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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHwak
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 20

Admission of new Members to the United Nations
(concluded)*

1. The PRESIDENT: The first item this morning is the admission of Barbados to membership of the United Nations. The recommendation of the Security Council has been circulated [A/6559]. In this connexion a draft resolution [A/L.505] has been submitted for consideration by the General Assembly. In the absence of a request for a vote, may I take it that the General Assembly decides by acclamation to admit Barbados as a Member of the United Nations?

It was so decided.

2. The PRESIDENT: I declare Barbados admitted to membership of the United Nations.

The delegation of Barbados was escorted to its place in the General Assembly Hall.

3. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I am very happy to welcome Barbados as a Member of the United Nations, and I wish to extend to its Government and people the warm congratulations of the Assembly on this happy occasion, together with our best wishes for the future.

4. I now call on the representative of the United Kingdom, who has asked to make a statement.

5. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): On Wednesday, in another place, I had the honour, in association with other representatives of the Commonwealth and also with the representatives of Argentina and Uruguay, to sponsor a resolution that Barbados should be welcomed to membership of the United Nations. We had the opportunity then to refer to the characteristic qualities of the

Barbadian people. Amongst their most famous distinctions are their leadership in sound education and their world-wide reputation for good sportsmanship, and their long experience in representative government and democratic principles.

6. It is unnecessary to refer to those qualities again now since we are all delighted to see that we have with us a delegation from Barbados led by their distinguished Prime Minister, and Barbadians are very well capable of speaking for themselves. Let me merely say, on this happy occasion, that Barbados is especially well qualified for the independence which it has attained. The people of Barbados have shown that size of territory and population are not tests of the quality of a people; they know that justice and compassion and freedom are far more important than wealth and size and power. They have shown that free government is not a luxury to be enjoyed only by large nations; indeed, democracy has often flourished best in smaller countries, and Barbados boasts one of the oldest elected parliaments in the world.

7. The people of Barbados have shown that security and tranquillity do not depend on armed might. The safety of Barbados depends not on force but on friendship; it is fortunate in having so many friends, and no enemies. They have shown how much good can be done when people of different racial origin work together in joint constructive endeavour; they have shown that racial discrimination, even in its most extreme and evil form, can be overcome and replaced by a growing understanding and a generous tolerance.

8. These are the qualifications which Barbados brings to the United Nations. There could be none better. The United Nations will, I have no doubt, profit by the presence here of representatives of this proud people, the twenty-sixth member of the Commonwealth, who, by their sturdy independence of spirit and their confident self-reliance, have long justified and earned their national independence.

9. Mr. CORNER (New Zealand): By the alphabetically acquired virtue of my current charmanship of the Commonwealth group of States, I have the honour to speak on an occasion which, while a source of happiness to all, is of special moment to those delegations of the Caribbean and of the Americas which have neighbourly ties with the new State of Barbados, and those African and Caribbean States which have ethnic ties with its proud people. The pride which the United Kingdom has already expressed at the advent to United Nations membership of yet another State which has attained its sovereignty through orderly constitutional processes is felt by my delegation also.

10. Speaking in the Security Council on this application, I suggested that it was probably not too great an

*Resumed from the 1444th meeting.

historical fancy to see in the attainment of independence by the people of Barbados the culmination of a process which stretches back through the development of truly representative institutions in this century to the adoption by an enlightened British Parliament, in 1833, of the Emancipation Act. The great Barbadian slave revolt of 1816 was an important contributing factor to the passage of that Emancipation Act. Thus, the Barbadians have played a notable part in winning freedom for others, as well as for themselves.

11. Barbados has problems common to many an emerging State: a rapid population growth, dependence on a narrow range of export commodities highly vulnerable to changes in the world market, and rising expectations among a literate and able people. The problem created by the population growth rate is compounded by a difficulty which not all the new States face—the small confines of the Island. Without becoming overly dependent on help from outside, the enterprising and confident people of Barbados have, however, succeeded in recent years in overcoming these restrictions and have achieved an impressive rate of economic development.

12. I would not like the Prime Minister or the people of Barbados to think that the very formal—indeed, cryptic—language of the resolution admitting Barbados to membership of the United Nations is intended adequately to reflect the warmth with which we greet the Island's representatives here. As representatives of a Commonwealth country with parliamentary traditions stretching back centuries beyond our own, we welcome the Barbadians to our midst with some deference, and we look forward to co-operating with them in furthering the constructive work of this Organization.

13. Mr. IGNATIEFF (Canada): On behalf of Canada, it is a very special pleasure for me to welcome the representatives of Barbados to this Assembly. Canada's relations with Barbados are marked by a genuine spirit of friendship and even affection arising from close ties, which Canada has had with Barbados for many years. The Atlantic provinces of Canada in particular have traditionally had a wide range of contacts with Barbados and other West Indian islands in commercial and other fields. In recent years, the increased availability of air transport has enabled many thousands of Canadians to enjoy the opportunity of visiting Barbados and getting to know its people at first hand.

14. Now that Barbados is an independent nation sharing with Canada membership in the Commonwealth and location in the Western Hemisphere, we are confident that the additional bonds between us will be strengthened. An important step in achieving this goal was the holding in Ottawa, last July, of the Commonwealth Caribbean Canada Conference, at which Canada and the Barbadian Prime Ministers, and their colleagues from other Commonwealth Caribbean countries, discussed ways of increasing and enhancing practical co-operation in matters of mutual interest. Canada is confident that Barbados, with its long tradition of parliamentary institutions and its experience with peaceful evolution to full independence, will be able to make a useful and effective contribution in the deliberations of this Assembly and the United Nations, and we look forward with pleasure to collaborating

with the representatives of Barbados in our work here.

15. Mr. LICHTVELD (Netherlands): The delegation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands desires to be among those who extend today a warm welcome to Barbados in the family of free nations of the world. It wishes to do so especially on behalf of the two partners of our Kingdom, near to Barbados, namely, Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles. They have maintained many friendly and close contacts with the island of Barbados during centuries in the past, and they are looking forward to even more friendly relations in the near future.

16. All over the West Indies, the "Badians" are well-known as a warm-hearted open-minded and active people. Often they tried to emigrate to areas neighbouring their small territory, but generally they were drawn back to their land of origin. In the long run, love for their country exceeded their need to seek a livelihood abroad. Such feelings are not only understandable, but even laudable. All over the West Indies, we encounter a strong awareness of nationalism and of democracy, and Barbados is one of the first territories where this sentiment has expressed itself fully and factually. This was proved when it created its Parliament, one of the oldest in the Western Hemisphere. Even more so, when, during the civil war in England, in the first half of the seventeenth century, Barbados resisted the forces of the Commonwealth and, in fact, stood on its own with a remarkable sense of independence which lasted until after the Restoration.

