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

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President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

AGENDA ITEM 23

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

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to the report of the Fifth Committee [A/6134] on the financial implications of the Special Committee's recommendations as they appear in chapter I, paragraph 109, of its report [A/6000/Rev.1].

2. Mr. MAGHERU (Romania) (translated from French): Twenty years ago, the participants in the Fifth Pan-African Conference declared:

"We are determined to be free.... We will make the world listen to the facts of our condition. We will fight in every way we can for freedom, democracy and social betterment." ^{1/}

3. That declaration was followed by valiant action, and the peoples of Africa, like those of other continents which have attained independence with the support of all anti-colonialist forces, put an end to the colonial yoke, thereby giving us a foretaste of the time in the near future when colonialism will be completely eliminated.

4. The United Nations took the side of the colonial peoples when, five years ago, it adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Organization's subsequent action and the adoption of recommendations relating to the implementation of the Declaration have been warmly welcomed by the colonial peoples, for whom they have been a great support in their struggle for the abolition of foreign domination.

5. I have just said that five years have passed since the adoption of the Declaration. However, almost 50 million people continue to live in a great number of dependent Territories. The present situation in these Territories once more confirms the evils of colonial rule, which deprives dependent peoples of their most elementary rights.

6. The exploitation of the natural wealth and human resources of colonial Territories, the application of discriminatory laws, repressive measures against those who are fighting for national liberation, wars waged against peoples demanding their legitimate rights—all these still stand in the way of the economic, political, social and cultural progress of colonial peoples, and they are all a source of deep concern to the international community.

7. The situations in Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Southern Rhodesia, Aden and South West Africa have for many years been the main topics of discussion in the Organization, both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council. The steady deterioration of the situation in these Territories has brought about real dangers for international peace and security.

8. In the case of the small Territories with small populations, the fact that the administering Powers are not implementing the provisions of the Declaration also constitutes a latent danger which may give rise to international complications. This year, certain colonial Powers have publicly stated their intention of strengthening their position in these Territories, so that they may use them particularly for strategic purposes. For example, the following views, which are by no means isolated opinions, were expressed by Mr. Cooper, a member of the United Kingdom House of Commons:

"Our bases in the Far East are vulnerable.... In concert with the United States, Australia and New Zealand, we must create a real base or bases which will not be vulnerable and from which we cannot be ejected. Such bases will probably be in Northern Australia or Northern New Zealand, or in other suitable islands and areas." ^{2/}

9. New attempts are being made, in addition to existing arrangements, to make use of small colonial Territories for strategic ends. Two examples will suffice. According to the statement made by the United Kingdom Secretary of State for the Colonies on 11 February 1965, the United States has the right to maintain air and naval bases in the following seven

^{1/} H. Kohn and W. Sokolsky, *African Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*, Princeton (New Jersey), D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1965, p. 29.

^{2/} See *Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)*, House of Commons, Official Report, vol. 716, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Col. 1389.

United Kingdom territories in the Caribbean: Antigua, Barbados, St. Lucia, Turks and Caicos Islands, Bermuda, the Bahamas and so-called British Guiana. The General Assembly was seized only recently of the question of the establishment of bases on Mauritius.

10. For the populations of colonial Territories, the existence of military bases in those Territories is a serious obstacle to the free expression of their will regarding their political status. Plans for the establishment of new bases place additional obstacles in the way of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and give rise to new dangers for the sovereignty of countries which have already gained their independence.

11. The refusal of the administering Powers to take immediate steps to transfer power to the populations of their colonies also springs from their desire to continue the exploitation of the wealth of the colonies. Sub-Committee I of the Committee of Twenty-Four, which studied the implications of the activity of foreign companies in territories under Portuguese administration, came to the following conclusion:

"(b) Foreign economic and other interests are directly or indirectly supporting Portuguese colonialism which makes it possible for them to exploit the human and nature resources of the Territories and to enjoy the profits therefrom;

"(c) The foreign economic and other interests in the Territories under Portuguese administration, together with the Government of Portugal, bear the responsibility for the sufferings of the people of these Territories." [A/6000/Rev.1, chapter V (part II), annex, para. 275].

12. The Special Committee came to a similar conclusion in the case of its study of the activities of foreign monopolies in South West Africa. As is clear from the Committee's report on this question, the study "leads to the conclusion that the activities of the international companies in South West Africa constitute one of the main obstacles to the country's development toward independence".^{3/}

13. This whole web of complex interests lies at the root of the support which the colonial Powers give each other in order to maintain their positions in colonial Territories.

14. The study entitled The Rise and Fall of Western Colonialism showed that:

"It is now abundantly clear that colonialism... is rapidly nearing its end. Some problems remain to be solved, notably in the colonies that have been dominated by white settlers. But it is unlikely that the remaining colonies, perhaps not even the Portuguese overseas provinces, will survive this decade."^{4/}

15. The collapse of the colonial system is indeed in its last stage. The peoples are rejecting colonial

rule over those Territories where the colonialists are putting up the most desperate resistance.

16. We now have an over-all view of the factors making up the situation in dependent Territories. The principal centres of resistance to decolonization are to be found, in the first place, in Africa, where a bastion of white racist domination is being set up. A sort of sanitary cordon of European rule, consisting of the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, has been completed with the establishment of the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia, to which the United Kingdom has gradually transferred all power, including the armed forces.

17. The South African régime, which originated the policy of apartheid, gives its full support to this colonialist barrier on the African continent and is indeed its nerve-centre.

18. It is no coincidence that these countries are rich in deposits of precious minerals—gold, diamonds and other minerals—the principal purchasers of which are in London and New York.

19. This bastion of well-armed white fanatics is a real threat to the free African countries. This threat exists now and is clearly of those to which the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter apply. The experience of the last thirty years has taught us that these centres of racist resistance lead, sooner or later, to aggression. The United Kingdom, Portuguese and other colonies scattered along the African coast-line are colonial outposts completing the South African bastion.

20. Secondly, the colonies of South Arabia, the Caribbean Islands and British Guiana, as well as islands in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans are bases and home ports that encircle all continents and supplement the bases which the imperialist countries during a troubled era, succeeded in obtaining in the Territories of independent countries. The events of the last few years' history have shown that these bases are also used as bases of operations for imperialist acts of aggression against independent countries, such as the United States aggression against the free State of Viet-Nam.

21. The United Nations must act firmly and effectively in support of peoples which are still deprived of their inalienable right to determine their own future. With this premise in mind, the Romanian delegation believes that the present debate could lead to the preparation of certain recommendations in support of the struggle of the colonial peoples.

22. The General Assembly should draw up or support recommendations which are in accordance with the freely expressed will of the population in each Territory. To that end, it must again recommend to the colonial Powers that they create the conditions which will enable the populations of colonial Territories freely to express their will.

23. The Romanian delegation is also of the opinion that the suggestion made at the present session [1385th meeting] by the representative of the Republic of Mali on the desirability of establishing direct links between the Committee of Twenty-Four and the peoples of the colonized Territories should be

^{3/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 15, document A/5840, para. 176.

^{4/} S. C. Easton, The Rise and Fall of Western Colonialism, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1964, p. 372.

most carefully considered. Similar proposals have been submitted by other delegations.

24. The second point which should be considered in this debate is the urgency of the need to implement the provisions of the Declaration. The resolution [1514 (XV)] adopted in 1960, subsequent General Assembly resolutions, and important documents adopted at other international conferences, such as the meetings of the Organization of African Unity and the Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in October 1964, have stressed the urgent necessity of eliminating the colonial system. Clearly, the United Nations, which reviews each year the progress made in implementing the Declaration, must give a more explicit definition of the word "urgent" and make its meaning more specific.

25. Similarly, we consider that the United Nations should take a closer interest in the national leadership in dependent territories. We are referring to the need to demonstrate greater concern for safeguarding the leaders and members of the national liberation movement, who may tomorrow become the heads and leaders of new independent states.

26. After all, since the United Nations has asked the administering Powers to take steps to transfer power immediately to the peoples of colonial territories and since those Powers are doing everything in their power to hamper the activities of national movements and are taking reprisals against the leaders of those movements, it is hardly possible, for the Organization cannot fail promptly to oppose any action which results not in granting peoples the right to decide their future, but in preserving colonial régimes. To remove from political life the leaders of the peoples of colonial territories and to encourage and support certain individuals who do not, in fact, represent those peoples but are prepared to defend the interests of the colonial Powers, these are violations of the provisions of the 1960 Declaration and they create a serious source of conflict and concern in those territories.

27. The abolition of the colonial system has long been considered an important and urgent task. At this session the General Assembly should, in my delegation's opinion, give fresh impetus to this process, the historical significance of which is obvious. The struggle for the abolition of colonial domination has its natural complement in the efforts being made today by most nations to found their political independence on a solid economic basis, to advance and to raise their standard of living.

28. The close and indissoluble connexion between the two stages of the same process accentuates the need to grant true political independence which will enable the new sovereign countries to proceed unhindered with the complex tasks which the achievement of economic and social progress requires of them.

29. The restrictions which some colonial Powers impose on independent countries before or at the time of transferring power to colonial peoples are a violation of the Declaration on colonialism and the Charter of the United Nations, and have an adverse effect on the achievement of the aims which the

new countries, having been granted independence, must pursue. For example, the establishment of military bases, the signature of unjust agreements before independence with a view to maintaining existing military bases, or the granting of concessions for the development of those countries' natural resources by foreign monopolies, these, by creating obligations even before independence, constitute so many impediments to that independence itself and to the privilege of national sovereignty.

30. It is the duty of the United Nations firmly and consistently to oppose any attempt at infringing the right of peoples to have the best possible opportunities to develop their political independence into complete independence. The Organization must also take effective measures to determine which Powers are deriving direct or indirect benefit from the exploitation of colonial territories and to apply the recommendations of the Security Council and General Assembly.

31. The General Assembly's task cannot be brought to a successful conclusion without the work of the Committee of Twenty-Four. The work already accomplished by the members of this Committee, under the competent guidance of its Chairman, is an augury of even better results in the future; that is why the Romanian delegation supports the extension of the mandate of the Committee of Twenty-Four.

32. It is a matter of honour for our Organization to try to find the best means of helping colonial peoples to put an end, once and for all and as soon as possible, to the shameful colonial system, that blot on our century's civilization. We must realize that the Organization will fail in its task and will seriously endanger its prestige if it does not take urgent measures to that end.

33. As we all know, the peoples will continue their struggle for freedom, independence and full sovereignty, and will secure recognition of their legitimate rights in spite of the bitter opposition of colonial Powers and monopolies.

34. Let us ensure that the United Nations is once again on the side of right and progress. My delegation wishes to state from this rostrum that the Romanian Government and people will not fail in their duty and will retain the deep feeling of solidarity and justice which unites them to the noble struggle of colonial peoples.

35. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania will support the adoption of effective measures to bring about the immediate implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which was adopted five years ago by the General Assembly.

36. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): The complete elimination of colonialism in all its forms is unquestionably one of the most urgent tasks at present facing peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples and nations. The great drive shown by the national liberation struggle in the post-war period and the historic victories already gained by many nations which have achieved independence are proof

of the obvious scope and depth of this great revolutionary movement against imperialism and colonialism. Peoples are more aware than ever of their inalienable rights and are resolved to struggle to the end for recognition of their sacred right to self-determination in the conquest of freedom and independence.

37. The present situation in the struggle of peoples for national liberation provides convincing proof that the end of the abhorred system of colonial subjugation is near. Nevertheless, the inescapable facts of the situation at present obtaining in the many dependent territories of Africa and other continents, the severe repressive action taken by colonial Powers against the insurgent peoples of these territories and the valuable information in the report of the Special Committee [A/6000/Rev.1] are evidence of the desperation with which the imperialists and colonialists are clinging to this hideous system of foreign domination and exploitation. The report reveals, in particular, the difficulties encountered by the Special Committee in accomplishing its task as a result of the obstructive attitude and the various manoeuvres of the administering Powers.

38. All this emphasizes the importance of the duty falling on Member States which whole-heartedly support the cause of the independence of peoples and world peace, and the magnitude of the efforts required to counter the designs of the imperialist Powers—chiefly the United States of America, the main culprit in this sphere—in order to contribute effectively to the heroic struggle for independence being waged by peoples still bearing the odious yoke of colonialism.

39. The struggle of peoples against imperialism and colonialism, in which they have the sympathy and support of all progressive mankind, today dominates the world stage. One very recent event, which has caused a wave of indignation among the peoples of Africa and the other continents, is the situation created in Southern Rhodesia by the arbitrary proclamation of the so-called independence of that territory by the white settler minority, encouraged and supported by British imperialism and by the other colonial Powers.

