administering Powers. However, as the draft programme of action was being evolved it became clear that the distinctions between the various types of colonial situations were not taken into account in a measure which was sufficient to provide for specific, negotiated and concrete provisions about this aspect of decolonization. By treating all colonial situations, without distinction, in the same manner, the text of the programme of action may have failed to exert to the fullest possible extent the pressures which the majority of the Members of the United Nations are prepared to bring to bear on the situation in southern Africa.

114. Furthermore, in addition to that general observation, our delegations have found themselves in considerable doubt as regards the consistency of certain elements of the programme of action with the language

² The delegations of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Honduras, Lesotho and Zambia subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of the draft resolution; and those of Botswana and France, that they wished to be recorded as having abstained.

of the United Nations Charter. The Charter may be regarded as the constitution of modern international society, and must as such have an overriding obligatory force for Member States. That Charter also forms the basis for our opposition to those Governments that still do not recognize the right of self-determination and that do not see it as an international duty to fulfil the wishes of populations under their colonial administration for freedom and independence. If the majority of the United Nations proceeds beyond the framework of the Charter, this may weaken the claim of the United Nations to influence the position of Governments that do not agree with that majority. Our delegations are therefore unable to lend their support to certain statements in the text, even though we would not disagree with the spirit in which those statements are made or the objectives which they would seek to attain.

115. The General Assembly did not reach a position of unanimity today. This should not be interpreted as an indication that the vast majority of the Members of the United Nations are no longer committed to the goals of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We stand by that commitment, and we will continue to work for the implementation of the Declaration. We will continue to support proposals in all organs of the United Nations that appear to us effective and constructive. We are confident that the United Nations will continue to contribute decisively to the full realization of the ideals of national self-determination that are embodied in the Declaration.

116. Mr. AŞIROĞLU (Turkey) (*intepretation from French*): The Turkish delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution that has just been adopted by the General Assembly. As a co-sponsor of resolution 1514 (XV) on decolonization Turkey subscribes to the general idea and spirit of this new resolution. However, my delegation has certain reservations with respect to the wording of paragraph 1, as well as sub-paragraphs (b) and (c) of operative paragraph 3. Had the General Assembly taken separate votes, my delegation would have abstained from the vote on the aforementioned paragraph and sub-paragraphs.

117. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece): The Greek delegation voted in favour of the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This reflects my country's consistent policy of opposition to colonialism in all its forms. I have taken the floor in order merely to put on record the reservations we have on certain provisions of the programme contained in sub-paragraphs (b), (c) (ii), (d) and (f) (iii) of operative paragraph 3.

118. Mr. OGISO (Japan): My delegation fully supports the objective of the programme of action, namely, to put an end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations so that all peoples may enjoy the right to self-determination. The achievement of this objective will be best ensured, in our view, if the Members of the United Nations act in concert. My delegation believes that it is only by such concerted action that the United

Nations can exert strong pressure on the remaining colonial Powers.

119. However, the programme of action which has just been put to the vote contains certain elements which would not be acceptable to many Member States. It also involves some problems of interpretation of the United Nations Charter. I am referring in this connexion to operative paragraph 1 and certain parts of operative paragraph 3, namely, (c) (i), the second sub-paragraph of (c) (ii), and (d) and (e) of the programme. For these reasons we were obliged to abstain from the vote which has just been taken.

120. Mr. BEAULNE (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): It was a pleasure in 1960 for Canada to vote in favour of resolution 1514 (XV) which contained the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We voted in favour of that resolution at the time because we felt, to cite that Declaration, that all peoples have the right to self-determination, and pursuant to that right they freely decide on their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

121. We highly regret that the General Assembly has just adopted a new resolution concerning colonialism which was not drawn from the wide consensus of 1960 and I have no hesitation in believing that, as previous speakers this afternoon have said, particularly the representative of Ecuador, had consultations of adequate scope been undertaken a programme of action of a realistic nature could have been presented to the General Assembly for the implementation of the Declaration. Unfortunately, the resolution on which my delegation today abstained is ambiguous in many ways and not very practicable in many of its provisions. I shall cite only one example of this ambiguity I refer to and of its lack of realism. When reading this programme of action one might be led to believe that Pitcairn Island and Southern Rhodesia are placed on an equal footing, which definitely was not the idea in the minds of those who sponsored the resolution.

122. Although the delegation of Canada abstained on the programme of action I stress that Canada has always upheld and will continue to support the principle that all colonial peoples have the right to self-determination, and moreover as far as Canada is concerned, that they have the right to freedom and independence. I regret that the wording of the resolution before us stood in the way of Canada's supporting it.

123. Mr. EILAN (Israel): Israel voted in favour of the suggested programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples as indeed Israel supported the original resolution 1514 (XV) ten years ago because, as our voting record these ten years has unmistakably shown, Israel has invariably supported the efforts of the United Nations to combat the ills and evils of colonialism.

124. Israel's support for the draft resolution just adopted does not, however, by any means imply our unequivocal acceptance of or agreement with all the paragraphs contained therein, and especially not with the way in which some of them are worded. The wording of some paragraphs is not in full accordance with the spirit of the Charter and, had a separate vote been demanded on those paragraphs, we would have had to give due expression to our reservations.

125. Mr. CREMIN (Ireland): The Irish delegation voted in favour of this resolution in order to express its support of reaffirmation of resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We voted for that resolution in 1960 and we have always favoured its implementation. Like the vast majority of delegations we deplore the continuance, particularly in southern Africa, of oppressive colonial régimes. However, my delegation wishes to state that had there been separate paragraph-by-paragraph voting we would have been obliged to abstain on some paragraphs.

126. We would have abstained on operative paragraph 1, which declares that colonialism in all its forms and manifestations is a crime constituting a violation of the United Nations Charter and the principles of international law. While we deplore the continued oppression of peoples by colonial Powers, we do not consider that the formulation in this paragraph is altogether accurate. The position regarding colonial Territories is explicitly outlined in Chapter XI of the Charter and in Chapters XII and XIII with specific reference to Trust Territories. We appreciate and share the strong feelings about colonialism which have motivated the inclusion of this paragraph, but we do not feel that the conclusions with regard to the Charter and international law can be justified. Indeed, the language of this paragraph and certain other parts of the text is, in the judgement of my delegation, somewhat extravagant.

127. My delegation would also have abstained on operative paragraph 3 (c) (ii) of the resolution. We fully support the desire of other delegations to reiterate the concern that is felt by the General Assembly at the situation in southern Africa and to bring that concern to the attention of the Security Council. However, we doubt whether it is appropriate to make very specific recommendations to the Security Council at a time when the Council has the situation in several of the Territories concerned under review.

128. We should likewise have abstained on operative paragraph 3 (e) inasmuch as we are not satisfied that all the military activities and arrangements undertaken by administering Powers in colonial Territories constitute an obstacle to self-determination and independence.

129. Finally, my delegation wishes to make clear that in voting for the resolution as a whole we do not interpret paragraph 3 (d) as a criticism of foreign economic investment as such in colonial Territories. We do not regard as wrong in itself investment in colonial Ter-

ritories which can often be of benefit to the peoples of the Territories concerned.

130. Mr. CARSALES (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Argentine delegation voted in favour of the suggested programme of action recommended by the Special Committee with regard to the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

131. Generally speaking, my delegation is in favour of the content of this document because we consider that it is intended to mark a more concrete milestone in the development of the irreversible tenets of the Declaration on decolonization. We trust that this will be the last of the milestones so that very soon these problems will no longer be the subject of debates in the United Nations but a source of study for investigators studying bygone eras.

132. From the beginning of the preparation of resolution 1514 (XV) my delegation worked actively to achieve the, to a large extent promising, results that we are assessing today. We shall continue to strive for the principles of decolonization as an objective as long as it is necessary to do so. In this context, I think it appropriate to recall that resolution 1514 (XV) should be implemented wholly and completely, that is to say, that the process of decolonization should be carried out without in any way at any time damaging or prejudicing the principle of the territorial integrity of States. This is the understanding with which my delegation supported this resolution.