17. The "Badians" have reason to be proud of their history, their education system and their sportsmanship. They will now find ample occasion to play the game on the political greens of the United Nations, with its many hidden holes and tricky obstacles. We may be sure, however, that they will often make the wickets and be the winners.

18. We sincerely hope that Barbados' presence among us will also contribute to cultural and economic intercourse, so much needed in the Caribbean area with its far-dispersed islands and countries. There exists among us a necessity for more co-operation, more interchange, more mutual assistance. This applies especially to the former West Indies with four different languages, for they have much in common ethnologically, historically, economically, and most certainly as regards their future.

19. To sum up, the delegation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands has very special reasons to welcome this newly independent country, and to congratulate its people and Government on their recent admission to the United Nations. We also wish to congratulate and commend the United Kingdom which is realizing uninterruptedly its task of decolonizing its former territories without forsaking them. On the contrary, it continues to assist them in overcoming the drawbacks of their long state of dependence, which is now coming to an end.

20. Mr. BEN-HORIN (Israel): The delegation of Israel is happy to join in welcoming Barbados to membership in the United Nations. Those of us who have been fortunate to come into contact with Barbados and its people are quite aware of the considerable capacities of this

newest of independent nations. Optimistic and forward-looking, full of goodwill towards all, articulate and responsible, Barbados has even, in past years, shown its constructive approach to the challenge of broad co-operation among countries and peoples in its own immediate region.

21. In bringing Israel's sincere and fraternal good wishes to the Government and to the delegation of Barbados, let me express the conviction that in this world body, where the value of a country's contribution is measured not alone by the weight of its land mass or the number of its inhabitants, a worthy role awaits them.

22. Mr. MOHALE (Lesotho): Six weeks ago, my country was admitted to the United Nations, and, as the 121st Member, it also became the youngest of this family of nations.

23. At moments like this, we are glad to see some of the changes we have been hoping for, working for and, sometimes, even fighting for, materialize. One of our greatest wishes has always been to see Barbados represented in this Assembly. I am therefore very pleased to congratulate the representatives of Barbados, not only upon the attainment of their independence but also upon their membership of this Organization. Barbados now becomes the youngest Member of the United Nations family. We have therefore lost our title.

24. One cannot help thinking that the seat that the representatives of Barbados are now going to occupy in this Organization has long been waiting for them. It is therefore fitting and proper that they should occupy it. The representatives of Barbados will find that they have a great deal in common with the Members of this Organization, not only in their concern for world peace but also in respect of some other problems and responsibilities which, no doubt, they found awaiting them at the moment of independence.

25. On behalf of the independent African States, we extend to them an offer of assistance, for, after all, we share common aims. It is one of the functions of this Organization to bring us together in the struggle for the attainment of common goals. In the same breath that I offer them the assistance of the Members of this Organization, I must also tell the representatives of Barbados that we are looking forward to their contribution to, and participation in, the great aims that this Organization has set for itself.

26. One of the present coincidences, for my delegation, is that Barbados, like Lesotho, belongs to that category of States in the United Nations that has sometimes been referred to as "mini-States". It is true that both our countries, simply on the ground of their size and wealth, can manage to make only very limited material contributions to the United Nations. But that is not nearly everything.

27. In this connexion, I should like to refer to the words of my Prime Minister when he spoke on the role of the small nations in this Organization. He said:

"The most important contributions to world peace and harmony are not measured in material terms

alone but also, and even more important, in terms of goodwill towards all the nations of the world."

This is the heart of our role here, and I wish you well in your efforts towards its fulfilment.

28. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania): The delegation of Afghanistan has done us the honour of asking us to speak on its behalf. Therefore, on behalf of the United Republic of Tanzania and Afghanistan, we wish to tender our salutations to the Government and people of Barbados upon the attainment of their nationhood and their admission to the community of independent sovereign States.

29. This happy event marks the termination of 350 years of British domination and exploitation; for, over this long period of British imperialism, this small island has managed to survive the gravest injustices imposed upon it by the British absentee sugar planters and, indeed, British slave traders. If the gallant people of this small island, who are mainly direct descendents of Africa, methodically transported by the British to the West Indies for work on the sugar plantations, have succeeded in finally breaking the shackles of British colonialism, they have done so due to a stern and stubborn inherent discipline which marks the resourcefulness of their forefathers. For it was the immediate forebears of the present generation who staged the revolt in the first few years of the nineteenth century in protest against the oppressive devices of the British colonizers and the inhuman conditions of sweated labour on the sugar plantations.

30. Today, then, we salute the proud sons of Barbados and welcome them to the community of nations. The hardy regimen of education for which the people of Barbados are renowned, their industry and their devotion to honesty and hard work, their undisputed desire for and love of peace—these make them eminently suitable to walk the hallows of the halls of this institution, bent on a quest for international peace and security.

31. The motto of the new island State is "Pride and industry", which speaks eloquently of the inherent characteristics of the people that have distinguished them over the years. We in Tanzania and Afghanistan rejoice on this occasion, not only because it marks the driving of another nail into the coffin of British colonialism, but also because it brings into the ranks of free men a significant element of our African heritage and, indeed, experience.

32. We feel entitled to unshakable confidence in the Government of Prime Minister Errol Barrow, who has engineered the independence of his country, and we make bold to declare that, under this undoubted leadership and statesmanship, his Government and people will attain the commanding heights of success to which their industry entitles them.

33. If I were to add that Tanzania and Afghanistan are both members of the Committee of Twenty-four, which deals mainly with the problem of decolonization, I would say that we have even more reason to be pleased by the admission of Barbados, because, in a way, it marks the modest contribution that the Committee of Twenty-four is making in the field of decolonization. However, on such occasions as this,

when we welcome new Members, we take it that we are welcoming new fighters against the remaining colonized territories in Africa and other places of the world. It is at this time that we take the opportunity to warn those colonial Powers who still pursue the ostrich mentality of not allowing people in Africa or elsewhere in the world to be independent.

34. Finally, I want to pledge the co-operation of the delegations of the United Republic of Tanzania and Afghanistan to the new delegation and people of Barbados. It will be our endeavour to work close in hand with them in order to fulfil the lofty ideals that the United Nations stands for. And, perhaps above all, we hope that this new soldier, Barbados, who has been admitted to our ranks today, will help us in fighting the remaining remnants of colonialism so that, in the near future, we may have another occasion to welcome new members to our Organization.