40. This new step is a further act by the colonialists, a serious attack on African people of Southern Rhodesia, a serious threat to the peoples of Africa and a challenge to peace-loving countries and peoples everywhere. The aim of the British imperialists and of the other imperialists with major interests in Southern Rhodesia is to transform that country into a colonialist bridgehead in the campaign against the African peoples fighting for their liberation, and against the independent States of Africa.

41. Having failed in their famous attempt to create the so-called Central African Federation and to impose on Southern Rhodesia the ill-fated Constitution which was designed to secure the rule of 200,000 white settlers over the 4 million people of Zimbabwe, the United Kingdom colonialists, in collusion with their white henchmen in that African territory, had recourse to the latest fraudulent tactic: the unilateral

proclamation, by Ian Smith's racist authorities, of the so-called independence of Southern Rhodesia.

42. A number of imperialist and colonialist Powers were implicated in this further crime against the Zimbabwe people: they were headed by the United States of America, the greatest colonialist and racist power, the worst enemy of the freedom of the peoples of Africa and of the whole world, which has substantial interests in Southern Rhodesia and are where American monopolies have been infiltrating for a long time and from which they draw large profits. The demagogic statements of the United States concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia will of course deceive nobody. Everyone knows how the United States supports the white racists of Southern Rhodesia and the United Kingdom Government.

43. The African people of Southern Rhodesia is well acquainted with its age-old enemies, the imperialists and colonialists; it does not expect salvation from them and has no illusions about their fallacious statements on sanctions against the racist régime of Ian Smith.

44. We also believe that neither the imperialists nor their armed forces, regardless of how they are labelled, even if it be under the name of "United Nations forces", can help in the liberation of peoples under colonial servitude; recent experience, including the case of another African country, the Congo (Leopoldville), proves that such forces are used only as an instrument to suppress the liberation struggle of peoples, in order to perpetuate the shameful system of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

45. We are convinced that the Zimbabwe people, relying primarily on its own forces and on the active solidarity of the peoples of Africa and the other continents, will face the new situation resolutely, inflict irreparable damage on the Ian Smith clique and on all the colonialists who support him, and emerge victorious from its just struggle for independence.

46. The Albanian people and its Government, which have always followed with sympathy and given full support to the just struggle for independence of the people of Southern Rhodesia, have firmly condemned the plans and intrigues of the colonialist Powers and their henchmen, the white racists of that African territory. They have registered a strong and indignant protest against the unilateral proclamation of so-called independence by a handful of white racists encouraged and supported primarily by the United Kingdom Government, which bears the main responsibility for the system of fascist persecution and terror that has been employed for years against the valiant Zimbabwe people.

47. In its statement of 16 November 1965 on this question, the text of which was circulated to States Members of the United Nations, the Albanian Government expressed itself as follows:

"The Government of the People's Republic of Albania most vehemently condemns this arbitrary and provocative act by the racist group of Ian Smith and the British imperialists, who are seeking in this way to perpetuate the colonialist yoke

over the unfortunate African population of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)."^{5/}

48. We again express our unshakeable confidence in the just cause of the Zimbabwe people; we express our conviction that all efforts of the colonialists in Southern Rhodesia are doomed to failure and that the most recent fraudulent manoeuvre of proclaiming a false independence will merely provoke even more resolute resistance among the Zimbabwe people and thus hasten the inevitable end of colonialist domination in Southern Rhodesia.

49. While it shelters behind the white settlers of Southern Rhodesia in implementing the long-planned colonialist plot against the Zimbabwe people, the British Government shows no hesitation in carrying out a direct and most savage repressive action against the liberation movement of the people of Aden and the Protectorates, and of the people of Oman.

50. The United Kingdom, trampling underfoot the resolutions of the General Assembly, is launching a campaign of terror and military operations in the territory of Aden and the Aden Protectorates, bombing the peaceful civilian population and forcing tens of thousands of people to take refuge in Yemen. The military base at Aden, which is being strengthened more and more, is an instrument of the British policy of aggression and a serious threat to peace in that region. The recent suspension of the Aden Constitution and the overthrow of the nationalist Government have created an explosive situation which threatens to set the whole region of South Arabia ablaze.

51. At the same time, the British colonialists are pursuing against the freedom fighters and the entire people of Oman a policy of savage repression and violation of the most elementary civil rights. The report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Oman^{6/} describes arrests, mass imprisonments, and the torturing of Oman patriots. Moreover, the villages and the rural population are being subjected to attacks by the Royal Air Force and to punitive operations by United Kingdom armed forces and mercenaries. All these repressive and terrorist measures have created an intolerable situation in the country.

52. In these circumstances, it is the duty of peaceful Member States to demand that the United Nations adopt measures to help the peoples of Aden and Oman in their fight to force the United Kingdom to end its policy of aggression and its colonial domination in that region.

53. The Portuguese colonialists are waging a savage war of extermination against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea and are persisting in their deliberate refusal to carry out the measures recommended in numerous United Nations resolutions. Portugal is still nursing its mad dream of annexing these three colonies which it simply regards as Portuguese provinces and extensions of Portuguese territory.

54. Despite the Organization's appeals, the imperialist Powers continue to give the Portuguese colonialists the benefit of their military, economic and financial aid and their political and moral support. Portugal, encouraged and supported by its allies, persists in its refusal to recognize the right to independence of the peoples of its colonies. The Portuguese troops are equipped with the most modern weapons supplied by the United States and other allies, which they employ to massacre and exterminate the African populations under their domination. Engagements between patriot forces and Portuguese colonialist forces are occurring with increasing frequency. In their flight from the barbarous repressive measures of the Portuguese colonialists, thousands of African families have left their homes to seek refuge in neighbouring countries.

55. It must be emphasized that the imperialist Powers, in providing assistance to Portugal, are not acting solely as defenders of the colonialist system itself; they also have a direct interest in protecting in the Portuguese colonies the enormous profits derived by their monopolies from the wealth of these colonies, in which they have invested much more capital than have the Portuguese colonialists.

56. The United Nations must, by virtue of the Charter, assume its responsibilities and adopt the necessary measures with a view to making a real contribution to the liberation struggle of the African peoples under Portuguese domination. States which are devoted to the cause of freedom and peace are faced with a severe trial in the case of the Portuguese colonies. In particular, the United Nations must require the imperialist Powers to heed its resolutions and must call upon them to halt all aid to Portugal and to take appropriate, clear and radical steps of a kind which may effectively help to force Portugal to leave the African territories without delay.

57. For twenty years peaceful States have been trying to bring pressure to bear on the racist Government of South Africa with the object of inducing it to give up its policy of apartheid and colonial domination over African peoples. Despite dozens of United Nations resolutions, the Pretoria Government, heedless of world opinion, is persisting in its criminal policy of racial segregation directed against the coloured population of South Africa and is redoubling its efforts to annex the territory of South West Africa and even the three territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

58. It is well known that the South African Government is encouraged and supported in its racist policy and colonialist designs by other imperialist Powers. Recent events in Southern Rhodesia, the joint work of the imperialists and colonialists, have given further encouragement to the Verwoerd Government, which is trying to take advantage of the new situation thus created in the region. The collusion between that Government and the United States, the United Kingdom and West Germany, in particular, is a matter of public knowledge. These Powers are providing assistance to the Government of South Africa with the intention of safeguarding the profits of their monopolies in that country and of continuing to use it as a base for their plans of aggression;

^{5/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twentieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1965, document S/6972.

^{6/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 16, document A/5864.

this constitutes a direct threat to peace in Africa and world peace.

59. The case of South Africa is one of the typical examples that show where the reason for the survival of the colonialist and racist system is to be sought and in which direction the struggle for the total and final removal of this hated system of oppressing and exploiting peoples must be waged.

60. We spoke earlier, with reference to some colonial countries, of the co-operation and the community of interests which exist among the colonialist Powers that are seeking to safeguard their colonial possessions, both because of the enormous profits they derive from dependent territories and because they wish to use those territories as a base for their aggressive plans.

61. It is undoubtedly because of their solidarity and, above all, because of the support and help provided by the United States, the chief imperialist and colonialist Power, that colonialism has been able to survive until now. The United States is today the main bastion of colonialism and neo-colonialism. It is encouraging and helping the former colonialists to maintain their colonial possessions, while doing its utmost to supplant them and to extend its domination to all regions of the globe. The United States, which represents the most aggressive form of imperialism, uses all means to that end, including armed force.

62. It keeps under its colonial yoke a number of foreign territories, such as Puerto Rico, Guam and the Virgin Islands. It should be remembered in this connexion that, despite repeated requests that the question of Puerto Rico be considered, the Special Committee, under pressure from the United States and as a result of various manoeuvres on its part, has deferred the subject from one session to the next, which must inevitably endanger the legitimate rights of the people of Puerto Rico and that country's freedom and independence.

63. Having occupied by force of arms such regions as the Congo (Leopoldville), South Korea, Taiwan and other territories, the United States imperialists have transformed them into veritable colonies. A typical case illustration of their policy of aggression and conquest is the case of Viet-Nam, where the United States aggressors are waging a barbarous war against the heroic Viet-Nameese people, which is struggling for its right to self-determination and independence.

64. At a time when the national liberation struggle has taken on unprecedented vigour, the United States and other imperialist Powers, aware of the difficulty at present of reducing peoples to patent and direct subjugation, are having recourse to a new and more veiled form of foreign domination and exploitation, namely, neo-colonialism. The United States is undoubtedly the protagonist in this form of exploitation of peoples. United States imperialism has now become the chief enemy of peoples fighting for freedom and independence.

65. As a result of the crushing blows inflicted by the national liberation movements, the colonial system is in a state of utter disintegration and its inevitable

end is near. Nevertheless, colonialism has not been destroyed, as the advocates of imperialism aver. Tens of territories and tens of millions of human beings are still under colonial rule in various parts of the globe; the United States and other imperialists are persisting in their bloody oppression and are still plundering the wealth of dependent peoples.

66. Moreover we cannot accept the point of view of those who, on the pretext of a danger of war and of an alleged transformation of imperialism, which they claim has become reasonable and peaceful, oppose the struggle of dependent peoples and recommend that they capitulate to imperialism and colonialism.

67. We have often asserted here in the United Nations, and we maintain that view, that the struggle of peoples for national liberation is a just and irreproachable struggle. It is made necessary by the imperialists and colonialists who do not want to give up their selfish and criminal interests and their privileges based on cruel exploitation of the peoples under their domination. Imperialists and colonialists do not willingly abandon their positions; they do not grant independence when requested and petitioned to do so.

68. A striking example for us, representatives at the United Nations, of this fact is provided by the extremely unco-operative position invariably adopted by the colonialists with regard to the hundreds of United Nations resolutions on colonialism and racial discrimination. This example and, above all, the wars of repression and aggression waged by the imperialists against peace-loving peoples, are the best answer to those who disagree with our point of view.

69. As I mentioned just now, independence is not willingly bestowed by colonialists; it is won through the struggle being waged at various levels by subject peoples, with the solidarity and the support of progressive peoples and nations throughout the world. The struggle of peoples for independence is a struggle in self-defence; it is sacred. The African and Asian Heads of State, in particular, who know the colonialists from their own experience, have publicly rejected the pretensions of those who advocate peaceful co-existence between imperialism and colonialism, on the one hand, and colonized and dependent peoples, on the other.

70. It is necessary to point out at the same time that, contrary to the views to which I have just referred, the peoples' struggle for independence and the victories which have been won in that struggle serve the cause of peace directly. Each victory gained by the peoples in their struggle for national independence is a blow against the imperialist war forces and accordingly a contribution to peace.

71. In particular, the succession of great victories gained since the Second World War by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have become independent has dealt a severe blow to the foundations of imperialist and colonialist rule and has seriously weakened them. The peoples which have shaken off the foreign yoke have become elements of a progressive force, firmly committed to the great

task of building a better world in which all peoples will be free and masters of their destiny.

72. What is the United Nations doing about decolonization, however, and what should its role be in that sphere? To judge it by the many former colonies which have gained independence during the last twenty years and to give the United Nations credit for the changes which have occurred in the world during that period with regard to decolonization would be a serious mistake. It is necessary to reaffirm right away the undeniable fact that any victories gained in this sphere are due to the actions and efforts of the colonial peoples themselves, with the solidarity and support of all peace- and freedom-loving peoples and nations. It would be illogical and absurd to minimize the importance of such a basic factor as the national liberation struggle of peoples. Those who hold a contrary opinion are pursuing aims which conflict with the aspirations of oppressed peoples.