133. We voted in favour, yet my delegation would like to make known its reservations regarding some points in this programme of action which do not entirely satisfy us. I refer specifically to sub-paragraphs (c) (ii), (d), (e) and (f) (iii) of operative paragraph 3 of the resolution.

134. The document we have just approved is therefore not as perfect as my delegation would have wanted it to be in order to complement resolution 1514 (XV), the full implementation of which must still be the guiding directive of our Organization. However, my delegation has supported this document because we believe that over and above any discrepancies in procedure the final objective, an end to colonialism, must prevail, for this is the goal we seek in the United Nations.

135. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before we conclude our consideration of this item of our agenda I call on the representative of France on a point of order.

136. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): I wish to make a purely formal correction. Perhaps we did not press the Amber Button quickly enough, but in any case, when we did so the electrical signal was no longer functioning. Hence, it is not correct to say we did not participate in the vote. We abstained, as I said we would in my statement before the voting. This means that there were sixteen abstentions. I would be obliged if our abstention

could be indicated in the verbatim record of this meeting.

137. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Zambia wishes to make a similar statement and I now call on him.

138. Mr. SIMUCHIMBA (Zambia): I am sorry to state that when I pressed the button—to vote “yes”, of course—the machine had already registered the votes. The Zambian delegation voted “yes”, although this is not reflected on the voting sheet.

AGENDA ITEM 21

Celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations (*continued*)*

139. The PRESIDENT: Representatives will recall that the Assembly, at its 1860th plenary meeting on 6 October, approved the arrangements recommended by the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations in its interim report [A/8060].

140 Mr. BAHOLLI (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The Albanian delegation has taken note of the report in documents A/8060 and Add.1—the report of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations—and feels it necessary to make the following comments.

141. In paragraph 2 (c) of the report it is recommended that during the commemorative session priority be given to statements by Heads of State or Government or their deputies or special envoys. We believe that such a departure from the rules of procedure of the General Assembly is not justifiable and would violate the principle of the sovereignty and equality of Member States, since each State has exclusive competence to designate its delegation to this Assembly, at whatever level it deems appropriate. We feel that any representative duly accredited to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, no matter what post he may occupy in his country, is empowered to participate in the Commemorative Meetings of this Assembly, with full rights and rights equal to those of our representatives. That includes the elementary right to make a statement, for each of us, regardless of rank, represents here a sovereign Member State, and this Organization is based upon the sovereign equality of Member States. There is therefore no reason to think up any procedure other than the normal one in force in the Assembly. To do so would lead to an inadmissible type of discrimination.

142. We also regard as unacceptable the restriction suggested in paragraph 2 (e) of the report, on the subject of points of order. For our part, we cannot understand the motives that led the members of the Committee to make such a proposal, particularly since the General Assembly is not at all subject to that rule. We must stress that the right to raise a point of order is one of the most important procedural means of ensuring the normal functioning of our work and of enabling each delegation to make its claims heard—especially

in respect of the equal treatment of all Members. To change this provision of the rules of procedure in any way would be to open the way to arbitrary acts and would therefore also seriously violate the principle of the sovereign equality of Member States.

143. With regard to the suggestion to limit the time of statements, we think it would be desirable to allow each delegation to take the time it considers necessary to make known its points of view on the items of concern to this Organization. Albania, as is known, has constantly opposed any type of violation of the provisions of the rules of procedure and of the Charter; and we therefore have all the more reason for feeling it our right and our duty to insist upon respect for such provisions in the course of meetings specifically devoted to the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

144. We believe the rules of procedure to be sufficiently clear and appropriate to allow those meetings to take place in the usual way. If the recommendation contained in document A/8060 and Add.1 are insisted upon, the delegation of Albania will not be able to support the document.

145. The PRESIDENT: If there are no other suggestions for changes in the proposals before us in the report of the Committee—apart from those in the statement just made by the representative of Albania—I shall take it that the General Assembly approves the arrangements for the commemorative session recommended by the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations in document A/8060/Add.1.

It was so decided.

146. The PRESIDENT: With the permission of the General Assembly, I should like to take this opportunity to ask for the fullest co-operation of all Members in the arrangements for the commemorative session which begins on Wednesday, 14 October.

147. First of all, there is the question of the list of speakers. It would greatly assist both me and the Secretariat in seeking to make the best use of the limited time available during the commemorative session if Members who have indicated their desire to speak could do so as soon as possible and set down their definitive position on the list of speakers.

148. Secondly, there is the question of the length of statements. In spite of the principle of the sovereign equality of Members, it will be very difficult indeed to go through the list of speakers if statements are not kept as short as possible. In this respect the anniversary Committee has recommended that statements on behalf of Member States that did not participate in the general debate should not exceed a maximum of twenty-five minutes and that those on behalf of Member States which have already participated in the general debate should be correspondingly shorter, not exceeding a maximum of fifteen minutes. If delegations will abide by that recommendation and collaborate with

* Resumed from the 1860th meeting.

the Chair in this respect, it will not be necessary to carry over speakers to the next plenary meeting, which might of course lead to night meetings during the commemorative session.

149. Thirdly, there is the question of rights of reply and points of order. I agree with the recommendation of the anniversary Committee that if a delegation deems it essential to reply to a statement during the commemorative session it will be heard at the end of the day on which the statement was made. In deference to the representative of Albania, I will only ask—I repeat, ask—delegations as far as possible to avoid points of order during the commemorative session.

150. Finally, I should like to suggest a practical arrangement which I hope Members will understand. Since, at the conclusion of a statement, the next speaker will be called upon immediately, representatives are asked kindly to remain in their seats after the conclusion of a statement. This will be in keeping with the solemnity of the commemorative session.

151. Before I call on the Rapporteur to present the draft declaration, I should like to remind Members that it is planned to have a short commemorative session on the colonial Declaration on Wednesday afternoon, after the list of speakers has been terminated.

152. Mr. MIGLIUOLO (Italy), Rapporteur of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations: By adopting resolution 2499 (XXIV), the General Assembly at its last session approved a comprehensive programme for the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, which entrusted the Committee set up on that occasion with a number of complex and demanding tasks. The consideration of some of those tasks, those contained in paragraph 5 (a) and (b) and paragraph 6 of the said resolution, has been completed. As will be recalled, those paragraphs concern the drawing up and co-ordination of plans for the anniversary, the organization of suitable activities to be undertaken by the United Nations in the light of the report of the Preparatory Committee³ and the preparation, with the assistance of the Secretary-General, of a suitable text for a final document or documents to be signed and/or adopted during the commemorative session.

153. The Committee, however, has not been able so far to discuss the matter referred to in paragraph 5 (c) of resolution 2499 (XXIV). It has therefore still to consider proposals and suggestions, in relation to the anniversary, in order to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations.

154. That is why the report to the General Assembly on the activities of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations is being introduced in a somewhat fragmentary way. I trust, however, that the general membership will find a satisfactory explanation for this in the reasons of urgency and expediency

which prompted you, Sir, to submit for approval document A/8060 already on 6 October [1860th meeting], and its addendum today, and which prompted me to introduce one more report at this meeting.

155. May I recall the contents of the addendum which has just been approved? The Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, in response to desires brought to its attention, had in fact decided to recommend that, in addition to statements to be made by yourself, Sir, and by the Secretary-General on the culminating day of the commemorative session, one representative from each of the five regional groups might address the Assembly for not much longer than five minutes. Moreover, the Committee approved some suggestions for the special ceremony to be held on 14 October in order to observe the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

156. The second document introduced at this meeting [A/8103 and Corr.1] relates to the Declaration proposed for adoption on 24 October 1970. Representatives are requested to pay particular attention to paragraph 2 of the report, which indicates that certain delegations had not received instructions from their Governments in time to give final clearance to the text, that several delegations expressed reservations which will be found in the records of the Committee, and finally that the last sentence of paragraph 9 of the proposed Declaration will be examined anew in the light of the impending discussions on the question of the Second United Nations Development Decade to be held in this Assembly.