35. Mr. DESOUZA (Jamaica): It is a great honour and a special pleasure for the Jamaican delegation to welcome the admission of the new State of Barbados to membership of the United Nations.

36. In supporting the resolution just adopted by the General Assembly, I am in the company particularly of our fellow Commonwealth members; and, as someone from the sister island of Jamaica, I am full of admiration for the excellent qualities of the Barbadian people and conscious of the contribution they have made, not only to West Indian fellowship, but also to international sportsmanship and, above all, to the high standard of literacy in the Caribbean.

37. In the independence ceremonies, my country was represented by a Member of the Cabinet, who conveyed the goodwill and the best wishes of the Jamaican people and who assured Barbados of the warm and friendly feelings with which the Jamaican Government and people greet its independence. This I do again. I support, with great warmth, its admission as another independent State which has progressed through orderly constitutional processes into the ranks of the community of nations.

38. We particularly welcome Barbados as another member of the growing group of Caribbean States with ethnic links with Africa, drawing cultural inspiration from Europe, Africa and the Americas.

39. I wish to convey, on behalf of the Government and people of Jamaica, our sincere congratulations to the Prime Minister of Barbados, Mr. Errol Barrow, for the part he has played in the peaceful transition to independence. I wish to associate myself with the sentiments that have been expressed by representatives and with the pleasure one feels at this historic event of Barbados having formally achieved the status of a fully sovereign State within the Commonwealth.

40. My delegation is confident that the spirit in which independence was achieved is a manifestation of the true spirit and wisdom with which Barbados will continue to meet its challenges and obligations in the future.

41. The accession to independence of this beautiful island, with its increasingly strong economy and democratic conscience, constitutes another decisive step towards the abolition of colonialism in the

western hemisphere. Three centuries ago, Barbados held an eminent position, not only in the Caribbean, but also in the western hemisphere. And it is good to hear representatives welcome it with great joy and, indeed, with hemispheric solidarity. It is my delegation's view that the people of Barbados, with their qualities of industry, hospitality and charm which characterize them, have a positive contribution to make to the international community.

42. We would assure the delegation of Barbados of our sincere desire to co-operate with it and look forward to Barbados contributing to the tranquillity and strengthening of peace in that region and, therefore, to the strengthening of peace throughout the world. We welcome independent Barbados with its proud heritage and democratic traditions and express our best wishes and hope for its full enjoyment of its freedom, for its economic prosperity and social well-being. The Jamaican delegation pledges the Barbadian delegation its close, harmonious and cordial co-operation in furthering the work and purposes of the United Nations.

43. Sir John CARTER (Guyana): My delegation has asked for the floor in order to perform the very pleasant duty of welcoming the new State of Barbados, which has just been admitted to membership of the United Nations.

44. The links and ties of friendship between Barbados and Guyana go back deeply into the history of our two countries. We have a common heritage and, although separated in space by a few hundred miles, the people and Government of Barbados share with the people and Government of Guyana the same aspirations and the same determination to improve the standards of living of all the people in order to ensure a better life.

45. It is in keeping with those aspirations and this determination that, earlier this year, representatives of my Government met with representatives of the Government of Barbados to sign the Caribbean Free Trade Agreement which provides for the economic co-operation of our two countries. My delegation wishes to add that the signing of this Agreement by my Government represents one aspect of its total commitment to the strengthening of Caribbean unity, to the development and maintenance of regional co-operation and integration at all levels and to the building of a strong, viable Caribbean community.

46. The delegation of Guyana is confident that Barbados will play its full part in the affairs of this Organization and that it will add the charm and warmth of its people to the process of our deliberations.

47. In extending the warmest of welcomes to the Prime Minister of Barbados, Mr. Errol Barrow, who has led his delegation into this session, and to the other members of the delegation of Barbados, my delegation, on behalf of the Government and people of Guyana, wishes to assure them of our full co-operation at all times in our joint work at the United Nations.

48. Mr. SOLOMON (Trinidad and Tobago): This is the second occasion during the course of this twenty-first session of the General Assembly that I have had the opportunity as head of the Trinidad and Tobago delegation to welcome to membership of the United

Nations a country with which we have very close ties indeed. In welcoming Guyana a few months ago, I made mention of the ties of history, of culture and of commerce that join our two peoples and our two nations. In the case of Barbados, these ties are just as broad and just as deep. Indeed, since both of us are island nations in close proximity to each other in the Caribbean Sea, and since we are so much smaller physically than many of the States Members of this Organization, we feel that the ties which join us are of a very special and a very intimate kind.

49. Our history and the history of Barbados have grown and evolved over a long period of years. Our peoples have grown up together; our institutions have evolved together; and it is with the greatest feeling of fraternal pride that we see today this particular stage of Barbados' history reach its culmination.

50. We are confident in that feeling of pride, because to the extent one is able to ascribe an objective value to peoples and nations, to that extent do we know with certainty that Barbados' worth is beyond challenge.

51. Her value stands, in a sense, in inverse ratio to her physical size; and she is one of the smallest countries. Her history is a long and a heroic one. Her institutions and her way of life have been built up slowly, and perhaps painfully, over many centuries and they are profoundly engrained in the totality of the people. This factor has given her the attributes of political, social and economic stability. Her people are highly educated and they are naturally very gifted. As her neighbour, we have had a very rich relationship with her; as colleagues in the United Nations, we know that that relationship will grow in richness and in strength.

52. In speaking today, I speak not only on behalf of Trinidad and Tobago, but also on behalf of the Central American and the other Latin American States, which already include in their number three Caribbean countries: Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Guyana. They too express their tremendous feeling of pride and happiness in welcoming Barbados to this Organization and are looking forward with eagerness, and almost anxiety, to the day which we hope will not be far distant, when Barbados will become a full member of that very friendly association of Latin American States.

53. It is with pleasure, that we add our voices to those that have gone before in saying welcome to Barbados.

54. Mr. NABRIT (United States of America): The United States takes special pleasure in welcoming Barbados as the twenty-sixth independent nation in the western hemisphere to membership in the United Nations. This new nation has a tradition of parliamentary representation which goes back more than 300 years and it has practised full self-government in internal matters for five years now.

55. Though small in size, Barbados is strong in those elements so important to truly independent statehood: free democratic government, a vigorous economy, and progressive social policies. These elements and these qualities will be utilized by Barbados in the new and wider role it now assumes upon its admission to the United Nations.

56. The people of that country can certainly be proud of their new nation, and we extend our congratulations once again to its Prime Minister, Mr. Barrow. As Ambassador Goldberg stated in the Security Council last Wednesday: "The United States welcomes the application of Barbados and looks forward to close association with its representatives here."^{1/}

57. Mr. MENDELEVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Allow me, on behalf of the delegations of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, to greet and to congratulate the new Member of the United Nations, the youngest independent State in the Caribbean, the youngest independent State in the world—Barbados.