73. No one can deny, however, the fact that efforts have been made within the United Nations to support colonial peoples and help them to free themselves of the colonial yoke. Many peaceful countries have sought, through the United Nations, to lend real assistance to oppressed peoples in order to bring their sufferings to an end as soon as possible. But the United Nations has been unable to carry out that task because of the obstructive attitude of the colonialist Powers and, above all, because of the baneful influence exerted by the United States over the United Nations. The Organization is manipulated by that imperialist Power which seeks by every means to use it as an instrument for its policy of hegemony and aggression.

74. Peaceful Member States must certainly not relax their efforts. They must intensify their co-operation and take more effective concerted action above all, to liberate the Organization from the ascendancy of the United States, the chief cause of all its defects and misdeeds, which has not only seriously weakened its authority but has rendered it incapable of fulfilling, under the Charter, the tasks arising from the great problems of our time.

75. As for the problem of decolonization itself, we believe that the time for reports and resolutions, which have been repeating themselves fruitlessly for the last twenty years, is now past. Member States devoted to the cause of the freedom and independence of peoples must therefore act on the basis of the existing situation and demand the adoption by the General Assembly of vigorous, clear and radical measures, allowing only a limited time for their implementation and, if necessary, for the application of the sanctions referred to in Chapter VII of the Charter against the refractory colonialist Powers which persist in maintaining their hateful system of colonialist domination of peoples, the source of sufferings and of wars of aggression. This is the only way of giving real help in the struggle of peoples for national independence.

76. The adoption and execution of such measures will not only serve the cause of dependent peoples and peace, but will also be an important step towards

defending and strengthening the Organization. The Albanian delegation is prepared to support any measures likely to achieve those aims.

Mr. Nyankiye (Burundi), Vice-President, took the Chair.

77. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) (translated from French): Five years ago, the General Assembly adopted the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in response to the irresistible pressure of the forces of peace and progress which united on that occasion to impose on the reactionary forces of imperialism this monument to freedom through self-determination, this veritable charter of oppressed and scored peoples, the charter of the world's proletariat. A new wind blew through the halls of the Assembly, sweeping away outmoded habits of mind, prejudices, and archaic forms of behaviour, and giving an unprecedented vigour and determination to our joint efforts to put an end to the colonial adventure which was increasingly proving a permanent source of frictions and conflicts capable of endangering international peace and security.

78. The dawn of freedom for all peoples, without distinction as to race, colour or religion, began to light up the sky, while the responsible and committed leaders of the peoples freshly emerging from the night of colonial bondage came one after another to this rostrum to assert the claims of their brothers still languishing beneath the savage yoke of Portuguese, British, Spanish, French, Belgian and Dutch colonialism. These committed leaders and representatives reiterated the desire of their peoples for peace, progress and brotherhood.

79. Every year, the Assembly takes stock of the progress made towards the goals of resolution 1514 (XV), examining the reports submitted by the anti-colonialist Committee set up in pursuance of the resolution: formerly the Committee of Seventeen, and now the Committee of Twenty-Four. The Assembly owes this Committee, guided with such ability and vision by my brother from Mali, Mr. Sory Coulibaly, a debt of gratitude on behalf of the countries whose cause the Committee has ceaselessly defended, and also on behalf of all thinking people, since the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international economic co-operation, impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples and militates against the United Nations ideal of universal peace. These are the very words of resolution 1514 (XV).

80. This year once again, the Committee has adhered to its now long-established and, I would add, happy tradition of expounding clearly and forthrightly its views on the future—if I can use that word—of colonialism and the manifold dangers which it presents. It has done so in spite of the increasing subtle protests and the now rather impotent obstructionism of the reactionary forces represented by certain of its members, who continually call for compromises with the colonialists because they themselves are compromised in that they are abetting

the contemptible actions of Portugal, South Africa, the United Kingdom and other Powers which cling to absurd, outdated myths, and still have their claws in the flesh of the peoples of Southern Africa, whom they wish to use as bulwarks to protect their unjust privileges and their ill-gotten and excessive wealth.

81. We must therefore pay a warm tribute to the anti-colonialist majority of the Committee of Twenty-Four for its outstanding efforts during the last two years and particularly for the new initiatives and innovations which have characterized its recent meetings in New York and, above all, those held on the African continent. For Africa, the abolition of colonialism in all its forms, including economic and cultural colonialism, or neo-colonialism, and direct and indirect intervention in the affairs of young independent States, which are often victims of attempts at subversion by proxy, is the sine qua non of rapid, peaceful development in a context of international responsibility and stability. The visit to Africa was valuable both for the colonized peoples and for the United Nations. For the former, it was an indication of the great interest taken by the United Nations in their cause, which is a prerequisite for the achievement of the Organization's objectives. As for the United Nations, the visit enabled it to demonstrate its seriousness and enhanced it in the eyes of the African peoples, who have been gravely disturbed by the shortcomings of our principal organs when it comes to helping to rid their continent of the mercenaries of Salazar at Bissau, Luanda and Lourenço Marques, those of the United Kingdom at Salisbury, those of Pretoria at Windhoek, etc.

82. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in paragraph 5, declared unambiguously:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories of all other territories which have not yet attained independence"—that provision, of course, applied to what the United Kingdom referred to at the time as the "special case" of Rhodesia, which has since rebelled against the international community and the United Kingdom—"to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

83. Five years after the adoption of this Declaration, which does honour to its authors and to those who adopted it, eighty-five countries with a total population of nearly 50 million still suffer under the yoke of foreign domination. It is true that the majority of these countries are what are customarily referred to as "small territories", islands for the most part, and enclaves which may or may not be economically viable on their own and which are often an easy prey to neo-colonialism, that last stage of imperialism—as President Kwame Nkrumah calls it—ever impatient to return to the scene of its crimes under the cloak of so-called technical or financial assistance or with the help of a so-called defensive military base.

84. Of course, the bulk of the populations subjected to arbitrary colonial rule are still to be found in the large territories of Southern Africa, where the Nazi and fascist forces expelled from Europe after the Second World War have taken refuge and are seeking to defend something called white Christian civilization at the expense of the most elementary rights of the indigenous populations, by methods which do no credit either to Christianity or to the white race.

85. These unrepentant imperialists and colonialists of Lisbon, Salisbury and Pretoria are supported by military alliances such as NATO, or economic alliances, and are still holding beneath their blood-stained boots so-called "Portuguese" Guinea, Angola, Mozambique, and other dependencies, where blood has never ceased to flow since Salazar and his conquistadores settled down to an ugly colonial war in the pure French tradition which we all remember so well; they are holding under their blood-stained boots Southern Rhodesia, that unforgivable sin of the United Kingdom, where 250,000 settlers are crazed with fear and convulsed with racist emotions towards 4 million of our brothers; they are holding beneath their blood-stained boots South West Africa, a territory with an international status which the neo-Nazis of Pretoria are trying to annex to their apartheid empire, arrogantly and in utter scorn of the rights of the international community. These are the areas which still remain to be liberated, five years after the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 1514 (XV).

86. Concerning the first group of countries still to be freed, namely, the small territorial entities, the Guinean delegation considers that we should approach their case with a deep sense of responsibility and with constant concern for the higher interests of their inhabitants. While it is essential to liberate them by ensuring the free exercise of their right to self-determination, it is equally vital to avoid plunging them into adventures which can only result in the perpetuation of a disguised colonialism which will be internationally sanctioned, if not protected. We therefore consider it essential for the United Nations to use all its experience and its disinterested support to help the countries in question to make the choices most in conformity with their wishes for freedom and progress, by using all the resources and methods set out in resolution 1541 (XV), and particularly in principle VI, ranging from outright independence to free association with an independent State or integration with an independent State.

87. We must not have false scruples when it comes to guaranteeing the future of these peoples. In fact, the creation of larger unitary or federated entities is in keeping with our concern for international equilibrium and stability. The Committee of Twenty-Four should look very seriously and dispassionately at the case of these countries. We believe that resolution 1541 (XV), of which I should like to recall some of the principles, can be a source of guidance to the Committee of Twenty-Four and can be of great assistance to the peoples of small territories in the exercise of their right to self-determination.

88. I should like to begin by quoting principle VII, concerning the method of free association to which I have just referred; the text of this principle reads:

"(a) Free association should be the result of a free and voluntary choice by the peoples of the territory concerned expressed through informed and democratic processes. It should be one which respects the individuality and the cultural characteristics of the territory and its peoples, and retains for the peoples of the territory which is associated with an independent State the freedom to modify the status of that territory through the expression of their will by democratic means and through constitutional processes.

"(b) The associated territory should have the right to determine its internal constitution without outside interference, in accordance with due constitutional processes and the freely expressed wishes of the people. This does not preclude consultations as appropriate or necessary under the terms of the free association agreed upon."

In our view, it was such a principle that inspired the Association arrangements recently agreed upon between New Zealand and the Cook Islands.

89. Principle VIII is as follows:

"Integration with an independent State should be on the basis of complete equality between the peoples of the erstwhile Non-Self-Governing Territory and those of the independent country with which it is integrated. The peoples of both territories should have equal status and rights of citizenship and equal guarantees of fundamental rights and freedoms without distinction or discrimination; both should have equal rights and opportunities for representation and effective participation at all levels in the executive, legislative and judicial organs of Government."

90. Finally, according to principle IX, integration should come about in the following circumstances:

"(a) The integrating territory should have attained an advanced stage of self-government with free political institutions, so that its peoples would have the capacity to make a responsible choice through informed and democratic processes.

"(b) The integration should be the result of the freely expressed wishes of the territory's peoples acting with full knowledge of the change in their status, their wishes having been expressed through informed and democratic processes, impartially conducted and based on universal adult suffrage. The United Nations could, when it deems it necessary, supervise these processes."

91. In the opinion of the Guinean delegation, those are principles which should be of great assistance to the Committee of Twenty-Four in its endeavours to help the people of the small territories to exercise their right of self-determination. We find it very hard to see how a rock, for example, can attain independence and live on its own means unless, of course, it survives thanks to a military base or to subsidies which vitiate that sovereignty to which we wish to subscribe in full and for which we want

a United Nations guarantee, a guarantee which is not confined to granting a seat in this Organization and a flagstaff from which to fly a flag, but a guarantee of genuine independence which could prove viable.

92. Consequently, we consider that the Committee of Twenty-Four must take these principles amply into account and make the necessary recommendations to us on the question of the territories known as the small territories. We entirely support the recommendations which have already been submitted.

93. With regard to the second group of countries which come under the alleged sovereignty of Portugal, the United Kingdom and South Africa, to mention those States alone, we shall not repeat what we have already said. From now on, the question of those countries comes under the heading of a threat to international peace and security.

94. In the Portuguese colonies, arms have already taken the place of dialogue, since there is no one who will discuss the legitimate claims of the subject peoples. War is raging in those countries and it may spread to Rhodesia and South West Africa if, through lack of conviction and determination, the international community does not manage to remove those two territories from the torn and bloodstained claws of British and South African imperialism.

95. In the particular case of so-called Portuguese Guinea, a country in which the PAIGC (Parti africain de l'indépendance de la Guinée et du Cap-Vert) is daily inflicting mortal blows on the Portuguese mercenaries, my country is watching the activities of Salazar and his torturers with the greatest attention and is keeping a vigilant eye upon them. How can we enjoy the fruits of independence when our brothers who are separated from us by an accident of colonial history, brothers speaking the same language, with the same customs and the same history, are being hunted and pursued day after day? How can we remain indifferent when our villages are constantly being startled out of their sleep, when at dawn our people have to receive women, children and old people who are being hounded and harried because their brothers and sisters are in the maquis and have not responded to the call of the Portuguese gendarme?

96. Day after day Africans die, killed by weapons supplied to Portugal by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Day after day the peace-loving people of African villages are bombed by aircraft supplied to Portugal by countries that are members of NATO. The air space of my country is constantly violated by Portuguese aircraft. The Republic of Guinea has taken the necessary steps, in accordance with its right of self-defence, to protect itself against such acts of international piracy. Why, in pursuance of the defence of some free world or other, do the members of NATO allow themselves to become accomplices in odious crimes in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea? We say this loudly so that we may be clearly heard: it is at you, the countries members of NATO, that we are pointing an accusing finger; millions of African fingers point at you and accuse you; the tiny heads of infants killed by your weapons point at you, and accuse you, the gnarled fingers of old

men point at you and curse you in their death throes; the fingers of women, hiding their faces from crime and rape, point at you, the hands of nationalists in their last convulsions point at you and accuse you.