157. The members of the twenty-fifth anniversary Committee have unanimously expressed the view that the Declaration, because of its special nature, should be submitted for adoption by the Heads of States and Governments, and not voted upon, which would be in accordance with the procedure already followed in the case of the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

158. I trust I may be permitted to draw the attention of the general membership to the fact that the text of the proposed Declaration is the result of lengthy and articulate discussions. During the last few weeks the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary had to overcome a number of difficulties in steering a hazardous course between two equally dangerous risks: that of reaching a deadlock because of a too vigorous vindication of conflicting positions, and that of achieving a consensus at the expense of the meaningfulness of the document to be agreed upon. Thanks only to the diplomatic skill and patience of its Chairman and to the spirit of understanding and conciliation of all the members, the Committee was able successfully to wind up its proceedings on the basis of a very delicate balance among the viewpoints of the various delegations. This balance could easily be upset. The members of the Committee therefore felt that, while the draft declaration, like any document, might certainly be per-

³ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 25, document A/7690.

fect, it would be preferable for delegations wishing to improve it to do so not by introducing formal proposals of amendment, but by suggesting changes which the Working Group established within the Committee, or the Committee in its entirety, might subsequently consider for inclusion in the text of the Declaration.

159. I have just heard that instead some amendments have already been submitted. I am confident, however, that their sponsors might be willing to agree to discuss them within the framework of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary. In that case the final text might be brought again before the General Assembly so that reservations or interpretations, if any, might be properly recorded by delegations willing to do so.

160. With those remarks I have the honour to submit document A/8103 with its corrigendum for the consideration of the general membership.

161. The PRESIDENT: May I recall that the General Assembly has decided that delegations wishing to explain their positions or make interpretations or reservations concerning the final document to be adopted should do so in plenary meetings prior to the commemorative session? The General Assembly will take formal action regarding the draft declaration contained in the annex to the report of the anniversary Committee [A/8103 and Corr.1] at the special meeting on the morning of 24 October, together with the adoption of other recommendations for the commemorative session.

162. As I have already mentioned, it is understood that no discussion will take place at the special meeting on 24 October.

163. I now call on the Chairman of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, Ambassador Akwei of Ghana.

164. Mr. AKWEI (Ghana): It is with great pleasure and relief that I take the floor to say a few words in support of the report just presented to the Assembly by the Rapporteur of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary—pleasure at being associated with a Rapporteur whose diligence and co-operation have been of great assistance to me as Chairman of the Committee, relief at the realization that it has been possible at all for the Anniversary Committee to report on a draft declaration. For to those who followed the long and laborious work of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary it must have been obvious that in that twenty-five member Committee were concentrated and sharpened most of the difficulties of the United Nations—ideological, political and administrative. It is a tribute to the will to succeed of the members of the Committee that it has been possible to submit this draft declaration to the Assembly today.

165. By resolution 2499 A (XXIV) adopted last year, the General Assembly requested the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary:

“to prepare, with the assistance of the Secretary-General, a suitable text for a final document or docu-

ments to be signed and/or adopted during the commemorative session, for consideration by the General Assembly during the early part of its twenty-fifth session”.

166. The background to this recommendation can be found in the report of the Preparatory Committee, as follows:

“In this connexion the possibility might be explored, as suggested originally by the Secretary-General, of preparing for approval by the General Assembly during the commemorative session a historic document, which would reflect the progress made by the United Nations in its various fields of activity, indicating the major remaining problems in each field and the prospects for their solution.”⁴

There was a general consensus in the Committee that these principal areas of the United Nations, which should form the basis of this document, should be the following six subjects: decolonization; human rights, particularly *apartheid*; principles concerning friendly relations among nations; world economic development with special reference to the Second United Nations Development Decade; disarmament; and peace-keeping. Some attempt has been made, however, to meet the feeling of some members of the Committee that a few additional areas of the United Nations activities might be usefully included in this document.

167. In considering the report of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary contained in document A/8103 and Corr.1 some inescapable facts must necessarily be borne in mind if our efforts are to yield any significant results. First, we do not have as much time as would be desirable to give full-scale and detailed consideration to the draft declaration recommended. The commemorative session begins on Wednesday, 14 October, and the General Assembly has other business to attend to in the short period from now till Wednesday. Delegations will therefore naturally appreciate that only the most important of their submissions can be considered in detail at this time. It is my hope, therefore, that the necessary co-operation from all will be forthcoming in this regard so that delegations will not press their special desires to the point where the delicate balance already achieved would be destroyed.

168. Secondly, in response to the expressions of hope by the General Assembly, a good number of Heads of State or Government have arranged to attend the commemorative session in order—among other things—to adopt this draft declaration and other documents on which various other Committees have been engaged for the past several months and years. At this advanced stage of arrangements for the reception of these distinguished dignitaries I am sure it will be agreed by all that we have an obligation to do all we can to ensure that this draft declaration is ready for adoption on 24 October.

169. We cannot, therefore, conduct the debate on this draft declaration to an extent where we are unable

⁴ *Ibid.*, para. 34.

to agree on a text for adopting or signing by our Heads of State or Government on 24 October. The consequences of failure to have an agreed text by 24 October would be too great a responsibility for the General Assembly in particular and the United Nations in general to bear, considering the prevailing feeling in the outside world of disillusionment with the United Nations and declining confidence in its capabilities and relevance to the problems of our times.

170. Any evidence of reform of the Organization, of a desire to start a new chapter in this twenty-fifth year of its existence, and any evidence to strengthen the Organization for its future tasks must first come from within the Organization itself, that is to say from ourselves, and the willingness we show to unite our efforts and wills in clearly identifiable directions. This is the occasion to prove our oft-repeated desire to make the twenty-fifth anniversary not just a ceremonial fanfare but a solemn occasion of rededication, of strengthening of the Organization. Admittedly, there may be other documents for adoption on 24 October but we must remember that this is the basic document, the foundation, as it were, for all the other documents. It is therefore most desirable that it should be ready for adoption on 24 October.

171. I do not consider, however, nor do the members of the Committee, that the mere adoption of a declaration will overnight solve all the problems of the United Nations, because it will not. Therefore, while preserving a sense of perspective, we can yet make of the Declaration what it can and should be—a historic guidepost setting the course and pace of the efforts of the United Nations for the future.

172. Thirdly, the solemn nature of the meeting on 24 October and the level of representation at that meeting would seem to prescribe that the nature of the document to be adopted must be clearly understood. It is because of this that the anniversary Committee has unanimously felt that the document should be in the form of a declaration which is generally acceptable rather than in the form of a resolution which is to be voted upon. It is also for these reasons, as well as for administrative and other considerations, that the Committee has recommended that the document be adopted by acclamation rather than signed. Our purpose should be to gain the greatest possible majority in support of the declaration rather than the greatest possible reservations. The more generally acceptable the declaration is, the greater its authority and moral force in the world will be and the longer it will bind the conscience of posterity.

173. If the document is to be generally acceptable it follows that majority or sectional interests must, to the greatest extent possible, show some flexible ability to accommodate minority interests, especially in matters of detail. Similarly, the minority must respect the feelings of the overwhelming majority. Unless this two-way responsibility and respect are shown, the whole *raison d'être* of the coming to New York of many Heads of State will have been destroyed. Our efforts should not lead to the dragging down of the overwhelming

majority to the point where we will have a meaningless document, nor to such unwillingness to accommodate the minority that we drive out a good number of Heads of State or Government from the Assembly hall on 24 October. The anniversary Committee's efforts have been not merely to repeat what has already been agreed on in the Charter. The Declaration, while basing itself on the Charter, must show new ways to overcome old and new problems. Unanimity may be impossible—the United Nations being what it is—but we can have a declaration which, while satisfying no individual delegation completely, can be accepted by most. I believe we have such a document in the draft declaration under consideration. That is the basis of our recommendation that we deal with this document on the consensus basis.