58. Only a few days ago, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Kosygin, in a cable addressed to the Prime Minister of Barbados, Mr. Errol Barrow, said: "On the occasion of the proclamation of the independence of Barbados, accept, Mr. Prime Minister, our sincere congratulations and wishes for the prosperity and progress of Barbados on the path of independent development. The Soviet Union declares that it recognizes Barbados as an independent and sovereign State and expresses its readiness to establish diplomatic relations with it."

59. Today, as we admit Barbados to membership in the United Nations, we can repeat over and over again that the process of decolonization—the great historical process of the liberation of peoples who had been enslaved by the colonialists—is continuing and going forward.

60. More and more of the peoples of Africa, Asia, America and Oceania are casting off the colonial yoke. Great peoples and small peoples, large colonial countries and small ones—all are equally entitled to freedom, the independence and the building of their own national life. This is the march forward of the historical process of ridding our planet of colonialist slavery. It is a complicated and difficult process because it is linked with struggle that calls for efforts, energy and sometimes sacrifice. But this struggle will surely be crowned with success if the colonial peoples exhibit steadfastness, determination and consistency in their struggle. All the progressive forces of mankind support the colonial peoples in their demand for freedom and independence.

61. We can note with satisfaction that the United Nations is making its positive, political contribution to the struggle of peoples for freedom, for independent existence and the building of their own national life. And here is still another result of this struggle. We have today admitted to the United Nations a new State whose people for three and a half centuries were oppressed by the British colonialists. It is noteworthy, too, that Barbados has been admitted to membership in the United Nations on the day when the General Assembly is discussing the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This, too, is a reflection of our remarkable era—the era of the liberation of peoples.

^{1/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first Year, 1330th meeting.

62. Permit me, on behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, to wish every success to the people and Government of Barbados in their great task of building a new, independent life.

63. We hope to collaborate with Barbados in the United Nations and outside the United Nations in the solution of the major international problems which confront all peoples and the whole of mankind—the problems of the strengthening of peace, national liberation and social progress.

64. Mr. ALJUBOURI (Iraq): On this auspicious day of the independence of Barbados, and on behalf of the delegations of Kuwait, Jordan, Lebanon and my own delegation, I take great pleasure in extending my warmest congratulations. The attainment of independence by Barbados is an occasion for rejoicing, not only for the people of Barbados themselves, but also for all mankind, and particularly for the Afro-Asian peoples.

65. Along with other free nations of the world, the people of Barbados, we are confident, will play an active role in the United Nations; contributing to world peace and to the welfare of all mankind.

66. As a member of the Committee of Twenty-four, my delegation takes particular pleasure in welcoming Barbados to our midst. We wish the people of Barbados good luck in their independence and look forward to co-operating with them in the achievement of the lofty ideals of the United Nations. We are confident, too, that the nation of Barbados will discharge its responsibilities as a full-fledged Member of the United Nations competently, and will spare no efforts in the great work of nation-building and economic development that lies ahead.

67. Once again, we sincerely wish the people of Barbados well, and assure them of our sympathy and co-operation.

68. Mr. VINCI (Italy): On behalf of the Italian delegation and the delegation of Nepal, I should like to extend a heartfelt welcome to the new State of Barbados to the United Nations family.

69. Italy, which takes pride in having established the first contact between Europe and the Caribbean Isles, and afterwards with the whole western hemisphere, and which has contributed to the movement for independence in this part of the world, is happy to see as a new and resourceful Member of the United Nations a country which will certainly contribute to our work.

70. We wish the Government and people of Barbados well, and we look forward to the opportunities we shall have to co-operate with the delegation of Barbados in this Organization.

71. The PRESIDENT: I take pleasure in inviting His Excellency, Mr. Errol Barrow, Prime Minister of Barbados, to address the General Assembly.

72. Mr. BARROW (Barbados): Humility must be the most appropriate feeling for the leader of a State admitted to membership of this illustrious Assembly on the basis of sovereign equality.

73. The people of Barbados, even before their emergence into nationhood, have always tried, not without some success, to arrange their affairs in accordance with the principles of the Charter to which I have, in their name, subscribed their unstinting allegiance. Despite the limitation of their territory, the paucity of their numbers, the slenderness of their resources, the inhibiting atmosphere of three centuries of colonialism, they have provided for themselves stable political institutions and economic activities which will better stimulate their future development.

74. In their name, we wish to thank the Governments of Argentina, New Zealand, Nigeria, Uganda, the United Kingdom and Uruguay for their prompt and generous sponsorship of our country. We also thank the distinguished delegates here assembled for the warm and courteous greeting accorded to our delegation. We should like to record our profound appreciation to all the members of the Security Council for the alacrity with which they processed our application to make it possible for us to secure membership in the same year that we achieved nationhood.

75. The people of Barbados do not draw a dividing line between their internal affairs and their foreign policy. They strive in their domestic arrangements to create a just society for themselves. In their Constitution they affirm respect for the rule of law; they also declare their intention to establish and maintain the kind of society which enables each citizen, to the full extent of his capacity, to play his part in the national life. They further resolve that their economic system, as it develops, must be equitably administered and enjoyed and that undeviating recognition should be paid to ability, integrity and merit.

76. In thus charting our domestic course, we can have no interest in a foreign policy which contradicts our national goals. On the contrary, we will support genuine efforts at world peace, because our society is stable. We will strenuously assist in the uprooting of vestigial imperialism, because our institutions are free. We will press for the rapid economic growth of all underdeveloped countries, because we are busily engaged in building up our own. In fine, our foreign and domestic policies are the obverse and reverse sides of a single coin.

77. We have devised the kind of foreign policy which is consistent with our national situation and which is also based on the current realities of international politics.

78. We have no quarrels to pursue and we particularly insist that we do not regard any Member State as our natural opponent. We shall not involve ourselves in sterile ideological wranglings because we are exponents, not of the diplomacy of power, but of the diplomacy of peace and prosperity. We will not regard any great Power as necessarily right in a given dispute unless we are convinced of this, yet at the same time we will not view the great Powers with perennial suspicion merely on account of their size, their wealth, or their nuclear potential. We will be friends of all, satellites of none.

79. A disquieting feature of the world situation is the frequent allusion made to the alleged proliferation of small States in this Assembly. Attempts are made

from time to time to devise schemes to give the larger countries more voting power in the Assembly. The principle of "one State, one vote", whereby all Member States are equal under the Charter, is becoming unfashionable, and the proponents of the new theory wish to render some States more equal than others.