97. Which are these NATO countries: I have here a newspaper article which is revealing on this subject and I should like to quote some passages from it. It is taken from a London newspaper, the Daily Telegraph, of 16 November 1965, and is entitled "Rhodesia, Headache for Salazar".

"Differences with Britain obviously distress Dr. Salazar. The British Embassy in Lisbon has the perplexing task of maintaining good relations while adhering to United Nations resolutions that are aimed at putting an end to Portugal as an overseas Power.

"'At one time we would never have thought of buying anything but a British warship', Dr. Salazar said. 'Portugal is now buying four frigates and four submarines from France. This is an order worth many millions of pounds, with subsequent orders.'

"I understand that Britain lost the order because of a proviso, in accordance with United Nations resolutions, whereby the frigates could not be used in African waters. They would have been supplied with ammunition for NATO exercises only. The same restrictions are hampering Portuguese attempts to buy military aircraft.

"...

"Britain is still the best customer for Portuguese goods, but has slipped to second-best exporter there: Germany has taken over the lead, and also supplies arms to Portugal without strings."

98. Some members of that alliance, in particular imperialist Britain, obey the decisions freely adopted in the Security Council; other Powers in that same alliance, including France and the Federal Republic of Germany, are taking over from the United Kingdom in supplying all kinds of arms to the Portuguese Government for the purpose of crushing the African revolution. The colonial policy of the Lisbon Government is not confined to the territories subjugated by Portugal; it is part of a strategy which has been deliberately created to undermine African independence and which is against African dignity and the progress and stability of the African continent.

99. The situation now prevailing in South West Africa and in Rhodesia should be given special attention by the United Nations, for it is the result of Portugal's refusal to decolonize. In other words, the prime offender in this affair is certainly Portugal. In this part of southern Africa, and after the fashion of the Republic of South Africa, a régime built upon racial supremacy has come into being and this has dangerously aggravated the situation and is a threat to world peace and security.

100. Recently the Security Council has been concerned with the question of Rhodesia, after what was pompously called the unilateral declaration of independence made by the rulers and leaders of that

country. The decisions taken at its meetings do not for the moment seem to have changed the course of the disastrous progress of that country towards armed conflict between the races, a conflict which is a monstrosity in modern times. Africa, for its part, has shouldered its responsibilities: political, diplomatic, economic and military responsibilities. It will not fail in its duty despite the prophets of doom who are short of issues to discuss in their Press—a Press which is blinded by the satisfaction of thoughts that are distorted, by some kind of cultural, or even racial, superiority complex.

101. It rests with the United Kingdom to shoulder its responsibilities, which devolve upon it because of its former obstinacy and its refusal to co-operate with the United Nations, if not its de facto complicity with the Salisbury adventurers.

102. With regard to South West Africa, we must note that the deliberations of the International Court at The Hague are still dragging on. However that may be, we shall not relax our vigilance, so that as soon as the judgement of the Court is made public the Security Council, or perhaps a special session of the General Assembly, may consider it, draw the appropriate conclusions and apply the necessary recommendations.

103. For the time being we have before us the recommendations of the Committee of Twenty-Four and the Fourth Committee on each of these issues and on the issues as a whole. It goes without saying that we firmly support all these recommendations in the hope that we shall convince the members of the Security Council of the need to realize that colonialism in all its forms is one of the greatest dangers threatening international peace and security and that the sooner we put an end to it, with all the means at our disposal, the sooner shall we ensure the maintenance of peace and the survival and strengthening of the United Nations for the promotion of fruitful and fraternal international co-operation.

104. It now remains for my delegation to invite the United Nations to reappraise its work in the field of decolonization. We think that the time has come to review the terms of reference of the Committee of Twenty-Four—which at present has only twenty-three members owing to the voluntary withdrawal of Cambodia, for reasons which, incidentally, were highly justified and do it credit—taking into account the dramatic and tragic manifestations of the colonial adventure in its death throes.

105. It is well known that at its meetings in Africa the Special Committee defended the just cause of the fight for decolonization and stated in its resolutions that because that fight was just and lawful it should be supported morally and materially by all States of the world.

106. The Republic of Guinea considers that, since this fight is the result of the obstinacy of the colonialist aggressors and is directed against the exploitation of man, and since its aim is to implement the principles of our Charter and of the Declaration appearing in resolution 1514 (XV), it should be vigorously supported by the entire international community.

107. In the field of decolonization, it is no longer a question of adopting resolutions, whether strong or weak; it is now a question of saying to those who are the conscious guardians of international peace and security: will you implement the historic Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) which you adopted on 14 December 1960? How and when will you do so?

108. The Committee of Twenty-Four could answer these questions by confining its decisions henceforth to defining the practical ways and means to be employed to enable all territories which are still dependent to achieve independence. My delegation considers that, to this end, it is imperative that the General Assembly should fix the year 1967 as the final date for the elimination of colonialism throughout the world. After that date, any colonial Power should be considered an aggressor against the territory or territories which it still occupies, an aggressor against the United Nations and against mankind. The Security Council will then draw the appropriate conclusions, in accordance with the relevant provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

109. The United Nations would be failing in its sacred duty if it did not find a rapid solution to colonial crises. Its prestige is at stake, as are its survival and its credit, which have recently suffered some dangerous blows. At stake, too, are the lives of millions of human beings who are suffering, who are hoping, and who are looking to us to help them emerge from the dark night of colonialism. The African continent, for its part, has neither the will nor the right to wait much longer for the inglorious death of the colonial hydra, which is mortgaging its whole future.

110. Let us do what we thought was just and essential five years ago when we proclaimed our Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Let us do it now, for in this matter time is our enemy. Every day that passes means that the struggle will be more violent and the execution of colonialism more bloody.

111. Mr. SHEVCHENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): In a few days' time it will be the fifth anniversary of the adoption by the United Nations of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It was with great hope and expectation that all progressive people welcomed the adoption of this remarkable document of our times, which recognizes the right of peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence.

112. In the last few years great changes have taken place throughout the world; new States, whose peoples have won freedom in a heroic struggle, have made their appearance on the map.

113. The admission to the United Nations of several dozen newly independent States has made a difference to the work of our Organization. The Organization has itself, so to speak, been somewhat "rejuvenated". It has become more universal, more representative and more authoritative.

114. The five years that have passed since the adoption of the Declaration should have allowed sufficient time to implement the principles proclaimed in the Declara-

tion. However, the business of eliminating colonialism is proceeding far too slowly—indeed, at a snail's pace—and there is no cause for the singing of hosannas or beating of drums.

115. In the space age, in which man has surmounted the laws of gravity and emerged into the vastness of the Universe, we cannot accept the fact that here on earth there are still people who are fettered by the chains of slavery. We cannot tolerate the existence of oppression, humiliation and the exploitation of man by man.

116. Today it would be hard to find anyone speaking out openly in defence of the colonial order. Even the most inveterate colonialists dare not do this. Yet colonialism still exists in Africa, where there are some twenty colonies, protectorates and other dependent territories in which some 20 million people are living, or rather dragging out a miserable existence. There are also colonies and dependent territories in other parts of the world, where people have never yet seen the light of freedom.

117. It is the supreme duty of our Organization to do away with this legacy of the past without delay and to wipe off this blot from our planet. Comments and arguments by the representatives of colonial Powers to the effect that some colonial peoples are not yet "ready for independence" carry no weight at all. The colonial Powers have had ample time to prepare their colonies and themselves for this inevitable process.

118. The Ukrainian delegation was struck by the statement made by the United Kingdom representative on 1 December in this Assembly hall [1386th meeting]. We hold it to be a very typical statement. It sheds light on the manner in which the colonial Powers are planning to implement the Declaration, or rather, the way in which they are trying to circumvent it.

119. To the best of his ability, the United Kingdom representative tried to defend the colonialist policy of his Government, which he presented in the appealing role of a champion of freedom and independence. From his statement we glean the irrefutable fact that there are still thirty-one territories, with millions of inhabitants, under British colonial rule.

120. In view of this information I doubt that anyone will believe that the United Kingdom Government has a sincere desire genuinely to implement the Declaration we have adopted. The representative of the United Kingdom vainly tries to convince us that colonies are a burden to his country. He said (and I quote):

"There would be advantage in cutting our ties with them tomorrow, but we are not prepared to break faith with them" [1386th meeting, para. 46].

121. We are entitled to ask the United Kingdom representative what faith he is referring to. We have already seen how the United Kingdom kept "faith" with the people of Southern Rhodesia. It simply delivered these 4 million people into the hands of that out-and-out racist, Ian Smith.

122. The United Kingdom representative also said that his country would act only with the consent of the people and only in consultation with them. But

what sort of "consultations" are these, in which the most active participants are British heavy arms and machine-guns, tanks and aircraft? I am referring, in particular, to British military action against the national liberation movement in South Arabia, Oman and other parts of the world.

123. No gentlemen, such "faith", such "consultations" are not what the people still under colonial rule want from you. All this is contrary to our Declaration.

124. The Declaration expressly states that inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence.

125. The Declaration also emphasizes that, in all territories which have not yet attained independence (I quote):

"Immediate steps shall be taken...to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom" [para. 5].

126. Experience shows that independence is not given away as a gift by the colonialists, but is won by peoples in a relentless struggle, either by force of arms or with the help of other means and methods. Consequently the causes for the maintenance of the colonial yoke are those very conditions and factors which impede the progress of the national liberation movement and stand in the way of its success.

127. The national liberation struggle is greatly complicated by the fact that it is now very often opposed not just by one particular colonial Power, but by an entire alliance of imperialist States which, in the pursuit of predatory aims, join forces in an attempt to prolong the death throes of colonialism.

128. The imperialists are using their superior strength and will stop at nothing to maintain power in regions which are of particular economic or strategic interest to them.

129. Let us consider the case of the Portuguese colonies. It has already been pointed out that weak and backward Portugal, with a negligible military and industrial potential, could not possibly, without outside help, have kept control of African colonies more than twenty times its size in area and with one and a half times its population.

130. Its insolent defiance of world public opinion is chiefly explained by the fact that Portugal knows it has the backing of certain NATO members. For we all know that Portugal's coffers and military arsenals are being replenished by the NATO countries and that the weapons that are being used against patriotic insurgents in the colonies are for the most part of NATO origin.

131. In exchange for this assistance, the Salazar Government authorizes the foreign monopolies of these NATO countries to drain the wealth from the "Portuguese provinces" in Africa. Thus the mining and sale of Angolan diamonds is a monopoly of the Diamang Company. This is a Portuguese subsidiary

of the Anglo-American Diamond Corporation. The extraction of iron ore and some of the manganese and gold in Angola has been conceded to Krupp in exchange for deliveries of military equipment.

132. The material in the Special Committee's report, the statements by the petitioners and the reports in the world press have given us a clear picture of the ruthless colonial domination, shameless spoliation and lawless barbarity which have characterized Portugal's so-called civilizing mission throughout its entire history.

133. During its 500 years of rule, Portugal has brought upon the people of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and other territories untold misfortunes—poverty, hunger, ignorance, forced labour and the most cruel exploitation—and has held back their development by a good 100 years.

134. The oppression and colonial tyranny prevailing there have no parallel in modern history. The Portuguese colonialists are now anathema throughout the whole of Africa; their name has become the symbol of the most barbarous and revolting type of colonialism.

135. During the past few years Portugal has been waging a criminal war against the people of its colonies. The Portuguese army, which is well equipped and is now the largest in the African continent, is conducting military operations against patriots and peaceful inhabitants. Portugal is spending 100 million a year on this war—100 million—but it is also extracting five times that amount in profits from these colonies every year. It is indeed a tragic situation when people are being forced to pay for their own destruction. But for Portugal and the Western Powers which are supplying it with weapons it is a lucrative business, bringing in fabulous profits to the monopolies.

136. We feel that the time has come to apply the most resolute and effective measures against the Portuguese colonialists, to force them to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and to grant genuine freedom and independence to the people of these territories.

137. The picture in South West Africa is very similar. There, too, the racist Government of Verwoerd, with the encouragement of support of the Western Powers, led by the United States and the United Kingdom, is seeking to perpetuate the colonial order.