174. I do not say therefore that the document we have before us is the best. But it cannot be said that it is a bad document either. As the representative of an African country and of a developing country, I cannot over-emphasize my delegation's complete opposition to colonialism, *apartheid* and the continued widening of the gap between the rich and the poor nations. My delegation deeply regrets that on this twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations it was not possible to persuade some members of the anniversary Committee to adopt a stronger declaration. But we must live with reality and endeavour to build upon this reality a greater tomorrow.

175. It is the prerogative of this Assembly to change, amend and revise the recommendations of committees. It may be that some delegations will wish to bring in amendments and even suggestions for improving the text; indeed we have now been informed that such amendments have actually been submitted. What I am saying is that I hope there will be as few as possible, considering the long and contentious debates that have already surrounded most of the proposals in the Committee. The resolution of these amendments can best be made on the basis of the observations I have made already. If, after all attempts, a settlement is not possible, I trust that these amendments will not be pressed to the point where we may find we have no declaration.

176. The Declaration as contained in document A/8103 and Corr.1 is itself the product of a discussion of three separate drafts submitted in the Committee by myself, the socialist members of the Committee and the British delegation. Those representatives who have been following our work can testify to the long and difficult, often contentious, debates which characterized this discussion leading to the eventual evolution of the draft text before the Assembly. Members will note also, even at this stage, the reservations which surround the existing text. It is my hope that these reservations will have been revised out by the time we have concluded consideration of this declaration.

177. Many compromises have been made in the Committee to enable the submission of this draft declaration. One cannot be sure that more compromises of substance can still be made.

178. I have already indicated the subject matter of the draft declaration. The text itself was based on suggestions and notes submitted to the Committee by the relevant organs and committees of the United Nations, as well as on data from the Secretary-General. Suffice it to say that the most difficult parts of the declaration were those dealing with decolonization, *apartheid* and the Second Development Decade—paragraphs 6, 7 and 9. There were several difficulties with the other paragraphs but these were not as great as those I have mentioned. Members will see from the summary records of the Committee the full details of the strong feelings expressed in the Committee on these difficulties and, therefore, I will not mention them here. I merely wish to say that the Committee was a virtual microcosm of the Assembly. All the individual and sectional positions well known on these matters were vigorously and endlessly debated and the resulting compromises will therefore, I hope, recommend themselves to representatives.

179. Before concluding, I wish to leave another thought with members of this Assembly. This Declaration by its nature and purpose can only be a general one dealing with several subjects in a general way. There are supplementary documents which are being prepared for submission to the commemorative session for adoption which deal in greater detail with the relevant subject matter. Such is the case with the strategy for the Second Development Decade, the programme of activities on decolonization, and the principles concerning friendly relations. If these supplementary documents will anyway contain the specific details of special interest to this or that group of delegations, is it wise to insist categorically on the inclusion of all such details in a general declaration, the basis of whose authority lies in the achievement of a consensus?

180. I therefore seriously commend the present draft declaration to the General Assembly—the result of over 10 long months of labour and the search for general agreement. Before closing, however, I cannot refrain from paying a sincere and well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General, who has shown constant interest in the progress of our work, to the organs and committees which assisted our work with suggestions and recommendations, and to the many senior officials in the Secretariat who were so helpful in so many ways, particularly the Acting Secretary of our Committee, whose devotion to his work was exemplary.

181. Mr. PIÑERA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Chilean delegation listened with great attention to the presentation made a few moments ago by the Rapporteur of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations and the statement made by the Chairman of that Committee, the Ambassador of Ghana, Mr. Akwei. We fully appreciate the spirit that led them to make their statements. However, my delegation believes that this being a document of such outstanding importance, starting a debate in the plenary for the submission of amendments would be justified precisely because of the importance of the document and, since it is a global document, it should include many of the concepts that were stated or may

be raised in other specific documents. My delegation has submitted a number of amendments in document A/L.592 to the draft resolution submitted to us today by the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary [A/8103 and Corr.1, annex]. There is also a corrigendum, which is being circulated at the moment. In submitting these documents, my delegation is led by the most constructive of intentions.

182. We know how difficult it is to achieve a consensus in the Committee on the twenty-fifth anniversary. As an observer I participated in many of its meetings, and I know the many efforts that had to be made in some cases in order to achieve a compromise. But we also know—and I repeat this—the importance of a declaration of the twenty-fifth anniversary. It cannot be limited to general concepts that are already well known. It must specifically point to what the 25 years of the Organization stand for. It is no longer 1945 or 1946. We are now in 1970. This declaration cannot be incomplete, and it cannot be incompatible with other declarations of the Assembly; nor can it remain lacking in certain significant features which the day requires.

183. We very modestly hope to include in the text certain elements that we feel would round it out and strengthen it. We do not feel these are controversial changes. We believe that we are reflecting widely held views that might well earn the support of the Assembly.

184. If you will allow me, I shall now endeavour to explain the general lines of the amendments I am submitting. I would first refer to amendment No. 1, which refers to the principles of international law. The amendment proposed in the first paragraph is intended to make it very clear that we are reiterating our faith and dedication not only to the Charter of the United Nations but also the principles of international law that were recently the subject of a consensus in this Assembly. The United Nations system has gradually included and pinpointed principles not completely defined in the Charter, such as those of non-intervention, self-determination and decolonization. That is the purport of our first amendment, which I understand is already being circulated in the various languages of the Assembly.

185. I now turn to the amendments that in document A/L.592 are numbered 2, 3 and 4. They are designed to do something we deem fundamental, namely effectively and clearly to link the problems of international security with those of economic development and disarmament. Something has been said of this relationship, but we believe that after the 25 years of existence of the United Nations it is essential and important that in this declaration we set up the ties and interrelationships that exist between the problems of international security, development and disarmament, and that have been clearly stated in the debate of the First Committee by a number of delegations.

186. The amendments proposed for paragraphs 4, 5 and 9 of document A/8103 and Corr.1 are intended to make very clear the indissoluble ties between peace and security, on the one hand, and disarmament and

economic development, on the other. As I said, there are global problems that are indissolubly linked, such as the Disarmament Decade that we advocated last year and the Second United Nations Development Decade that we are now working on. We believe that this relationship is basic and fundamental and indispensable.

187. Our fifth amendment refers to science and technology. When we read paragraph 10, we believe it to be weak since it mentions some of those areas in which science and technology must act, but it does not stress the great tasks that are demanded of them in the field of development. The proposed amendment is taken from the draft declaration for the Second Development Decade proposed by the developing countries and would make it very clear that the transfer of science and technology cannot be limited to a few marginal fields, however important they may be. On the contrary, it is intended to ensure an equitable distribution of the results of scientific and technical progress between the developing and developed countries in order to increase their respective productivity.

188. This is a very brief explanation of the amendments submitted by the delegation of Chile and that are explained in the text. My delegation believes that it would be sad if in order to achieve a declaration, adopted by consensus—perhaps an over-used word in the United Nations—we were to water down the results of a quarter of a century of action and struggle or to shrink the wide horizons of the future, which are those we are most interested in. But we cannot sacrifice to the form of consensus the substance of what we believe this Organization could and should be as we see it on this twenty-fifth anniversary.

189. We, the peoples of the world, are here to proclaim human rights, the principles of international law, decolonization, development and peace. We want peace, justice and progress. It was not in vain that last year we strove to include these three concepts simultaneously. We do not want peace without progress or without justice for these three concepts are closely interrelated.