80. The General Assembly should know that the Barbados delegation will not support any formula based on such a preposterous bit of special pleading. To accept it, at any time, even for the narrow purposes of discussion, would be to connive at the negation of democratic principle. The whole basis on which this Organization rests is that of equality. If size, wealth or capacity to destroy mankind were the basis for membership, the Organization would not exist in its present form, and its Security Council would consist of a mere handful of mutually suspicious countries.

81. It seems strange to small countries to find their equality challenged by these mutterings of discontent with the form of the Charter. Perhaps the mightier nations genuinely fear that their influence will be swamped in the majority votes now recorded in this Assembly. This fear can be real only if the mighty are pursuing aims inimical to the interests of the smaller ones. So long as their own national interests and their international commitments can be identified with those of the smaller countries, they have no reason to fear the admission of small States to this Assembly. Democratic societies owe the stability of their institutions to the participation of the masses in the political life of their countries. In like manner, the emergence of small States into full sovereignty increases the chances of peace.

82. Even in this Assembly it is not always or not fully appreciated that the tensions of the cold war have been lessened by the mere existence of nearly forty newly independent States in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. United Nations opinion is now more often to be found in Delhi, Addis Ababa and Port-of-Spain than it is in London, Moscow and Washington. No longer is there that unique and frightening confrontation of rival power blocs snarling at and scuffling with each other in the ruins of their respective policies. The independent countries of Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, and the other uncommitted countries, are making, by their existence alone, an outstanding contribution to international stability.

83. If the larger countries wish to earn or to retain the confidence and respect of small countries, there will have to be a rapid change of values. They must no longer enjoy squatters' rights in the volume and arrangement of world trade. New concepts of distribution and exchange will have to be worked out, because emergent countries will no longer be content to be hewers of wood and drawers of water while the wealth of the world flows past them into the coffers of some twenty nations.

84. [In a world population of 2,400 million, only 375 million—or slightly less than one sixth—enjoy the best standards of living. In another segment of the world population, some 425 million, or slightly more than one sixth, enjoy fairly tolerable standards of living. The remainder of mankind, some 1,600 million souls in Asia, Africa, south-eastern Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean sweat out their lives in unremitting

poverty, without the tools of modern production, with meagre educational facilities, with little expertise in the arts of public administration, with dribbles of financial and technical assistance, with population explosion and with a cataract of gratuitous advice on how to govern themselves.

85. The stark reality of the international situation is not the possibility of nuclear destruction but the certainty of dissolution, if this mass misery continues beyond this current decade. When 65 per cent of the world's population can enjoy only 19 per cent of the world's wealth, a diplomacy based on power cannot withstand the explosive anger of upheaval based on poverty. Two thirds of the world's people do not fear a nuclear holocaust because they literally have nothing to live for. The irony of their situation is that they hold the key to the world's prosperity, but that the doors are bolted against them by the participants of prosperity.

86. This is the background against which my small country enters upon its international obligations. It belongs to the submerged seven-tenths of the world. It sees no hope for itself or for its companions in misery except in the efforts made in this Assembly to work out with speed the new conditions of human progress. The Barbados delegation pays its tribute to the specialized agencies of this body for the solid contribution made, both in the past and now, to human well-being in many parts of the globe. But this delegation feels, nevertheless, that the eradication of world poverty is a function which cannot be discharged by delegation, but must engage the United Nations at the highest levels.]

87. The obligation laid on the Security Council to preserve world peace ought to be amplified by an equally solemn commitment to prevent world poverty. It is not a coincidence that the explosive areas of the world are precisely those areas in which ignorance and poverty most abound.

88. [The people of Barbados will support and uphold the efforts of this Organization to the limit of their moral and physical resources, and would wish to record their profound gratitude to the Assembly for this first great privilege of expressing their hopes and aspirations for the unity and progress of mankind. They could best sum up their attitude at this moment of their history in the words of Mr. Valiant for Truth, an interesting character in John Bunyan's famous book: "Though with much difficulty I have got hither, yet I do not repent me of the trouble I have taken."]

89. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank His Excellency the Prime Minister of Barbados. The flag of Barbados will be raised during the course of a ceremony to be held at 2.55 this afternoon in front of the delegates' entrance.

AGENDA ITEM 23

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

90. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now resume consideration of agenda item 23.

91. Before I call on the first speaker on the list, I should like to inform Members of the Assembly that unless the Assembly decides otherwise, we shall proceed as follows: we have more than twenty speakers inscribed for the general debate, and also we shall have a draft resolution before the plenary this afternoon.

92. Those representatives who wish to speak in the general debate when the resolution is before the Assembly will be able also to co-operate in making their observations, if they wish, on the resolution. After consultations with delegations and particularly in view of the great importance of item 23, I have agreed that if certain Members wish to make some general observations on the item when they speak on the draft resolution they will also have the opportunity to do so.

93. After we have heard all the speakers in this manner, we shall proceed to listening to those delegations wishing to explain their vote before the vote.

94. At this stage, however, I should like to suggest Monday, 12 December, at noon, as the time-limit for the submission of new proposals or amendments under this item.

95. If there is no objection to the procedure I have explained, I shall take it that the General Assembly approves of these suggestions.

It was so decided.

96. Mr. MOD (Hungary) (translated from French): It has become a tradition—not only an appropriate but also a very valuable one—for the General Assembly, after a whole year of hard work by the Special Committee and two months of debate in the Fourth Committee, to meet in plenary session to examine the situation regarding the attainment of the objectives laid down in the 1960 Declaration and confirmed and enlarged upon, year after year, in further resolutions.

97. The first question I want to deal with refers to the balance-sheet for the year that has elapsed since the last session of the General Assembly. This is the balance-sheet which should serve as a basis for evaluating the work done and deciding what has still to be done.

98. The picture of the situation has two aspects. On the one hand, we have to accept as an undeniable fact that we have made a thorough analysis and denounced in the United Nations the nature and practices of colonialism and neo-colonialism. We have made a detailed analysis of the activities of the international monopolies in three territories of capital importance: South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies. We have drawn therefrom the logical conclusion that the activities of these foreign interests constitute one of the greatest obstacles hindering the peoples of these territories from exercising their inalienable right to national independence. We have pointed out many of the links of the "Unholy Alliance", as well as other aspects of neo-colonialism. We have condemned them and we have invited certain Powers opposing the abolition of the colonial system to put an end to their nefarious activities and to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly.

Mr. Khalaf (Iraq), Vice-President, took the Chair.