138. For twenty years this question has been on the General Assembly's agenda, but the situation, far from improving, grows worse every year. The discussion of the situation in South West Africa in the Fourth Committee at this session has shown that, despite the resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations, the South African racists are continuing to apply their inhuman policy of apartheid in the Territory and introducing racist practices worthy of the Middle Ages. The policy of the white racists is aimed at wiping out the indigenous inhabitants or turning them into slaves of the white settlers in perpetuity.

139. It is obvious from the Special Committee's report that the foreign monopolies are playing a particularly sinister role in the enslavement and op-

pression of the native population of South Africa and South West Africa.

140. What are these companies, and which Governments are behind them? This question is fully answered in the report. They are chiefly the United Kingdom, the United States, South African and other Western monopolies. Some of them are "purely" American, some exclusively British, and some are mixed. Some have a large amount of capital, others less. But essentially they all have the same purpose—the shameless plundering of South West Africa's natural resources, and the extraction of fabulous profits through utterly ruthless exploitation of the native population.

141. The Ukrainian delegation considers that the time has come to put an immediate and final stop to the activities of these foreign monopolies in South West Africa. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples must be applied without delay in respect of South West Africa and any steps, however drastic, taken by States and peoples to this end will undoubtedly be endorsed by history.

142. Nor can we fail to be seriously alarmed by the situation in the so-called small colonial possessions. We all know that the provisions of the Declaration are equally applicable to all colonial territories, both large and small, and that all people have a right to freedom and independence and the right to decide how their own affairs should be managed.

143. We believe that when it comes to the elimination of colonialism there can be no such thing as large and small problems, or large and small territories. All colonial peoples without exception must be given freedom and independence, regardless of the size of a colonial territory or its population and regardless of how developed or backward a particular territory may be.

144. Questions regarding the future status of any territory, its future form of government and methods of development must be decided by the people themselves without the slightest compulsion.

145. An essential prerequisite for the free and uninhibited expression of the wishes of the inhabitants of small colonial territories is full and unrestricted freedom of activity for all democratic parties and organizations in the territory. All democratic elements must be guaranteed freedom of association and assembly, freedom of the Press, freedom of speech and the like. All political prisoners must be immediately released. Until these measures have been carried out, statements by the representatives of colonial Powers that their Governments are ready to implement the Declaration are devoid of all meaning and content.

146. However, here again the colonial Powers, airing all sorts of theories about "unpreparedness", "unfitness" and "lack of economic viability" have resolutely refused to grant independence to these small colonial territories. Using these territories to accommodate their military bases, the imperialists have actually converted many of them into military bases and strongholds of colonialism which not only present a serious

obstacle to the independence of these colonies but also pose a major threat to many neighbouring sovereign States.

147. At practically every session we return to the same questions that were discussed at previous sessions and adopt more and more resolutions.

148. Repetition is said to be the mother of learning. But it looks as if someone were trying to disprove this well-known truth. Either we have not been sufficiently clear and explicit in our attempts to inculcate this truth or those who ought to grasp it—and I mean the colonialists—are consciously and deliberately refusing to see the obvious which, briefly, amounts to the fact that we are now living in the second half of the twentieth century and not in the Middle Ages.

149. My delegation believes that the time for persuasion and pious hopes is over. The General Assembly must emphatically and decisively demand that the colonial Powers should comply with the decisions set forth in the historic Declaration and should immediately grant freedom and independence to all peoples and territories, large and small.

150. In our opinion the General Assembly must, at its present session, work out new methods and principles for the final liquidation of colonialism. All States which favour the elimination of colonialism must take the most energetic measures and action to achieve the prompt and universal implementation of the Declaration.

151. The peoples which are still languishing under the yoke of colonialism expect decisive and practical action from the United Nations.

152. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic solemnly and emphatically declares that it will support any effective measures designed to put an irrevocable end to that shameful legacy of the past which is colonialism. It is the duty of the United Nations to give the colonial peoples every assistance and, by the same token, wipe the disgraceful blot of colonialism from the face of the earth.

153. Mr. GBEHO (Ghana): It is with a solemn sense of responsibility towards all colonial people that the delegation of Ghana participates in this debate on the reports of the Special Committee covering the period 1964-1965 [A/5800/Rev.1^{2/} and A/6000/Rev.1]. We wish therefore, from the outset, to place on record our sincere thanks and appreciation to all the members of the Committee of Twenty-Four for their outstanding contribution. In this respect, we cannot fail to commend highly the invaluable services of Mr. Coulibaly of Mali, under whose expert guidance the Special Committee achieved so much for subjugated people everywhere in this short space of time.

154. Although the records may show progress on the problem of decolonization, the fact remains that a vast number of territories, comprising millions of people, still have to be liberated, and therefore the United Nations commitment to the progress of decolonization is far from completed. The task is at present made even more arduous by the intransigence of some

^{2/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (part I).

of the colonial Powers, like South Africa and Portugal, and by the fact that these recalcitrant Powers continue to receive material and moral support from their allies, some of which are, paradoxically, founding Members of this Organization. The challenge in liberating the remaining colonies, therefore, has assumed immense and urgent proportions, and the United Nations must brace itself to meet the challenge posed by this intransigence.

155. Since the birth of the United Nations some twenty years ago, Member States have always declared their faith in the Charter of the Organization, but the actions of a number of these States in the practical implementation of the principles of our Charter have been in total contradiction of what they have passionately stated in this Assembly. We members of the Afro-Asian world have no shadow of doubt at this stage about the double standards of these powers, and we are convinced that they pay only lip service to the noble ideals of the Charter while they pass the poisoned chalice around behind the scenes. A classic example of this is the case of Southern Rhodesia, which has today plunged Africa and the world into a crisis of unpredictable proportions.

156. About five years ago, the United Kingdom Government sent its representatives here to convince this Assembly about the wisdom of accepting the 1961 Constitution they were then negotiating for their territory of Southern Rhodesia. Although it was then clear to all of us that democratic principles would be violated by the promulgation of that Constitution, and the fate of millions of African people would be handed over to the merciless and fascist policies of a ravenous racist white minority, and although we argued very strongly against this Southern Rhodesia Constitution, the British Government ignored our arguments and proceeded to endorse this Constitution. Time has since shown how right we were, but unfortunately the situation has in no way improved.

157. This year, the African countries again pointed out very clearly, individually and collectively, the injustice of handing over Southern Rhodesia to Ian Smith and his racist minority and we did our best to convince Britain not to tolerate any unilateral declaration of independence. Again, our pleas and arguments were ignored and Britain stood by silently while the racist criminals seized power and held Her Majesty's authority to ridicule in Southern Rhodesia. Today, 4 million African people are at the mercy of the power-drunk racist minority of Southern Rhodesia, whose sordid record of racial discrimination, fascist intolerance and police brutalities is beyond description.

158. Since this illegal declaration, men and women have been shot in the streets and defenceless people imprisoned and South African soldiers and apartheid experts have been imported into Southern Rhodesia to increase Ian Smith's control over the indigenous people of that territory.

159. The Ghana delegation however, cannot accept that Britain's responsibilities are by any means over in Southern Rhodesia. It might be true that the white people in Southern Rhodesia are cousins of the British people, but we believe that to maintain any

modicum of self-respect and influence in the United Nations and in the Afro-Asian world, Britain must reverse the obnoxious situation in Southern Rhodesia immediately. We are not war-mongers and we detest the wanton shedding of blood, but when a monstrous situation such as that which we have now in Southern Rhodesia stares mankind in the face and continues to stand as a challenge to human right and independence, then, certainly, Britain cannot escape the use of force to bring the situation to normalcy. In this regard, my delegation agrees whole-heartedly with the Archbishop of Canterbury, who declared recently in Oxford:

"In our modern world, I think that the use of force is only legitimate to the end of justice and order and there are a few occasions of that kind which arise. Upholding law and order did and does involve the use of force, though that force must never be used resentfully. I think that a State or a group of States can use force for upholding law and order where there is a real chance that the result of force will ensure law and order."

160. If I have lingered on the question of Southern Rhodesia, it is because Ghana feels very strongly about the crime that is being committed there at present with the secret connivance of the United Kingdom Government. At the time when Britain suggested that economic sanctions should be imposed on Southern Rhodesia, it was aware that countries such as Portugal and South Africa would not co-operate; and yet it made the suggestion only to turn round and tell us that there would be difficulties if all States failed to co-operate.

161. We believe that economic sanctions would be effective only if they were applied immediately and forcefully against Southern Rhodesia. The claim of Britain is surely a hypocritical one which is an insult to British intelligence. Is the United Kingdom claiming now that it was not aware of this condition when it threatened economic sanctions last year? Is it now claiming that it did not know that South Africa and Portugal would not co-operate in imposing any form of sanctions on Southern Rhodesia? Britain has been unfaithful to the international community and nothing short of the immediate reversal of the situation in Southern Rhodesia will restore its prestige, particularly as concerns the African community. We must remind Britain that if it fails, it will itself in that way weaken the fabric of the Commonwealth which it has built and will hasten the disintegration of the Commonwealth.

162. What has happened in Southern Rhodesia is only part of the grand plan of the "Unholy Alliance" of South Africa and Portugal to build and maintain a strong racist hegemony in southern Africa in order to serve their selfish interests. We Africans cannot accept this and we shall continue to fight against these racists to a man. A government that is based on the tenets of apartheid can never be acceptable to us. It therefore goes without saying that the Verwoerd régime in South Africa cannot look for any acceptance or co-operation from us as long as the majority of people are denied their elementary human rights and are regarded only as hewers of wood and drawers of water in the South African Republic.

163. The threat of apartheid in Africa is far graver than most Member States realize, for it is not confined to that immoral republic. Today, the racialists, in collaboration with Portugal and the NATO allies, are doing their diabolical best to extend this system to South West Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland, Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. The reports of the Special Committee are unequivocal in this respect and the petitioners who have appeared before the Fourth Committee have confirmed the Special Committee's reports. Certainly this is an intolerable situation because it conflicts with the principles of the United Nations Charter, it goes beyond the mandate of the metropolitan Powers, and it spells out only suffering and misery for millions of people who look to this Organization for protection and freedom.

164. This being so, why are we weak-kneed in dealing with situations which demand our firm action? Is it really right that the United Nations should be capable of action only when there is a crisis? This was not the reason why small countries like Ghana, at least, decided to join the United Nations. We therefore appeal to those Western countries which blindly follow their financial masters in perpetrating racial injustice to refrain from such immoral support of pernicious policies. The facts of domination in these colonies are clear, and the entire human effort of Member States must be mobilized to deal with each situation.

165. The Special Committee has stated clearly^{8/} that the interest of foreign companies in South West Africa is an impediment to the independence of the people of that territory. Despite the fact that South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States and West Germany make large profits in South West Africa every year, the African people of that colonial territory are in no position to enjoy either a higher standard of living or educational and social progress from the riches of their own country. Most of them either live in hunger or have only enough to keep body and soul together. Instead of sympathy, the capricious recommendations of the Odendaal Commission are being implemented to perpetrate their inferior status. They are to be distributed into reserves while the foreigner grows fat on their resources. This should not be the case. It is immoral and contrary to humanitarian principles.

166. There is no doubt that a gross international error was committed in entrusting the territory of South West Africa to South Africa, a country which contributes apartheid to the many other intractable problems of our world. Similarly, the territories of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea should not have been left in the hands of Portugal because Portugal itself is unprogressive and myopic in its colonial policies. It is the view of my delegation that the United Nations has an obligation to ensure that these territories are liberated immediately in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and resolution 1514 (XV).

167. Developments in the territories under Portuguese administration constitute a threat to peace. They

have made no political, economic, social or educational advancement, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all is completely ignored. We submit, therefore, that these territories should no longer be administered by Portugal since the latter has failed to comply with all the provisions laid down in Chapter XII of the Charter regarding the International Trusteeship System.

168. If my delegation has spoken at length on the colonial problems in Africa, it is only because, we as Africans, cannot do otherwise. We do not wish, however, to be interpreted as paying no attention to similar problems existing in the smaller territories in the Pacific and in the Caribbean. We have constantly highlighted the evils of colonialism in these territories whenever they have come under close scrutiny, and our condemnation of the policy of colonial domination will continue until these territories are free.

169. The delegation of Ghana indeed welcomes with great satisfaction the announcement of 26 May 1966 as the date for the independence of British Guiana. We consider, however, that the British Government would do well to restrain its authorities in British Guiana from indulging in any further actions that might exacerbate differences in that territory and thereby delay independence.