190. The Chilean delegation would not be averse to discussing these amendments within the framework of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations. We think that the Chairman of that Committee, Mr. Akwei, made that suggestion a few moments ago. However, we do reserve our right to raise these questions again in this Assembly, which, after all, is the highest body of the United Nations.

191. Mr. OHIN (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): It goes without saying that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is an important milestone in the history of the world. This Organization, which wishes to be universal, was born at the close of the most murderous of all armed conflicts, and it undertook the task of bringing peace throughout the world and of ensuring fraternity among peoples.

192. As for its anniversary we had to draw up a balance sheet of what has been accomplished in the inter-

vening time—a formidable task. Those who had the honour to be members of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations did not for a single moment lose sight of the heavy responsibilities devolving upon them. From the very first meeting, which was held almost twenty months ago, it seemed almost impossible to believe that unanimity would be reached on the text of this balance sheet. Fortunately, within the Committee a spirit of mutual understanding and compromise gradually developed, which led to the text which was just submitted by the Chairman of the Committee for the twenty-fifth Anniversary [*A/8103 and Corr.1, annex*]

193. The document is not a perfect one, but I must pay a tribute here to the great Powers and to the developing countries, which, despite sometimes diametrically opposed views, nevertheless have been able to give this anniversary of the United Nations the solemn character it deserves.

194. This Organization, as we know, has been somewhat discredited on the outside because it has been accused of sterile inaction. For, despite the praiseworthy aims of the Charter, peace is still far from being restored everywhere in the world, and the armaments race still continues, and the developing countries are still marking time despite their efforts to develop economically.

195. Does this mean that the balance-sheet should be negative now that the United Nations has existed for 25 years? Surely not. The achievements of the United Nations are concrete and numerous, they cannot be denied and they deserve the appreciation of the entire world.

196. In view of this, it was impossible for the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations to submit a report of failure, despite certain irreconcilable views that were often expressed during our meetings. In the last analysis, wisdom prevailed and we reached an agreement to submit a text which, we all recognize, cannot satisfy everyone.

197. Everyone must recognize that the greatest anniversary of the century must be celebrated in a spirit of amity. It is in the light of this ideal that we have submitted our draft declaration.

198. I feel that it would be very unfortunate if this text were to be the subject of a debate which would inflame passions capable of sapping the very foundations of this Organization. For this reason I ask this Assembly to give its unanimous approval to this document so that the 25 years to come will be marked by peace, justice and progress.

199. Mr. PEREZ DE CUELLAR (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Peruvian delegation, as a member of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, participated actively in the preparation of the draft declaration which today is before the General Assembly for approval [*A/8103 and Corr.1, annex*]. Our par-

icipation, which is noted in the records of the Committee, and also in the detailed presentation made by Mr. Akwei, of Ghana, make it superfluous for me even briefly to make known our views, but I still must state what I feel to be the most striking aspect of the document, namely its character of laborious compromise and serious concessions. Thus it is obvious that since it is the result of a consensus, only the minimum common denominators could be included and not any important procedure however novel. I do not think that I am being indiscreet or opening a Pandora's box when I say frankly that none of the members of the Committee is entirely satisfied with the draft declaration. It is for this reason that we would be very ready to entertain and accept any possible improvement of the document, and we are ready to co-operate to this end.

200. Chile, for example, has proposed changes in certain paragraphs and we shall consider these with the greatest of interest and sympathy.

201. My delegation wants to refer specifically to paragraphs 5 and 9. Paragraph 5 refers to disarmament, and as members of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations know, my delegation has serious reservations on this paragraph. We consider that too much emphasis has been laid on the results obtained in this field, if, that is, those results are to be termed disarmament measures. We must look to the future. We must commit ourselves clearly to carry out negotiations in good faith in order to achieve nuclear disarmament particularly, and also general and complete disarmament, which in paragraph 5 is suggested as a mere pipe dream.

202. So far as paragraph 9 is concerned, we should have liked some references to be made to the substantive problems of development, and to stress the outstanding role of the new machinery in this field, namely, UNCTAD, whose creation and contribution we consider to be of great importance, since they constitute an effort to transform the structure of world trade as a function of development, and which is one of the contributions of the last decade.

203. However, I do want to draw attention to the agreement arrived at in the Committee which is found in the last sentence of paragraph 2 of the report, which states that the last sentence of paragraph 9 on development will be examined again in the light of the discussions on the question of the Second United Nations Development Decade. The developing countries that comprise the Committee agreed that no mention be made in the text of two matters of great importance—first, that the Development Decade be subject to global strategy and, secondly, that this strategy be impelled by political commitments on the part of States, particularly with regard to the transfer of resources to the developing countries. However, we only agreed to that omission on the understanding, also included in the report, that they would be included once the global strategy for the decade had been agreed to by the efforts of the Second Committee. This to my delegation means that the document cannot be

approved without these inclusions and that therefore any agreement on this declaration must be tentative.

204. Mr. PATRICIO (Portugal): Last year, when the delegation of Portugal expressed its support for the proposal to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations, it did so in the expectation that there would be a return to reality, and in the hope that the spirit of conciliation and harmony which permeates the provisions of the Charter would be allowed to preside over these celebrations and be reflected in the Declaration to be subscribed to on the occasion by all Member States. My delegation regrets very much to have to place on record that these hopes have proved illusory.

205. The document placed before the General Assembly for consideration is couched in a language that disguises with difficulty sentiments and ideas that could not be derived from the Charter of the United Nations or from the noble ideals which inspired it. The use of such language and the expression of such sentiments at this very moment in the history of this Organization, which ought to have been attended by all solemnity and dignity, have led to the abandonment and casting aside of some of the most important and basic principles enshrined in that document, on which international life was designed to rest by the framers of that Charter in 1945.

206. The protestations of dedication to peace and justice, which are contained in the very first paragraph of the document before us, are difficult to reconcile with sentiments which in subsequent paragraphs deny and flout them. We did not wish to dwell on this occasion on painful and unpleasant periods of this Organization's past; but it now seems necessary to recall to mind that nine years ago, in December 1961, while this General Assembly was engaged in its regular session, as it is today, an act of gross violence and injustice was committed against the Portuguese nation, while the representative of the Member State responsible for that act went on record as stating before the Security Council, the highest organ of this Organization entrusted with the task of safeguarding international peace and security, that "Charter or no Charter, Council or no Council" his country would not be halted in the perpetration of that injustice. No voice of protest was heard here in this hall then or later, and while some condoned it in silence others were vocal in their support of it.

207. The present document to which we, along with others, are asked to subscribe, goes even further. In particular, the language in which the second half of paragraph 6 is worded is in clear violation of those provisions of the Charter which enjoin upon all Member States the avoidance of the use of force in the resolution of all international disputes. Here there is a clear call for violence and, I would say, a clear incitement to war, and certainly my delegation could not subscribe to it.

208. Furthermore, the proposed text of this paragraph is also contradictory. For, while at first it recognizes

“the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples for their freedom” by all the means at their disposal, it is later stated that these means should be “consistent with the provisions of the Charter”. It must be stressed that the Charter recognizes the right to use force only within the context of Article 51, that is to say, the right which every Member State has to exercise legitimate self-defence against an armed attack, or under cover of measures provided for in Chapter VII, Article 44 and those that follow it. As none of these cases is being dealt with in the document before the General Assembly, we can only conclude that we are here invited to join in a clear and unequivocal violation of the Charter provisions. My delegation cannot and will not lend its support to such a violation.