99. On the other hand, it has to be admitted that, after the vigorous impetus of the first years, when a large number of colonial peoples won independence and joined our ranks, the process of independence has slowed down to a halt. In the general part of the Special Committee's report we read:

"At the beginning of its work in 1966, many members of the Special Committee expressed the feeling that progress in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has fallen far short of the expectations aroused by its adoption nearly six years ago." [A/6300/Rev.1, chap. 1, para. 310.]

100. It is a sad but undeniable fact that in the territories of capital importance, in southern Africa, apart from the lack of progress, last year there was a definite deterioration in the situation—for example, in Southern Rhodesia. In other words, the balance-sheet debits exceed the credits. The debit balance resulting is not merely a serious statement of fact here; it has cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of innocent people, women, children and old people who, had the situation taken a different turn, might have still been alive and some of them would ultimately have joined us here as representatives of some new State.

101. When we look for the reasons for the halt in progress, we are motivated not merely by scientific curiosity or abstract politics. The blood of millions of innocent people falls upon those at whom world public opinion points an accusing finger.

102. The reasons for the maintenance at all costs of the colonial system may be classified in three groups.

103. Firstly, the Special Committee's reports have analysed the activities of foreign monopolies in three territories of decisive importance. The three reports point to the same conclusions: international monopolies convert the sweat and blood of the colonial peoples into "the language" of milliards of dollars, pounds sterling and West German marks. Certain countries are peculiarly interested in maintaining colonial conditions. The first group of reasons, therefore, is economic.

104. Secondly, the second group of arguments favouring the maintenance of colonial conditions is political: Portugal affirms: "We are one single nation with our overseas provinces". The fascists of South Africa and, tacitly but effectively backed by the British, Ian Smith, the fascist rebel of Southern Rhodesia, declare: "We are predestined to govern the inferior black race". The United Kingdom tells the world: "We support the Government of the Federation in the interests of the people of Southern Arabia" and goes on to explain: "The sovereignty of Mauritius and the Seychelles is not infringed by our having detached the 'British Indian Ocean Territory' for Anglo-American military purposes". "In the long run we are preparing the population of the island of Guam for American nationality", a United States Senator declared with regard to the island that has been converted into an aircraft-carrier for American aggression in Viet-Nam.

105. All these allegations—and I have quoted only a few examples as an "inalienable right" of the colonialists the violation of the sovereign right of other peoples or of a majority and to declare the mainte-

nance of the status quo as a political right. As can be seen, the second group of reasons is political.

106. The third group of reasons is strategic or military. One of the important features of the present-day world is that it has shrunk because of the expansion of transport and communications and of military technology. That is why colonial territories are part and parcel of the "global" military policy of the colonial Powers.

107. South Africa, South West Africa and the Portuguese colonies in southern Africa can justly be compared to an international military fortress; the small islands and the lesser colonial territories are a veritable superstructure of Anglo-American global strategy. Here are a few examples, taken at random, of the use made of some territories: Ascension—attack made in 1964 against the Democratic Republic of the Congo; Guam—aggression against Viet-Nam; Aden—aggression against the Arab countries; Angola and Mozambique—numerous acts of aggression against the neighbouring independent African countries (Tanzania, Zambia, Democratic Republic of the Congo and Malawi).

108. Before drawing a conclusion from this, I would like to point out that, in order to avoid being controversial, I have only quoted examples that have a bearing on actual past events, so as not to be charged with talking about "theoretical" dangers. What is more, I do not claim any copyright and I leave the formulation of a conclusion to the author of a pamphlet issued by the British Institute for Strategic Studies on 26 March 1966 who writes:

"British bases and commitments in Southern Arabia and the Persian Gulf help to promote Western influence in the Middle East and to deter any local belligerence . . . They help to keep open a strategic route to British positions in the Indian Ocean and South-East Asia, and may thus be said to contribute to the containment of any advance by a communist Power into those areas. But their primary purpose is to safeguard the flow of Middle East oil, to prevent or check conflict in their own immediate area and to provide a base for British military intervention in other areas close at hand." [A/6300, part II, para. 323.]

The third reason is thus the maintenance of military domination, of the "global" strategy of aggression against the Third World and the socialist countries.

109. The three causes I have just described form the principal feature of the forces which are preventing the abolition of the colonial system.

110. From whatever angle we examine colonialism, we find foreign interests pocketing profits, racist régimes and those who make political profit out of them, the forced labour system in the Portuguese colonies and those who have an interest in maintaining it, the aggressive network of military bases and those whose armed forces use these bases.

111. There are three conclusions here which immediately strike one: all this has been created against national independence and progress—to ensure the maintenance of the status quo; all this definitely serves to maintain the material, political or military

interests of a group of industrially developed countries; and, lastly, this state of affairs has no basis in international law and is founded on the use of brute force.

112. The members of the group struggling to maintain colonialism have two important characteristics in common: they are, one way or another, individually or collectively, military allies of the United States. They live in the social system of capitalism, which is, historically speaking, the creator and, nowadays, the bastion of colonialism. Those are the facts.

113. Although the distribution of roles, the dramatis personae, has remained the same as time goes on, the methods followed in the interest of maintaining domination have become more varied and more subtle. I feel that, before tackling the question of the tasks to be accomplished, a few words should also be said of the methods employed.

114. At the moment, the territories which have not yet attained independence consist of the bloc in southern Africa and of the numerous islands scattered over the oceans and a few less important territories. At the same time, the anti-colonialist forces have recently expanded well beyond the geographical boundaries of the existing colonial territories. I am referring to the independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and to the socialist countries, as well as to the regional organizations, the international conferences and their permanent organs. A leading personality of the African continent, a man of international authority, the President of the Republic of Zambia, said in an address to the General Assembly on 15 November 1966:

"My Government and people have not been preoccupied with stability and progress for Zambia alone. We are conscious and mindful of our international obligations not only as a member of the United Nations, but also as a participant in other international and regional organizations which together form, in our view, a huge complex machinery for the preservation of stability, peace and security the world over, and for the promotion of genuine understanding, co-operation and progress in the international community." [1464th meeting, p. 6.]

115. Similar important progress has been made within the colonial territories through the growth of national-liberation movements and fronts. International law is constantly being enriched by the recognition of the legitimacy of the moral and material assistance given to this struggle, to mention only these essential quasi-legislative functions of the General Assembly.

116. This is the changed situation to which the new strategy of the forces of colonialism has to adapt itself. I shall refer only to a few of its elements, those that are most typical. I shall classify them under one common denominator, namely, the fundamental rights and interests of the colonial peoples which the colonial Powers attack by this means. In this enumeration I shall proceed from the particular to the general.