170. The burden of welding together the different racial communities facing the challenge of nationhood lies squarely on the shoulders of the Guianese themselves. We hope that Mr. Burnham and Dr. Jagan will bury their differences and work together in harmony for the good of their nation. In this respect, we support the suggestion for a conference of the various political parties in British Guiana for the purpose of solving their differences so as to enable Guyana to begin its independence in tranquillity and harmony which will enhance its presence in the international community.

171. On the Cook Islands the Special Committee has produced a report [A/6000/Rev.1, chap. VIII] which will, for a long time to come, stand as a tribute, not only to the United Nations, but also to a worthy son of Africa who performed with distinction the delicate and onerous task entrusted to him. I am referring to Mr. Omar Adeel of Sudan. We also cannot ignore the fact that the New Zealand Government has made a welcome gesture, unprecedented in colonial history, by inviting the United Nations to supervise the elections in the Cook Islands. My delegation wishes to register its appreciation of this gesture. We hope that the other colonial Powers will emulate the progressive example of the New Zealand Government.

172. While we recognize these good deeds, we cannot help but note also that the present constitutional status of the Cook Islands, while it may be described as a measure of self-determination, cannot be regarded as fulfilling all the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV). As the Ambassador of New Zealand himself described the present status of the Cook Islands, it is "neither fish nor fowl". The Constitution of the Cook Islands is not perfect, and the free association with New Zealand is not entirely on the basis of equality. We however recognize the fact that the Cook Islanders reserve the right to change their

^{8/} *Ibid.*, annex No. 15, document A/5840.

present status in the future. We also hope that there will be no difficulties in the future when, as Mr. Albert Henry, the Premier of Cook Islands told the Committee of Twenty-Four, they will perhaps decide to be fully independent after having achieved some economic progress. In this respect we believe the United Nations should hold itself ready to offer its services and advice to the Cook Islanders if they should so desire in the future.

173. Very often the fate of subjugated people in smaller territories like the Virgin Islands, Papua, New Guinea and Fiji, tends to be overlooked because of their isolation from the main areas of activity. But this should not be the case. For one thing, the metropolitan Powers responsible for these territories are equally impervious to progressive reasoning and it is the same international monopolist capitalists who are exploiting their limited resources. So long as they remain colonies, the United Nations must give them sufficient attention. We cannot therefore accept the contention of the United States that the question of the Virgin Islands is not within the competence of the United Nations.

174. My delegation would like to invite the United States Government to re-examine its position on the question of the Virgin Islands. We find it hard to believe that the authors of the American Declaration of Independence should be holding on to an archaic colonial policy in this twentieth century. We have heard of the wish to promote economic advancement in these islands before the grant of independence, but the United States Government itself is the first to realize that this argument lacks validity. The economic problems of the Virgin Islands can be solved by the United States Government in a matter of months if it wants to, but instead self-determination and independence are denied to the people.

175. Papua and New Guinea are in similar difficulties except that the Australian Government is even more intransigent in denying the peoples of these islands their inalienable rights. Instead of bringing the people together, racial and ethnic differences are introduced into their minds in order to protract the settlement of their demands for freedom and independence. Meanwhile, the resources of New Guinea are being exploited with impunity by the Australian Government, and this is even made easier for them because most people do not easily get to know about such nefarious acts.

176. Recently, unreasonable laws have been passed by the Australian Government conceding the fact that the indigenous inhabitants of these islands may live on their own land, but the resources of the land belong to the Australian Government and not to the inhabitants of the islands. I must say that this kind of logic is difficult to understand. The United Nations should therefore intervene in this situation and help liberate the people as soon as possible, and before this punder goes too far.

177. The constitution prepared by Britain for the people of the Fiji Islands, which is calculated to project racial differences into this territory, is deplorable and should be discouraged by this Assembly. Such a departure from the principle of "one man, one vote"

for racial reasons will not ensure the atmosphere of peace and harmony that the Fijians desire and will, in the near future, plunge them into the darkness of racist conflict, in which they may remain for ever. The unequivocal words of the Ambassador of Ceylon on this question, when he introduced the draft resolution on the Fiji Islands in the Fourth Committee a few days ago [1567th meeting], were so eloquent that I have nothing to add. His analysis of the Constitution laid bare the secret desire of the United Kingdom Government in this territory and I do not wish to take any more of the Assembly's time to repeat them. My delegation merely wishes to state that we fully support the analysis so clearly presented by the representative of Ceylon.

178. Before I conclude my statement, I crave your indulgence to stress once more our opposition to the policy of the establishment of military bases in dependent territories. If we take a close look at the territories still under subjugation, it is very clear that it is in those which have military bases and installations on them that brutal colonial policies are practiced and peace and security are endangered. In Aden, South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa and many other territories, the tale of sadness can never end so long as the foreign Powers maintain military bases and installations against the wishes of the people. My delegation, therefore, supports the conclusions of the Special Committee deploring the maintenance of these bases and also stands by the October 1964 Cairo Declaration of the Governments of Non-Aligned Countries, which states that:

"Noting with concern that foreign military bases are in practice a means of bringing pressure on nations and retarding their emancipation and development, based on their own ideological, political, economic and cultural ideas, the Conference declares its full support to the countries which are seeking to secure the evacuation of foreign bases on their territory and calls upon all States maintaining troops and bases in other countries to remove them forthwith."^{2/}

This is the voice of the non-aligned world and we are proud to be associated with it.

179. For about twenty years now this Assembly has been discussing the problem of colonialism. The number of colonial territories which have attained independence in the past decade, including our own, stands as a tribute to the good work of Member States of the United Nations. But the struggle is far from concluded in the face of the stern opposition which now confronts this Organization. Perhaps our task is even more difficult now than before. The delegation of Ghana calls upon all Member States, therefore, to come to the rescue of colonial peoples. We have no doubt that you, who are the descendants of those who fought for the lofty principles of the Magna Carta and the American Declaration of Independence, will live up to the reputation of your forefathers by joining us in fighting relentlessly against colonialism and imperialism.

180. Mr. EL-KONY (United Arab Republic): This session of the General Assembly is not just one more

^{2/} See document A/5763, sect. VIII.

annual meeting of the representatives of this Organization. This session completes two decades of the existence of the United Nations; it also completes five years since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. On such occasions, it is particularly appropriate to pose the question whether our Organization is fulfilling the hopes placed in it, putting into effect and translating into reality the resolutions it has adopted; whether its Members are fulfilling, in good faith, the obligations assumed by them in accordance with its Charter. This Organization has grown in the minds and hearts of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America for its great efforts in decolonization. These efforts have been crowned and crystallized by the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. By that Declaration, the overwhelming majority of the people of the world, through their representatives in the United Nations, solemnly declared their determination to put an end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations and to assist the peoples still under colonial rule to rid themselves of the vestiges of colonialism.

181. The adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence brought hope to millions of people who were denied fundamental rights, who were denied the right to live as human beings. By that Declaration, the General Assembly reassured the millions of people who had not yet regained their inherent right of self-determination and national sovereignty of our Organization's concern for their aspirations and its determination to put an end to the colonial problem, which had caused and continues to cause human suffering, and which stands in the way of truly international understanding and friendly relations among nations.

182. Today, at this stage of human development and achievement, human enlightenment and understanding, there are millions of people who are still subjected to humiliation, degradation, and atrocities reminiscent of the Dark Ages.

183. It is true that, since the founding of the United Nations, millions of people have regained their freedom and independence; but it is equally true that millions are still under colonial rule despite all that has been said and done, despite all the resolutions adopted by this Assembly. The record of colonialism continues to show the signs which cannot but cause us deep regret and concern. The valuable report submitted to us by the Special Committee clearly reflects this fact. From this report we note with regret that some colonial Powers still refuse to co-operate with the United Nations. They do not even recognize the authority of the United Nations. Some others, which are founding Members of the United Nations, do not recognize the right of people to self-determination, which is one of the fundamental provisions of the Charter.

184. Also, there are States which refuse to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and refuse to allow visiting missions to enter the territories under their administration. They usually resort to a variety of legal arguments to evade their obligations and the supervision of the United Nations. May

I say to those States that the administration of the dependent territories is no longer within the exclusive internal jurisdiction of the administering Powers. It is the concern of the whole international community. It is the obligation and duty of the United Nations to see to it that the provisions of the Charter, as well as the provisions of the Declaration, are adequately applied and implemented, that the administration is conducted in a way to promote to the utmost the well-being of the inhabitants of the dependent territories, and that those inhabitants are protected against abuses; otherwise there will be no meaning to the principle of international accountability.

185. It was the intention of the drafters of resolution 1654 (XVI) to make the Special Committee a body of action, not a debating society. How can the Special Committee fulfil its historic mission and its noble task in the absence of the co-operation of the administering Powers?

186. Unlike the previous attempts in the history of international organizations, the drafters of the Charter of the United Nations rightly conceived the problem of international peace and security in a positive and constructive manner. They have understood peace not in a negative way but in the positive way of creating conditions of stability conducive to peace and security. One of these principal conditions is the enjoyment of equal rights by all people and nations, big and small, and the emancipation of dependent peoples and their right to take their place with dignity in the community of nations. This has been confirmed by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which states:

"The General Assembly,

"...

"Aware of the increasing conflicts resulting from the denial of or impediments in the way of the freedom of such peoples, which constitute a serious threat to world peace,

"...

"Declares that:

"1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation... is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation."

187. Co-operation between the Security Council and the General Assembly in putting an end to colonialism is necessary—indeed essential. It is our hope that the members of the Security Council, in particular the permanent members, will facilitate and assist the Special Committee in carrying out its noble task. It is disturbing to note the attitude of the administering Powers in refusing to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly. The Security Council could be of great assistance in this regard.

188. It is not my intention to take the time of this meeting in dealing with all the problems and points raised in the reports of the Special Committee. My delegation has had the opportunity in the Fourth Committee to express its views with regard to those problems, especially the question of Southern Rhodesia which is of the utmost importance for the Africans

and the whole world. However, I wish to make some general remarks.

189. First, some colonial Powers attempt, by unilateral acts or imposed treaties, to give a nominal status to their colonies, in order to evade their responsibilities in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. It is our considered view that the provisions of the Charter, as well as the Declaration, apply to all cases where the people do not enjoy full independence and do not exercise full sovereignty and control over their affairs. Imposed treaties which restrict and limit the sovereignty of the people cannot change the actual status of a colony. We are familiar, in our part of the world, with this kind of treaty, such as the advisory treaties and the protection treaties imposed on the people of Oman, Muscat, the Gulf and Aden Protectorates.

190. Secondly, it is disturbing to note that the colonial Powers' practice of establishing and maintaining military bases in the dependent territories is increasing. We consider that the maintenance of those military bases constitutes a threat to international peace and security, as well as a threat to the freedom of the people. The representative of the United Kingdom stated:

"We no longer require bases anywhere in the world for the maintenance of imperial interests. We need bases only to carry out our obligations in peace-keeping and in coming to the aid of our friends."
[1386th meeting, para. 57.]

191. The facts contradict that statement. Even though we are asked to admit that these bases are maintained with the consent of the peoples concerned, events have shown that the military bases are used to suppress the liberation movements and to break the resistance of the people who are struggling for their independence. The brutal military operations carried on against the people of Aden and Oman are clear evidence of that. Events have also shown that those bases are used only for aggressive purposes against independent States. The aggression committed by the United Kingdom forces against my country in 1956 and against the Republic of Yemen are clear evidence of that.

192. Therefore the colonial Powers should be called upon to liquidate their military bases in the dependent territories.

193. Thirdly, the primary object of the colonial Powers in administering the dependent territories remains the promotion of their own economic advantages. The exploitation of the natural resources in the dependent territories remains the main objective of the colonial Powers. As one of the leaders of the colonial Powers put it:

"The nations of Europe desired colonies for the following three purposes:

"1. In order to have markets for sale of the manufactured goods of the home country.

"2. In order that they may have access to the raw materials of the colonies.

"3. As a field for the investment of surplus capital."

194. The reports of the Special Committee on the mining industry and foreign investments in the territories under Portuguese administration [A/6000/Rev.1, chapter 3] and in South West Africa^{10/} demonstrate beyond any doubt that this policy still prevails.

195. In this connexion we consider that the policies and practices of those who benefit from the exploitation of the people in the southern part of Africa, namely, Angola, Mozambique, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia, are the shields which protect the system of colonialism and apartheid; for the colonial Powers in that part of Africa cannot survive the powerful currents of human aspirations and world opinion without the protection of the Powers that have financial interests in the southern part of Africa.