209. My delegation wishes, likewise, to lodge a most formal protest against the express reference contained in the text of this paragraph to my country, and to add that such a reference to a Member State on this occasion is yet one more indication of the manner in which the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations preferred to forget the principal and most pressing political problems that plague the world community, generating a climate of continued tensions and threatening international peace and security—problems so well known to everyone that I need not enumerate them here and some of which were or are under consideration by this Organization. Suffice it to emphasize that the document under consideration deliberately ignores all of them, while singling out for condemnation Portugal, whose only wrongs lie in its determination to defend the integrity of its national territory and the lives of its citizens, who reflect in reality a community of races and peoples firmly based on the principle of equality of rights and opportunity for all without distinction.

210. Likewise the barely disguised innuendo contained in paragraph 7 is a clear violation of the Charter provisions, which prohibit interference in matters that fall within the exclusive jurisdiction of any Member State. A question of principle is clearly involved here, and my delegation feels that it is difficult to ignore the express injunction laid down in the Charter.

211. These are some of the considerations on a few of the pertinent paragraphs of the document which my delegation wished to offer. There are others relating to other points, but we will not take up the time of the Assembly, as these by themselves are sufficient to justify our stand against that document. We cannot support it, and we ask, Mr. President, for a separate vote by roll call on paragraph 6 of the text and then a vote on the document as a whole.

212. Mr. ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): As we have stated on several occasions, the Brazilian delegation shares the belief that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should properly be commemorated by rededication of the Members of this Organization to the purposes and principles of the Charter. On the other hand, we have always maintained that this session should be an occasion not only for festive commemoration but for achievement, sober stock-taking

and renewal. Twenty-five years is the age of maturity, not the age of senility, and we should keep the winds of change blowing.

213. It follows that, in our view, a solemn statement issued on this occasion should be a declaration couched in broad and general but at the same time meaningful and significant terms, re-emphasizing those self-same purposes and principles. Much to our regret, we must say that it is quite apparent that the text before us fails to meet the test by any standard.

214. Brazil did not have the privilege of participating in the proceedings of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary. Yet we followed the Committee's work closely, and we can bear witness to the tireless and painstaking efforts towards accommodation, give-and-take and compromise which finally resulted in this draft. But as so often happens with consensus this is not the ideal text. We would accept the draft in the spirit of consensus but we feel bound to make some reservations and qualifications.

215. We would have welcomed, for instance, a stronger emphasis on the general guiding principles in the field of security, and we certainly would have welcomed a more pointed reassertion of the diplomatic role to be played by the United Nations in connexion with the peaceful settlement of disputes. We had the opportunity of emphasizing both these points before the General Assembly and before the First Committee in connexion with the debate on the item on the strengthening of international security. Furthermore, we regret the absence of a more forceful paragraph on economic co-operation and a clear reference to the strategy for the Second Development Decade. The declaration should likewise be more explicit in its mention of the role to be played by science and technology in the process of economic development. In addition, the draft fails to establish a clear link and the interrelation between the Second Development Decade and the Disarmament Decade. We needed more imagination, more creativeness and, perhaps, more idealism. We have already had our full quota of political realism on many points, but we hope that there is still time for this kind of improvement.

216. In some cases the draft goes too far; in others it does not go far enough. Things are mentioned in the document that, in our view, would have been better left out. Some singling out was done that we consider uncalled for, unnecessary and unfair, as is clearly the case with some points in paragraph 6. Although we support the reference to the situation in Namibia and Rhodesia, we formally reserve our position as regards other references that we consider unwarranted in the aforementioned paragraph 6. On the other hand, we would have been prepared to accept in paragraph 7, as was formally proposed, that *apartheid* be declared in so many words a crime against humanity, which, indeed, we believe it to be.

217. We concede that political documents are difficult to draft and we concede that the necessity for consensus sometimes demands some sacrifice of logic and

consistency. This happens because of the interaction between politics and semantics, as well as because of the interaction between lofty aims and political realism.

218. Subject to these general qualifications which we felt bound to register, my delegation would concur in the adoption of the Declaration proposed by the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary in document A/8103 and Corr.1.

219. As a matter of fact, it would be less than gracious and less than fair if I failed to show our high appreciation for the work undertaken by the Committee and its Chairman, Ambassador Akwei of Ghana, who showed inspiring leadership and statesmanship in conducting and supervising the activities of the Committee. All of us are certainly indebted to Ambassador Akwei and to all the members of the Committee for their noteworthy work in very difficult circumstances. However, if there is still time for it and if the debate on the text of the Declaration is reopened, it is our opinion that the text could still benefit from some improvements.

220. In this connexion my delegation supports wholeheartedly the amendments and suggestions put forward by the delegation of Chile. It is our conviction that the adoption of the Chilean suggestions would definitely improve our text.

221. Mr. SEN (India): At this hour I do not wish to take up the time of the Assembly to give the background to the document which we are considering. Ambassador Akwei of Ghana, Chairman of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary, has dealt adequately with the subject and he has told us how much work, how much detailed study went into the preparation of this document. All ideas, all suggestions, from whatever quarter they came, whether from non-governmental organizations, representatives of departments or from Governments, were taken into account before this document was finally produced. I should like representatives to keep that fact in mind. He also emphasized the importance of speed if we are to have a final document ready in time for 24 October, the day on which we are to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

222. When we undertook the preparation of this document we had all intended to have a simple, short document, which would emphasize the main tasks before the United Nations in the coming years. There were many suggestions, including the Indian suggestion, that this year should be declared the year of peace and the theme should be "peace". That theme was later expanded to read "Peace, justice and progress". I think we have fulfilled that expectation by drawing up this document.

223. We should also keep in mind that this is not the only document to be adopted. There will be a whole series of documents, which are now under special study and are being actively prepared in other Committees. The question arises, therefore, whether, by having this

general document in the form in which it has been prepared by the Committee, we shall gain or lose when it is considered along with the other documents now under study.

224. It seems to my delegation that if we now try to compress into each paragraph what has been discussed in detail in various other documents, for instance, the strategy on the Second Development Decade, on friendly relations, on international peace and security, on the Disarmament Decade, on colonialism, if all those subjects are going to be compressed into single paragraphs here and now, we shall not only not achieve anything fruitful, but in fact we shall run the risk of compressing the contents to the point of not being able to identify the many issues in those fields and therefore detract from the value of this document which, as I said, should be simple, short and straightforward and at the same time emphasize the main problems before us.

225. Of course, in this exercise we cannot expect to satisfy the delegation of Portugal because whatever this Assembly does never satisfies it, and we are pleased that it does not do so.

226. The other point I should like to emphasize for the consideration of this Assembly is that all the amendments, particularly the amendment moved by the Ambassador of Chile, Ambassador Piñera, are naturally acceptable to us. So are the amendments moved or informally talked about by various African delegations. We are in full accord with them. Indeed, it would be a very sad day if the Indian delegation ever stood up on this rostrum and tried to detract from the sentiments expressed in an African amendment. Nevertheless, we realize that if the Assembly is to have a general document it must command the widest possible support of the Assembly. If we adopt the document by a majority vote with many reservations, many hesitations, many declarations, and all kinds of controversy—apart from the time necessary to settle those things—it will in our opinion not be a very fruitful document. We shall have achieved by majority vote the kind of success we can expect through resolutions, but we shall not have the distinction of having achieved in this session a document which will command the imagination of the world and which will be able to inspire many future generations.

227. It was in this spirit that we went very carefully into the substance of the document before us. There were very strong feelings on certain matters held by the Western bloc, the Eastern bloc, the developing countries, Africans, Asians, Europeans and so on. If we are to settle all those problems now I believe that it will take a long time and perhaps will not give any greater satisfaction than what we can obtain now. If it is intended that we should not have a document, that is a very different matter, but my delegation thinks that it would be a great pity, and I would therefore, with all humility, urge that what we have achieved is the best in the circumstances, and while we shall be very happy if the Assembly accepts all the amendments, if there are difficulties or differences, and if

the time available to us is not adequate, let us be satisfied with what we have. It is a remarkable achievement that within three months an international document of this type has been produced. In the history of international relations I do not think such an achievement has been obtained before in so short a time.

228. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): The Chairman of the Committee, Ambassador Akwei, and the rapporteur, Mr. Migliuolo, both very realistically described the atmosphere in which the Working Group and the Committee worked in preparing the document before us.

229. The document that the Assembly has before it [*A/8103 and Corr.1, annex*], this solemn declaration for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is the result of patient and persevering efforts on the part of all members of the Committee on the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, and particularly of the members of the Working Group. It was a compromise, prepared after more than ten months of working on general ideas and then very painstaking work on resolutions submitted by several delegations. As is the case with all compromises, it has the advantage of reflecting views expressed by the participants and different groups and, at the same time, the disadvantage of not satisfying any country entirely.

230. In the course of the long and arduous work to differing views, discussions centred on a number of the paragraphs of this declaration, particularly those dealing with international peace and security, disarmament, both in the field of nuclear weapons and chemical and bacteriological weaponry, decolonization, the policies of *apartheid*, racial discrimination, and the universality of the Organization.

231. The delegations of the Soviet Union, Byelorussia and my own country, representing the countries of Eastern Europe in the Committee, very firmly expressed the views of our countries on the matters that I have just mentioned.

232. Now, speaking once again on behalf of the delegations of Eastern Europe, while stressing the fact that we are ready to accept the document submitted as a possible compromise and consensus, I nevertheless regret the fact that the draft declaration submitted by the Soviet Union, Byelorussia and Bulgaria, which was intended to be a compromise, was not accepted by the Working Group of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary. That draft much more adequately expressed the developments which have taken place in international life, and particularly within the United Nations, during these last 25 years. Certain realistic ideas, meeting the interests and the wishes of the international community that were developed in our own draft would better have served the constant development of the present world in certain basic fields which are vital to international life.

233. There can be no doubt that it would be good to stress, as this document does, that resort must be had more often to the methods outlined in the Charter

for the peaceful settlement of disputes. It would have been desirable to deal with the profound causes of existing tension in international relations and insist that an end be put to imperialist aggression in different regions of the world, in order to achieve more significant results.

234. There can be no doubt that it would be appropriate to call on Governments to make a further effort to achieve real progress in the field of general and complete disarmament, one of the main goals which the General Assembly and the United Nations have set for themselves. It would have been useful also to indicate the main direction which the immediate efforts of the United Nations must take in the field of disarmament, particularly the prohibition and destruction of chemical and bacteriological weapons, the prohibition of the use of the sea-bed for military purposes, and to insist that all states sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*].

235. The draft declaration which we have before us reaffirms the inalienable right of colonial peoples to freedom and independence, and also the legitimacy of their struggle by all means in keeping with the Charter. That is a good thing but we must recognize that no mention was specifically made of the legitimacy of armed struggle and the need to assist the peoples that are fighting for their freedom. It has been known for a long time that, confronted by the violence used against them by the colonialists, the peoples that are struggling to regain their rights can protect their legitimate rights against the violence of their oppressors only by whatever means happen to be at their disposal—and in this case it is armed struggle.

236. The determination to eliminate *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa is undoubtedly a step in the right direction. However, *apartheid* has long been termed a crime against mankind in the discussions of the United Nations, and no decision on this point would leave *apartheid* and racial discrimination much room for manoeuvre at a time when racial discrimination is taking on alarming proportions in certain countries.

237. Another matter on which there should have been a more decisive change of direction is the universality of our Organization. There should be put an end once and for all to the endeavours and the policy of keeping the door of the United Nations closed to the peoples and States whose participation would enable the United Nations to deal more effectively with the problems of international peace and security.

238. Those who, by their short-sighted policy, are seeking to keep certain countries and great peoples outside the United Nations do a disservice not only to the rights of the Organization but also to the international community as a whole. Indeed, it is the Organization and its ability to act effectively to maintain international peace and security that are at stake.

239. Despite all those flaws and shortcomings the document that the General Assembly has before it rep-

resents a step forward in the strengthening of the United Nations and considerable support for the principles and the ideas expressed in the Charter.

240. It is therefore our duty, in the opinion of my delegation, to make every effort to have it adopted unanimously by displaying the unity necessary in our endeavours. However, in view of the fact that a number of amendments have already been submitted to try to improve the text of the draft declaration, we should also like to contribute to that end.

241. Thus, we should like to amend paragraph 5 of the draft declaration in the following way. At the end of the second sentence replace the words "particularly in the nuclear field, with the participation of all nuclear Powers" by the following text:

"Provisions such as the prohibition and the destruction of chemical and bacteriological weapons, the prohibition to utilize the sea-bed for military purposes, the creation of denuclearized zones in different regions of the world and also the adoption of measures to stop the nuclear arms race and achieve nuclear disarmament with the participation of all nuclear Powers could effectively achieve this end. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons should become an international and universal agreement to which all States of the world would adhere."

The end of paragraph 5, beginning with the words "We call on all Governments to renew..." would remain without change.

242. It is in order to obtain a better understanding and to do better work in the field of general and complete disarmament, and particularly on the points which I have stressed, that we would wish to see this amendment⁵ adopted to improve the contents of the document.

243. Obviously, we would have preferred to have the document adopted as presented despite its flaws and shortcomings, but since we are now trying to improve it we should like to contribute to that improvement. That is why we wish formally to present this amendment.

244. Mr. ALO (Nigeria): My delegation too listened with the utmost attention to the highly inspiring and sometimes challenging statement on the report of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations made just now by the Chairman of that Committee, Ambassador Akwei of Ghana.

245. We have also heard with profit the succinct and informative introduction of the report by the Rapporteur of the Committee, Mr. Migliuolo of Italy.

246. I take this opportunity, on behalf of my delegation, to express sincere appreciation to the officers and to all the members of the anniversary Committee for their devoted performance of the undoubt-

edly important task with which this Assembly entrusted them a year ago.

247. For them it has indeed been a long year of lengthy meetings, patient negotiations and serious and persistent dedication to duty. In their endeavours and in their earnest search for agreement and consensus, the Committee has admirably demonstrated the value of this Organization as an institution for the harmonization of the views and policies of its Member States.

248. If the results achieved as embodied in the draft declaration before us are not entirely satisfactory, particularly in certain specific respects and important details of principles which affect one or other individual Member State or groups of States Members of this Organization, this, in the view of my delegation, should not be taken as implying any reflection on the serious and responsible manner in which the Committee, in our judgement, has discharged its mandate.

249. It is in connexion with certain aspects of the results of the work of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations that my delegation, in its capacity as Chairman of the African Group of States Members of this Organization for this month, wishes to propose certain specific amendments to paragraphs 6 and 7 of the draft declaration before us.

250. The first amendment is to replace paragraph 6 by the following:

"We acclaim the role of the United Nations in the past twenty-five years in the process of liberation of peoples of colonial, Trust and other Non-Self-Governing Territories. As the result of this welcome development, the number of sovereign States in the Organization has been greatly increased and colonial empires have virtually disappeared. Despite this achievement many Territories and peoples continue to be denied their right to self-determination and independence, particularly in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), in deliberate defiance of the United Nations and world opinion, by the Government of the Republic of South Africa, the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia and Portugal. We reaffirm the inalienable right of all colonial peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence and condemn all actions which deprive them of these rights. In recognizing the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples for their freedom by all means at their disposal, including armed struggle if necessary, we call upon all Governments to comply with the provisions of the Charter in this respect and to take effective steps for the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted by the United Nations in 1960. We re-emphasize that these peoples are entitled in their just struggle to seek and to receive all necessary moral and material help in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

⁵ Subsequently circulated as document A/L.593.

251. The proposed amendment to paragraph 7 is as follows:

“We strongly condemn the evil policy of *apartheid* which is a crime against humanity and is contrary to the principles of the Charter. We reaffirm our determination to spare no effort, including support, to those who struggle against it in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the Charter to secure the elimination of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa. We also condemn racism and the practice of racial discrimination in all its manifestations.”