117. The offensive itself is directed against the personal living conditions of the majority of the inhabitants of the colonial territory, as can be seen, for instance, from the system of forced production

of coffee and sugar in the Portuguese territories. In defiance of the Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of all international instruments concerning the rights of man, it is directed against the rights and the human dignity of each of the inhabitants of the colonies. The President of Zambia, in his speech already quoted, put it quite correctly when he said:

"In Rhodesia, a lunatic fringe has taken over the administration; more than four million people are held as hostages; the Smith régime can mete out any measures to Africans: detain, restrict, imprison with impunity. World reaction, particularly that of certain Western Powers, shows little or no understanding. If they understand, then they show little or no inclination to take as positive a stand as that taken during the incident in Kisangani in 1964. Are 200,000 white people better citizens of Rhodesia than the four million black people?"

"Are we to believe now that human rights are indivisible, except in southern Africa? Are we to accept that equality of human beings before law is true, but not in southern Africa?" [1464th meeting, pp. 28-30.]

118. The offensive is directed against the majority inside the country and its collective interests; it may take the form of overt oppression, as in South Africa or Southern Rhodesia, or of the imposition on the population of a puppet government that is not at all representative, as, for instance, in Aden. It is, therefore, directed against the political and economic independence of the colonial territory.

119. It is directed against the military independence of the colonial territory, either by the enforced installation of military bases, as in Guam, Aden, etc., or by the dismemberment of a national territory, as in the case of Mauritius and the Seychelles islands. It is directed, therefore, against the unity of the colonial territory.

120. Lastly, it is directed—remember my reference to the "Unholy Alliance"—against the unity of Africa as a continent. And this is being done—as I have already pointed out and I could even quote Salazar himself—by adopting the slogan which fascism discredited in the Second World War: the defence of Western civilization, or, as President Kaunda so pertinently remarked:

"An appeal to race superiority, to the concepts of master and slave, and of Christian and heathen, Western civilization and its undefined opposite—all these form rallying-points in the maintenance of the status-quo in that area." [1464th meeting, p. 17.]

That is what the colonialists are doing—individually, if that seems more appropriate, or in overt or covert co-operation, if they feel that is more suitable—as witness the relations of Smith with South Africa and Portugal.

121. NATO is the military organ and the symbol of this activity, with its wealth of new subtleties, which is called neo-colonialism.

122. I am sincerely sorry that the events of these last few days compel me to pause in giving expression to my thoughts. We are all aware of what is going on at the moment in Southern Rhodesia and around that territory. It is regrettable, but, after all, logical, that the

events of these last days provide proof of all the assertions made in my speech. Mr. Wilson, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, has assured Smith in advance that he would not use force against him. Fortified by this assurance and certain of the support of South Africa and Portugal, Smith is defying the British Government which, on the one hand, is prevented from taking strong action by the powerful United Kingdom monopolies and, on the other hand, wants to do nothing which might irritate one of the most important of its economic and trading partners, the Republic of South Africa. There you have striking new evidence against neo-colonialism and an outstanding refutation of any bogus indignation.

123. It is not respect for the rights of man, for the noble ideals of the General Assembly's resolutions or of world opinion, but the inexhaustible lust for profit and political and military domination over other peoples which is the driving force behind the scenes.

124. I believe that we all agree that the process of decolonization has reached a very difficult and very complicated phase. Let us take the smaller territories; application of the fundamental principles is not quite the same in Southern Rhodesia with its 4 million inhabitants as in an island with a population of only a few thousand and which is, at the same time, part of an archipelago.

125. Moreover, a relatively new situation has arisen also inside the world Organization. Since the 1960 Declaration was adopted, the General Assembly has done an enormous job. May I add that that is not simply due to the changed membership of the Assembly, although it was a primary condition for the adoption of correct resolutions. In this connexion, may I mention how glad we are to see these changes continuing this very day when we welcome Barbados to our membership. Having said that, I believe that the great majority in the General Assembly will agree with me when I say that the Special Committee, too, deserves the greatest praise both from within and from outside the United Nations.

126. We must, however, accept the situation as it is, because only in such case can we find proper solutions. To complete the picture, however, we must not forget what I said at the outset, namely, that the process of decolonization has been slowed down. I have endeavoured in my speech to establish some of the most important reasons for this slow-down.

127. Before formulating my suggestions for certain tasks that await us, I would like to describe briefly the existing situation. First, the situation within the United Nations, which contains two fundamental factors.

128. On the one hand, the General Assembly. Year after year the Assembly adopts appropriate resolutions on each particular item. Taken separately, the resolutions provide, year after year, an analysis of the situation in the particular colonial territories and define the tasks to be accomplished. Subsequently, however, the parties more directly concerned, on whom success in execution depends, sabotage, also year after year the implementation of the resolutions, arguing that the resolutions of the General Assembly have the character of recommendations.

129. The other factor in the work of the United Nations is the Security Council. The number of colonial questions discussed by the Security Council increases from year to year. The tone of the resolutions grows stronger from year to year. In the case of Southern Rhodesia, for instance, we have now reached the level of a partial embargo.

130. Outside the United Nations, however, because of enormous moral pressure, the colonialists find themselves obliged to pursue quasi-clandestine operations. Nevertheless, we have not yet managed to get to the root of the evil in the "difficult" territories.

131. In these circumstances, and because of the numerous implications of the question, I think it a good idea to affirm in principle that we must begin by discussing urgently the most important aspects of the problem. On the basis of the foregoing, my delegation is of the opinion that the General Assembly should bear the following considerations in mind.

132. Firstly, there exists in southern Africa a complex which is resisting the pressure of the times and which, some years ago, was dubbed the "Unholy Alliance". The time has come to consider, from both the political and the military and economic standpoints, not only its separate members but also the whole combination with all its characteristics. To this end, it would be appropriate to ask the Special Committee to study this complex, both from the angle of its internal political, economic and military relations and also from that of its external relations.

133. When a very important question is involved the members of this alliance always act together. We, too, should examine them from this angle. It would be a good idea to ask the Secretariat to start immediately preparing the documentation needed for such a study.

134. Secondly, the Special Committee has already studied the operations of the international monopolies in three territories. The results of this study are at our disposal. I think that by proceeding, in this connexion also, from the particular to the general—as we certainly will do on the basis of the Special Committee's recommendations—we may uncover a number of new elements which will facilitate our later work. A study of the general operations of the international monopolies in the colonies would, therefore, be a proper and necessary step.