196. Fourthly, some colonial Powers attempt to grant independence with conditions, accompanied by imposed treaties, to ensure the perpetuation of their domination. That is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The wish of the people should be respected. The people have every right to decide on their future destiny.

197. The representative of the United Kingdom stated that the policy of his Government in relation to its colonial territories was based on two principles: consultation and consent. One may wonder whether the African people of South Africa had been consulted in 1910 when the United Kingdom handed over South Africa to the foreign settlers; and whether the African people of Southern Rhodesia approved the Constitutions of 1923 and 1961; whether the Arab people of Palestine had been consulted on their future destiny when the United Kingdom Government handed over their territory to adventurers and settlers; whether the people of Aden and the protectorates had been consulted on or approved the so-called federation of South Arabia; whether the people of Oman and Muscat had approved the illegal and unequal treaties imposed on them.

198. Those are our general remarks on the report of the Special Committee on the implementation of the Declaration. It is our hope that those Powers that refuse to co-operate with the Special Committee will listen to reason. It is also our hope that the Security Council will take effective measures to assist the Committee in its noble task.

199. In conclusion, permit me to pay tribute to the members of the Special Committee and to its Chairman, Mr. Coulibaly, for the valuable report they have submitted to us.

200. Mr. COMAY (Israel): Only a generation ago every school atlas showed most of Africa, Asia and the islands of the Pacific Ocean, Indian Ocean, Atlantic Ocean and Caribbean area marked out in the different colours of the great colonial empires. In two post-war decades these colours have nearly disappeared from the map of the world. One of the most spectacular changes in human history is now nearing completion. Today over 90 per cent of the people of the world live in sovereign States of their own.

^{10/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 15, document A/5840.

201. The United Nations has played an influential part in this process of decolonization, as marked by the landmark resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960; by the important work done by the Committee of Twenty-Four; and by the constant anti-colonial pressures maintained in our Organization by the Member States that were themselves freshly emancipated from colonial rule.

202. Let us also recognize, in all fairness, the voluntary role of nearly all the colonial Powers themselves. In particular, the two major Powers concerned, Britain and France, accepted the fact that the colonial system had become out of date and morally untenable and they have pursued policies designed to transfer power to subject peoples in a free and orderly manner. In his impressive statement from this rostrum last Wednesday [1386th meeting], Lord Caradon stressed the principles of consultation and consent, through the application of which his country had, in less than twenty years, brought to independence twenty-six nations, containing a fifth of the world's population. We welcome his assurance that the same principles will be brought to bear upon the future of the thirty-one colonies still under British rule—while noting his comments regarding the special problems involved in leading to independence small, scattered and non-viable territorial units. My delegation feels confident that the Committee of Twenty-Four will study each individual case in accordance with the needs and the wishes of the inhabitants, while maintaining the over-all objective of winding up the vestiges of colonial rule as quickly as possible.

203. My Government and my people have wholeheartedly supported the struggle against colonialism. The principle of national independence touches our most venerable memories stretching back thousands of years to the period recorded in the Old Testament, when our forefathers fought for their independence against the great colonial empires of those times. Now that we live again in freedom, it gives us great satisfaction to maintain close ties of friendship and practical co-operation with so many other new Member States. The leaders of these States have to guide the destinies of people that have emerged from foreign rule, burdened down with poverty, disease, ignorance and economic backwardness. Political independence is not enough in itself; it is the instrument for promoting welfare and progress. Israel is gratified that it can share its own experience in nation-building with these brother States.

204. When resolution 1514 (XV) was adopted, it called not only for the termination of foreign rule but also for an end to all practices of segregation and discrimination. This is an objective which the people of Israel regard with profound emotion, derived from our own bitter historical experience as the victims of such practices. We reject all concepts of superior or inferior races and we believe that the political and social status of individuals and of nations and their economic opportunities should have nothing to do with race or colour. This passionate conviction will continue to guide our policies and our positions, as it has most recently done in the case of Southern Rhodesia.

205. As we near the end of the colonial era, we need not forget the injustices of the past; but let us concentrate on building a better future, in which all nations will dwell in freedom and equality and, above all, in peace.

206. Mr. ALARCON QUESADA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): In only eight days it will be the fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (resolution 1514 (XV)), which solemnly proclaimed the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. It is true that since then many countries have attained freedom and independence, particularly through the efforts and sacrifices of their peoples, but tens of millions of human beings are still suffering from colonial subjugation in Latin America, Africa and Asia.

207. It is four years since the General Assembly established the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (resolution 1654 (XVI)), now known as the Special Committee of Twenty-four. The Cuban delegation takes pleasures in paying a sincere tribute to the work done by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, whose reports are now before the General Assembly, and in particular to the Chairman, Mr. Coulibaly, of Mali, and the Rapporteur, Mr. Natwar Singh, of India. In expressing our appreciation of the work of the Committee of Twenty-Four, we would also draw attention to the sabotage and resistance on the part of the representatives in that Committee of the colonialist States of all continents.

208. The constructive work of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four stands in striking contrast to the iniquitous persistence of colonialism and the tenacious efforts—including collective efforts—of the colonial Powers to maintain the régime of exploitation and domination, in violation of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This disintegrating system is struggling to survive by doggedly opposing the national liberation movements by every possible means. The use of military force by the colonialists in this vain effort is creating areas of international conflict which threaten international peace and security. Imperialism is thus not only flouting the Charter and the Declaration, but is even defying the United Nations by creating new colonial territories with the immediate objective of establishing military bases. These bases, which are being installed in many territories, constitute obstacles to national liberation movements.

209. The studies carried out by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four on the activities of foreign economic and other interests in the Portuguese territories and South West Africa, and the information on this subject provided by delegations and petitioners, show how these interests constitute the main obstacle in the peoples' struggle for independence, and impede the implementation of the Declaration. These studies and data show that international imperialism has an economic base and that common economic interests lead the colonial Powers into military alliances and

political understandings directed particularly against the dependent peoples.

210. One of the most odious cases of this type is the so-called "Unholy Alliance" in the southern part of Africa, which has scored a temporary victory with the declaration of independence by the usurping racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and the eloquent passivity of the administering Power. This unholy alliance is the instrument of the Western Powers which organized in NATO and led by the United States, are now trying to set up a colonialist stronghold in the southern part of Africa.

211. Referring to the alarming situation in Southern Rhodesia, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba, Dr. Raúl Roa García, has made the following statement:

"The effective and lasting solution of the present conflict is genuine independence for the oppressed and plundered black people of Southern Rhodesia, whose inalienable right to seize their independence by force is fully recognized by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, which likewise endorses and supports any sympathetic action taken in this direction by the African States.

"The Revolutionary Government of Cuba reiterates its complete rejection of the racist régime set up by the white minority headed by Ian Smith, and resolutely proclaims its readiness to furnish the subjugated, exploited and wronged people of Southern Rhodesia with the necessary assistance, in whatever form, to enable it to carry on its struggle against imperialism and its agents." [A/6112.]

212. While international imperialism is playing its game in Africa, focusing its attention on Southern Rhodesia, in America it is playing another game, with certain variations, in so-called British Guiana, where it is overthrowing the independent majority party by violence in order to put in power, on the eve of independence, groups which obey its orders.

213. The colonialists show that they care nothing for the serious responsibility they bear before all the peoples of the world by striving to perpetuate their régime, based on the exploitation and humiliation of millions of human beings, for the sole purpose of obtaining easy economic advantages which are stained with blood. The productive meetings of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four in Africa, which my delegation believes should be repeated in the same continent, resulted in the recommendation that the peoples which are struggling for their freedom and independence should be given not only moral but also material assistance. On this fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it is encouraging to see how the realization that it is the duty of the United Nations to assist the liberation movements of all peoples which have not yet attained independence has taken root and how the overwhelming majority of Member States demonstrate their determination to contribute, to the best of their ability, to the speedy and unconditional liberation of the subjugated peoples.

214. It is also encouraging to see how, in the midst of colonialist resistance, all the members of such a

very important regional organization as the Organization of African Unity close ranks in their firm determination to free their continent speedily and completely from all colonial areas.

215. This example forms a striking contrast to the indifference with which some American States regard the vexing case of Puerto Rico, which remains subject to the colonial régime of a permanent member of the Security Council. The attitude of the Organization of African Unity will probably help to expedite the decolonization process initiated by General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). This attitude is a practical reaffirmation of the right of the peoples of trust territories, which are non-self-governing, and all other peoples which are not yet independent, to full sovereignty—a right already recognized by the Charter, the Declaration and various United Nations resolutions.

216. There is another encouraging and positive factor in the decolonization process which was not created by the United Nations, namely, the fact that the peoples are rising up in exercise of their inalienable and imprescriptible right to freedom and independence. These peoples have been prevented from finding a peaceful solution to the problem created by colonial domination based on powerful economic interests and the military might of the imperialists. The people are rising up today in countries such as Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea, and will do so soon in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and other territories, if the colonialist Powers continue to make the gross mistake of believing, despite many historical examples, that they can enslave those peoples for ever.

217. Like the Charter, the Declaration and the resolutions of the United Nations, the rebellion of the peoples shows that the attempt to perpetuate colonialism in any of its forms or manifestations, with its resultant segregation and racial discrimination, is treason against mankind. For this reason the United Nations recognizes the legitimacy of the struggle against colonialism, but so far the Organization has not taken the more effective action which would identify it with the heroic struggle being waged by peoples for their freedom and independence. In particular, it is for the Security Council, in fulfilment of its responsibility to maintain international peace and security, to use all the resources offered by the Charter to free the world from the colonialist areas where the situation is deteriorating, by stressing the threat which they represent to international peace and security.

218. The colonial war in Angola has been going on for three years. The war of liberation in "Portuguese" Guinea has been going on for a long time, and many patriots have lost their lives in the armed struggle in Mozambique and in the struggle against aggression being waged by the peoples of Aden and Oman. It is the duty not only of the United Nations, but of all the international organizations and institutions concerned, to offer their assistance to the colonial and dependent peoples which are suffering from the repression or military action of the colonial Powers. There is no justification for any State, particularly Members of the United Nations, giving aid, above all direct or indirect military aid, to Powers

which persist in maintaining peoples under the inhuman and degrading colonial régime and go so far as to practise open genocide by starting colonial wars. In view of this situation, in which brute force, equipped with the most modern weapons, massacres the peoples which will not accept a life of exploitation and humiliation, it would be inadmissible for international institutions, including United Nations agencies, to help to strengthen those Governments which have not yet renounced colonial policy and which do not hesitate to attack the national unity and territorial integrity of the colonial and dependent peoples.

219. The colonial Powers are not sure that they can maintain their system much longer, and for many years they have been stressing neo-colonialist policy with a view of perpetuating their exploitation. For the same purpose, they are hastening to impose military bases and agreements which will bind the peoples militarily and economically even after they have attained their independence.

220. I should like to quote part of what Commander Ernesto Guevara, speaking on behalf of Cuba, said about neo-colonialism at the Second Economic Seminar of Afro-Asian solidarity:

"Neo-colonialism developed first in South America, throughout the continent, and is now beginning to become increasingly striking in Africa and Asia. Its methods of penetration and development take different forms: one is brutality, which we witnessed in the Congo; brute force, completely ruthless and undisguised, is its ultimate weapon. But there is another, which is more subtle: the penetration of countries which are attaining their political independence, the link with the nascent indigenous bourgeoisie and the development of a parasitical bourgeois class which is closely allied with metropolitan interests, all based on a certain transitory well-being or improvement in the peoples' level of living which derives from the fact that in many very backward countries the simple transition from a feudal to a capitalistic relationship represents a great step forward, regardless of the long-term disastrous consequences for the workers."

221. Military bases in colonial and dependent territories should be dismantled now, before independence. The Cuban people can bear witness to the significance of the presence in its territory of a military base established by a colonial Power before Cuba was master of its own destiny. Today this base, maintained by the United States, still constitutes a threat to our Republic, and a bridgehead for the operations of the foreign enemy, who is trying to undermine the régime which the Cuban people has chosen in exercise of its right of self-determination and national sovereignty.

222. It is for the United Nations to ensure that the colonial and dependent territories are not stripped of their natural resources and that what has been wrested from them is returned to them. In addition, we contend that the peoples have the right to demand compensation for the exploitation and consequent damages inflicted on them and their territories by colonialism. We would also add that any measure taken by a colonial Power to limit, directly or indirectly, the exercise of sovereignty by the subjugated peoples is null and void.