252. I do not wish at this late hour to belabour the Assembly with the considerations which we believe should be well known to all Members of this Assembly at this stage and which have motivated the group on whose behalf I speak to put forward these amendments to this document. I should like only to say in conclusion that my delegation in particular, and indeed the delegations on whose behalf I speak in general, are willing and ready to co-operate in further discussions and consultations with a view to having the Assembly eventually take action on this Declaration in a spirit of unity and understanding, as has been so often stressed by the many statements which you have heard from this podium this afternoon.

253. The PRESIDENT: I intend now to call only one more speaker this evening in view of the fact that there are so many speakers on the list that we cannot terminate in any case, and representatives might like time to study the amendments. We will, therefore, have one more speaker and terminate the meeting at about 7 p.m.

254. Mr. BAHOLLI (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Albania wishes to state at the outset that the text of the draft declaration [A/8103 and Corr.1, annex], which is to be adopted at the commemorative meeting on 24 October, contains certain deficiencies which make it unacceptable to us.

255. As an important document which is to draw up the balance sheet on a quarter of a century of activity for the United Nations, it should include a serious, objective analysis of the elapsed period. It should point to the faults and to those responsible for the present situation in the United Nations, and it should then indicate appropriate measures to be taken in order to put the Organization in a position to meet the purposes and objectives of the Charter and the legitimate aspirations of the peoples.

256. The text which we have before us does not reflect the realities with respect to this period. It makes no mention of the grave situation which has constantly prevailed in the United Nations as a result of the pernicious influence exercised by the United States and, in recent years, also by the Soviet social-imperialists. It would seem that the authors of this document, under the pressure of these two super-Powers, have tried to gloss over reality and have tried to disguise reality and to present an illusory picture of United Nations activities for this period.

257. The draft declaration disregards the unchallenged fact that the grave international situation at present is the result of the aggressive and warlike policies of the two great imperialist Powers. Much territory of foreign countries is under their military occupation and has been transformed into bases for aggression threatening international peace and security. The freedom and independence of peace-loving peoples are constantly endangered by their aggressive activities. Therefore, in these circumstances not to condemn the aggressors and not to support the legitimate struggle of peoples for freedom and independence would be to play into the hands of the two imperialist aggressive Powers who are the perpetrators of armed aggression in various parts of the world and who are mainly responsible for the present international situation as well as for the perpetuation of the racist enslavement of peoples. In other words, if we did not highlight these salient facts of world reality, we would reduce this declaration to the status of a useless document which would not meet the interests of peoples and peace-loving Member States.

258. Consequently, it is obvious that this draft as it is presently worded in document A/8103 and Corr.1 supports in all aspects the interests and positions of the two super-Powers. It particularly reflects their obstinacy in maintaining their *diktat* over this Organization in accordance with their own idea of making the United Nations an instrument of their will in order to camouflage if only slightly their own aggressive policies of world hegemony. This is also apparent in the unrealistic considerations with respect to disarmament and the agreements imposed by these two imperialist Powers in this area, which are aimed solely at disarming the freedom-loving peoples and ensuring for themselves a nuclear monopoly and maximum quantities of arms of all sorts in order to further their aggressive plans directed against peoples and sovereign States. The same tendency is revealed by their concern to accelerate the creation of a United Nations force to strengthen the role of world “*gendarme*”, a role which the two great imperialist Powers wish to play.

259. This draft declaration also completely disregards the fact that the United Nations, under the influence of the United States and its collaborators, has for 21 years denied the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights in the United Nations, which is a gross violation of the Charter and undermines the capacity of the United Nations to contribute to the solution of the problems of our time, since without great socialist China, as everyone knows, no valid, substantive solution to these problems can be found.

260. My delegation wished to make these brief comments to explain why it cannot support the draft resolution in its present form.

261. The PRESIDENT: We shall continue this debate tomorrow morning, after we have dealt with the question of Fiji.

262. Before we adjourn, I call on the representative of Saudi Arabia, who wishes to speak on a point of order.

263. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I have come to the conclusion that we shall not be able to have a declaration based on the data before us for the simple reason that there are too many amendments and too many new ideas that some of us would like to inject into it.

264. I think we shall be wasting our time if we do not adopt an entirely new procedure with regard to the draft declaration. Notwithstanding what I have said, I must note the efforts of my good friend Ambassador Akwei and the Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur of the Committee. I saw them functioning over the last ten months—eight months, rather; I was away from Headquarters for two months while the members were sweating it out, trying to accommodate each other. There are divergencies of view that are basic and ideologies that seem to conflict whenever a joint declaration is envisaged, and from the list I have—and it is not a complete list—there are about 10 more speakers, most of whom will probably submit amendments to the Declaration or new ideas.

265. I for one would have liked to refer to youth, but I have kept silent. Youth will during the next decade constitute the majority of mankind. There is no mention of that. But we cannot all of us put our pet subjects into declarations of this nature. So why continue moving in circles? There is no consensus. And I am happy there is no consensus, because I have observed that whenever the Security Council is paralysed they have caucuses and come to a consensus. We cannot afford that sort of procedure in the United Nations. At one time I regretted the existence of the veto. But the veto is sometimes better than a consensus. Why gloss things over, when we must face the fact that there are too many cooks here who want to prepare a dish that is unpalatable, a salad with many dressings: Russian dressing, French dressing, American dressing? We do not know what dressing we shall have in the end. I mention that in all seriousness, to bring it home to my colleagues. After all, we all have the United Nations at heart, and, as we say in Arabic: "If you cannot get what you wish, at least settle for what you can get." That is the philosophy that should prevail in regard to this Declaration.

266. I would say to you, Mr. President, with all due respect to your sagacity, having been here in the United Nations for many years, that these attempts to amend this document will be abortive. There are two ways out, if I may suggest them so that we may organize our work in a businesslike manner. In the next three or four days or so, the Committee for the Twenty-fifth

Anniversary will receive all the amendments and try to see if an agreement could be reached whereby there could emerge a document acceptable to those who want to amend it, on the understanding that no further amendments would be received. I doubt that within three, four or five days they could arrive at fruitful results. However, we should endeavour to see whether such a method may be conducive to some sort of universal—universal as far as we are concerned—document. If not, then may I suggest that this draft declaration be submitted not as expressing the views of all the Members of the United Nations but as expressing the views of anyone who would like to subscribe to it, who could have his name appended to it. Similarly, whatever reservations are submitted could have names appended to them. As such, the report and any other ideas would be included in the records of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. Otherwise, it is like trying to graft a pear onto a pine tree. That is an Arabic proverb. We cannot graft an apricot onto a mulberry tree. That is what we are trying to do here. We cannot graft together all those ideas; we cannot have all those accretions worked out overnight. Similes and analogies may be misleading, but sometimes they are expressive of a situation in which we find ourselves.

267. So, Mr. President, with your experience and your sagacity, I hope you will take my suggestions into consideration so that we may lose no more time trying to listen to all the modifications and amendments many of us would like to see. They have the right to submit such amendments and new ideas, but it would be merely impractical and, I dare say, impracticable to do so at this late date.

268. The PRESIDENT: If I correctly understood the wise suggestion of the very experienced Ambassador of Saudi Arabia, its essence is that all the different proposals should be referred back to the Committee, which could then see if it is possible to reach an agreement. I think we shall meet his views and those of the rest of the Assembly if we agree that we should not continue the debate today but should use the latter part of tomorrow morning's meeting just to listen to and take cognizance of the amendments, and that the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary, and particularly its Chairman, should think about the matter now and try to tell us tomorrow whether they think it possible to reach agreement on the basis of the proposal of the representative of Saudi Arabia. If I hear no objection I shall take it that it is so agreed.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.