223. In view of recent events, it should be emphasized that any attempt to proclaim independence in order to place the Government in the hands of authorities who do not represent the majority of the people is contrary to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

224. The Special Committee of Twenty-Four is facing a hard task in overcoming the legalistic web created with foresight by the colonialists, even within the United Nations, with the aim of prolonging their rule. For example, there is a case in which the territory is subject to the legislative, judicial and executive control of the imperial Power; in which the people has no jurisdiction over matters of citizenship, foreign affairs, defence, immigration and emigration, foreign trade, currency, the post office, radio and television, and air and sea transport; a case in which the people does not control its own economy and is even obliged to serve in the armies of the imperial Power; a case in which a nation is described as a possession in the legislation and jurisprudence of the imperial Power and statements by the highest representatives of the colonial Power, which by concealing authentic information and distorting reality is trying, even within the United Nations, to present this nation as a territory with its own government. I am referring, of course, to the distressing case of Puerto Rico.

225. Paragraph 65 of the report [A/6000/Rev.1] of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four mentions the letter dated 1 October 1965 sent to that Committee by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba which, referring to the final communiqué of the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Cairo in October 1964, requested the inclusion of the question of Puerto Rico on the agenda of the Special Committee. This letter was circulated as a committee document [A/AC.109/144]. As was to be expected, the colonial Power concerned protested against the circulation of that letter, claiming that its objection was based on General Assembly resolution 748 (VIII). That is, the colonial Power opposed the circulation of a letter requesting that the Special Committee should study the case of Puerto Rico.

226. It should be remembered that, at the Ninth International Conference of American States, held at Bogotá, Colombia, in 1948, the United States opposed the adoption of an anti-colonial resolution because it feared that the consideration of colonial problems in America would clearly reveal that it had been illegally occupying Puerto Rico since 1898. The resolution was, however, adopted.

227. Despite the abstention of the United States, the American Committee on Dependent Territories was established and held two sessions at Havana. The United States tried to sabotage the establishment of the Committee and finally did not attend its sessions, at which the colonial problem in America was examined. The United States opposed that examination even before resolution 748 (VIII) was adopted. Now it even opposes the circulation of a letter from a Member State to a United Nations body, despite the adoption five years ago of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

228. My delegation, in turn, would like to formulate counter-objections against this objection by the United States Government. First, we must explain to the Assembly that when resolution 748 (VIII) was adopted, the Assembly was not fully and reliably informed of the situation prevailing in Puerto Rico. The administering colonial Power stated that a plebiscite had been held in Puerto Rico, in which the people had freely chosen its destiny. It failed to mention one simple detail: that the plebiscite did not allow the choice of independence. It also omitted another detail, namely, that those who voted against the neo-colonial Puerto Rican régime plus those who abstained constituted 60 per cent of the electorate. It also forgot to mention that at that time the Puerto Rican prisons were full of patriots who had been imprisoned because of their fight for freedom. It also forgot, and still forgets to mention that, when the Assembly adopted that resolution, half of its present Members could not participate in the debate because they were still subjected to the colonial régime and resolution 1514 (XV) had not yet been adopted. And when it objects to the circulation of the Cuban letter, it does not mention the fact that at this very moment the United States Government is organizing the so-called "status commission", a commission composed mainly of representatives of the colonial Power and its satellite parties in the island, to study the legal status of Puerto Rico.

229. On behalf of my delegation, I would ask how the United States Government can say that the case of Puerto Rico is closed and should not be discussed in this Assembly, when it is at the same time organizing a status commission to study that case. It is not for the colonial Power to determine the status of its colony; it is for the United Nations, world public opinion and all peoples to ensure that the resolution declaring universal independence for all peoples is implemented in that sister island too.

230. The VICE-PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of the United States on a point of order.

231. Mr. DICKINSON (United States of America): Puerto Rico is a self-governing commonwealth associated with the United States, as recognized by General Assembly resolution 748 (VIII) adopted on 27 November 1953. It is not a colony in any sense of the word. It is therefore totally inappropriate that Puerto Rico should be discussed in this body in connexion with the agenda item on decolonization. I would appreciate it, Mr. President, if you would request the speaker to confine his remarks to the item on our agenda.

232. The VICE-PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Cuba to continue his statement.

233. Mr. ALARCON QUESADA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): After this interruption, this point of disorder, I shall now continue. First of all, I should like to say that I am referring to paragraph 65 of the report of the Special Committee [A/6000/Rev.1]. I believe that all representatives have this document and they will have seen that I have not said one word which does not relate to that paragraph.

234. All this illustrates once more the cruelty, the cynicism and the tortuous machinations of the colonial Powers which make them go so far as to try to hinder the work of the United Nations and sabotage our Organization, thus violating the obligations they assumed when they signed the treaty which is the Charter.

235. Some may perhaps wonder what special interest Cuba has in all this, and what special reasons gave rise to the letter to which paragraph 65 of that report refers. We would reply that Cuba certainly does indeed have a special interest; more than that, our people has a historic and even an almost constitutional obligation in this matter. The Republic of Cuba was born of the effort of the Cuban Revolutionary Party and the first article of its basic document, which was written by José Martí, our national patriot, stipulated that the party was being formed to achieve, through the united efforts of all men of goodwill, the absolute independence of the island of Cuba and to foster and assist in the independence of Puerto Rico.

236. Paragraph 65 of the report of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four refers, as we have said, to the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Cairo in October 1964, which drew the attention of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four to the case of Puerto Rico. Forty-seven States were members of that Conference—virtually half the membership of the United Nations.

237. In conclusion, the Cuban delegation wishes to state that it will support any action that may be taken on this item which reflects the position expressed in this statement; it reserves the right to speak again if necessary.

238. The VICE-PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of the United States on a point of order.

239. Mr. DICKINSON (United States of America): The speaker seems to have terminated his remarks. However, I should like to repeat that the item he has raised is not on the agenda of the Committee of Twenty-Four and is not before this body at this time. Paragraph 65 of chapter I of document A/6000/Rev.1 refers to the circulation of a letter and to the objections of my delegation at that time. That is all that paragraph 65 does. The Committee of Twenty-Four at the time of the discussion and adoption of this paragraph, specifically did not go into the question of Puerto Rico. It declined to do so, and, as a matter of fact, paragraph 65 states that:

"Owing to the lack of time the Special Committee was unable to examine the request contained in document A/AC.109/144."

240. What that means is that the Committee did not take up this question. It simply circulated the letter and noted the protest of my delegation. It did not take up the subject, and it has not done so. It has not even considered whether to take up the subject.

241. Therefore, on the basis of what has gone before, the question which the previous speaker attempted to discuss cannot be discussed by this Assembly at this time and under the item on its agenda.

242. The VICE-PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Spain, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

243. Mr. AZNAR (Spain) (translated from Spanish): Reference has been made to my country from this rostrum on various occasions during this debate. Reference has also been made to various territories which concern us very directly and which are undergoing the process of decolonization. For this reason, my delegation, in exercise of its right of reply, would like to make a number of comments in reply to those references.

244. For about three weeks during this twentieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Fourth Committee has been considering the work done by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four in 1964 and in 1965.

245. Recently, this Assembly has been considering not only the results of the studies completed by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four during those years, but also the views and decisions to which its work gave rise in the Fourth Committee. The task which could not be done at the nineteenth session, namely, to praise and encourage the Special Committee, has now fallen to this twentieth session of the General Assembly.

246. Spain has closely followed the efforts of the Special Committee to steer decolonization along the right path and on some occasions it took part in the discussion of that Committee. It could therefore not remain silent at this juncture without falling into the grave sin of political indifference which is often much more serious than the sin of ingratitude.

247. Seldom in history have twenty-four delegations, representing all of us and speaking on our behalf, been faced with so great a responsibility: nothing less than to bring an ordered, just and peaceful end to a political process which was born centuries ago out of war and conquest. The way in which the Special Committee, under the expert guidance of Mr. Coulibaly and with the outstanding help of Mr. Sonn and Mr. Velázquez—and I mention them by name because they are now no longer with us—has done its work, is worthy of our hearty congratulations. It is a pleasure for me to express publicly before all of you my country's congratulations to the Special Committee.

248. Spain is very directly affected by the process of decolonization. I would almost venture to say that the main problem which my country now has before this Organization falls squarely within the context of that process, in which history has assigned us a position which I would make so bold as to call unique. While, on the one hand, Spain is a country with territories which are listed as non-self-governing, on the other hand it is the victim of a colonial situation on its own soil. That fact is clearly reflected in the report of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four [A/6000/Rev.1] which the Fourth Committee has just considered and which is now before the General Assembly.

249. I do not wish to go into details, nor to waste time on matters which have been already amply discussed in other places and at other times. I should merely like to mention the political conduct which

such an unusual position obliges Spain to adopt. I think that the report of the Special Committee and the examination of the report by the Fourth Committee have clarified this sufficiently.

250. Owing to the presence of a foreign flag in our country, with all the consequences which that entails, the Spanish people placed all its hopes in the justice of the decolonization process as soon as its message reached us.

251. The Spanish Government based its conduct, which is firmly rooted in honesty, on that hope. We have not asked, nor are we asking, for more than we are prepared to give. We have not asked for historic realities to be wiped out by the stroke of a pen, however evil their origins, since in many of them positive elements and private interests have arisen that should not be eliminated until an attempt is first made to cleanse them and to place them in the service of future relations of international co-operation and coexistence. We have faithfully co-operated with the Special Committee of Twenty-Four so that that Committee could examine each case and each territory on its own merits.

252. What is the result of Spain's political conduct? So far there is only one visible result: the birth of Equatorial Guinea, the President of whose Governing Council has appeared here and has spoken before the Fourth Committee. Thus we see that Spain has begun to carry out the mandate of decolonization. But on the other hand, what is being done with Spain?

253. The United Kingdom representative, speaking on 1 December [1386th meeting], referred to Gibraltar. At that time, he stated unequivocally the future policy of his Government with regard to the Rock and he did so in such terms that I considered it advisable not to exercise my right to reply immediately. A statement of intent, such as the one made by the United Kingdom, which is so contrary to the spirit of the Charter, and psychologically so imperialistic, warranted something more than a retort; it needed a certain amount of reflection which I would venture to call philosophical.

254. The facts are as follows: the United Kingdom conquered a piece of Spanish territory by force in 1704. In 1713 it signed a treaty with Spain under which both countries determined the status of the territory on which a British military base was set up and was used to support British imperial and colonial expansion. The Spanish population which was expelled from Gibraltar was replaced by another population which the United Kingdom imported and is still importing. Once those first steps had been taken, the United Kingdom designated Gibraltar—the Gibraltar base and the imported population living in the shadow of the base—a "Crown Colony". When the process of decolonization began, the United Kingdom declared that the Rock was a Non-Self-Governing Territory and invoked the right of self-determination for its people. The Special Committee of Twenty-Four, after two years of study, decided that the problem of Gibraltar must be solved through joint Spanish-British negotiations which would take into account the interests of the present inhabitants of the Rock.

255. Spain has always been ready to negotiate and to respect those interests. The United Kingdom, however, has refused to join in such negotiations on various pretexts. Now it states that the military base at Gibraltar is in the service of peace and of British military commitments. It says more, it says that the United Kingdom is prepared to remain in the base if supported by the "consultation and consent" of the civilian population which the United Kingdom Government has been installing on the base.

256. When it was a question of maintaining an empire, the existence of bases against the will of the countries in which they were being set up was justified, purely and simply, by imperial needs. Now an attempt is being made to justify their existence by falsifying of the principle of self-determination, as has been convincingly proved in the lengthy debates of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four.

257. This is what the United Kingdom is trying to do to Spain. I wonder whether the United Nations will allow this policy, which is in such sharp contrast to Spain's proper conduct, to be pursued without opposition of any kind.

258. The crisis of confidence in the United Nations can only arise from the application of two standards for similar problems. For my country, Gibraltar

is the standard by which we judge, since when we refer to Gibraltar as a colonial situation on our soil, we are not exaggerating.

259. So that there is not the slightest doubt about my country's conduct in this affair throughout two and a half centuries, I should like on this solemn occasion to present officially to this Assembly a collection of documents on Gibraltar which the Spanish Government has transmitted to the Spanish Cortes.

260. I have transmitted a copy of the collection to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and another to the President of this Assembly, so that the desire of the Government of my country for this collection of documents to be brought to the attention of this Organization may be a matter of record.

261. The VICE-PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Australia, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

262. Mr. McCARTHY (Australia): At this late hour, I wish merely to reserve the right of my delegation to reply at a subsequent meeting to certain observations made in the debate regarding Australia's administration of Papua and New Guinea.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.