135. Thirdly, still on the basis of the considerations mentioned, and regarding the examination of the tasks in a different field, I would like to quote operative paragraph 14 of resolution 2105 (XX) adopted at the last session of the General Assembly:

"The General Assembly,

" ...

"Requests the Secretary-General to take all necessary measures to promote the large-scale dissemination of the Declaration and of the work of the Special Committee, in order that world opinion may be sufficiently informed of the serious threat to peace posed by colonialism and apartheid, and calls upon all administering Powers to co-operate with the Secretary-General in his efforts."

136. I think that the resolution is fairly clear. Accordingly, I would, on the one hand, like to make an observation and, on the other, submit a request.

137. First, the observation: one of the important characteristics of the United Nations is that it is an international forum in the general sense and, from the standpoint of the agenda, the most important international forum of the anti-colonialist struggle. That means, in other words, that it provides an immense international forum for the representatives of the national-liberation movements. The important point about this forum is that the world Press assures enormous publicity for United Nations proceedings and, besides, the resolutions adopted become important moral assistance weapons for national-liberation struggles. Lastly, and this is the last element in the observation, the United Nations discharges its task only if it, too, does everything possible to ensure that—as the resolution provides—world opinion is sufficiently informed on the important aspects of its proceedings. Further, the paragraph quoted from the resolution is also addressed to the competent department of the Organization—naturally, through the intermediary of the Secretary-General.

138. My request—one which my delegation submitted once, in part, to the Fourth Committee but which received no reply—is the following: my delegation officially and formally requests the Secretary-General to instruct the Office of Public Information to present to the General Assembly, as early as possible during the discussion, a detailed report on the application of paragraph 14 of resolution 2105 (XX) and on the means envisaged in this connexion.

139. Fourthly, my last suggestion refers to the work of the Security Council. I think, in the first place, that it is not enough for it to follow the work of the General Assembly. I feel sure that the majority in the General Assembly agrees that, in the south of the African continent, it is not only the individual members of the Unholy Alliance, but also the whole complex which threatens peace on the African continent and, therefore, international peace and security. Moreover, this state of affairs will sooner or later reach the point where not only certain aspects of the colonial system but also the very existence of colonialism will threaten peace and security. It can, at the same time, be noted that by itself the General Assembly is not going to defeat the colonialists. The Security Council, the only United Nations body which is authorized to use force, must associate itself more actively than hitherto with the anti-colonialist struggle. I therefore recommend proposing to the Security Council on the one hand, to examine, not only from the standpoint of the topical questions raised on specific occasions but in a general and systematic manner, the situation in the territories where peace and security are threatened and, furthermore, to draw conclusions, proceeding from the particular to the general, for instance, in the case of the Unholy Alliance. A proper and complete examination could lead to a series of well-considered enforcement measures that might break the resistance of the last bastions of colonialism.

140. In conclusion, I wish to express my delegation's extreme appreciation to the Special Committee, its sub-committees and all those who have assisted them

in their work. For our part, we approve the conclusions and the recommendations of the Special Committee on the particular territories and on the general questions.

141. We are convinced that, on the basis of the just resolutions of the General Assembly, the Special Committee will next year accomplish even more effective work. On our part, we have endeavoured in this statement to suggest a few ideas that will contribute to the success of its future work.

142. Mr. BUSHNYAK (Czechoslovak Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which was adopted by the fifteenth session of the General Assembly and the implementation of which we are discussing here, is undoubtedly one of the most important documents of the United Nations. The Declaration is based on the fact that colonialism, as the crudest form of exploitation of entire peoples, is one of the most shameful and most anachronistic phenomena of the twentieth century, a century in which there opened up before mankind previously unimaginable prospects of scientific and technological revolution and of penetration into outer space, prospects of radical social and cultural changes and of the realization of new relationships between nations and peoples.

143. The extent to which colonialist régimes have compromised themselves and are condemned by the widest circles of world public opinion and by all peoples is clearly confirmed by the fact that not a single colonial Power felt it possible to raise its voice against the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and that—possibly with the exception of Portugal only—all the metropolitan countries found it necessary—though only in theory—to agree to recognize the lawful rights of peoples to self-determination and independence.

144. The fact that has to be regarded as disturbing is that, in spite of the definite demand in the Declaration for bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, six years after the adoption of the Declaration the twenty-first session of the General Assembly has to discuss the problem of decolonization with even greater insistence than in previous years.

145. It is an actual fact—one of which we are all witnesses—that in a number of countries on our planet there are millions of people living who have never known what it is to be free and independent, have never had an opportunity of exercising their right to self-determination. And all this is happening in spite of the fact that the whole contemporary international community, figuratively speaking, is riddled with solemn international undertakings and lofty declarations about the freedom and dignity of man, that the United Nations exists and operates, and that there is a United Nations Charter and a Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

146. Southern Rhodesia, the apartheid policy operated by the Republic of South Africa, South West Africa, Angola, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique, Aden, Oman and a number of other territories are

now merely classical terms in all our discussions on the problem of decolonization which, in concentrated form, express the whole intensity and fightfulness of crude colonialist oppression and exploitation.

147. In the south of the African continent, more especially, the racist and colonialist régimes which control extensive geographical areas with millions of African inhabitants are continuing to intensify their opposition to the process of decolonization. Their attitude to the Declaration, to the efforts of the United Nations and to the decisions which we are adopting here, shows merely their contempt for the United Nations, its purposes and programme. Last year these régimes established and strengthened their links with one another and helped one another by openly boycotting United Nations decolonization measures. Their increasing economic and political link-up in the south of the African continent creates a real danger of the formation of an alliance of colonialist and racist régimes ready to wage a fight not only to stop decolonization in Africa but even to turn in the direction of re-colonizing previously dependent territories.

148. The General Assembly has a sufficient amount of material at its disposal confirming this conclusion. At this session Portugal has once again declared that it will not grant independence to the African colonies under its rule and refuses to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Smith recently asserted that the racist régime will fight to the end for its existence and the Republic of South Africa has also blatantly refused to end the policy of apartheid and attempts to annex the Territory of South West Africa.

149. It is, moreover, common knowledge that it is not a question merely of declarations, since these régimes are implementing the policy in practice in the form of specific repressive actions, extraordinary measures, accentuated colonialist terror and the strengthening and development of a system of racial discrimination. In Africa, in fact, a front of reactionary, colonialist and racist forces is being created whose programme actually consists in using force to suppress the national-liberation movement, thereby creating a constant threat to international peace and security.

150. The United Nations cannot do other than take account of the great importance of this fact. The demand for a realistic approach to the situation in this part of the world, appropriately named "Africa south of the Zambezi", makes it necessary for the United Nations to multiply its efforts and achieve definitive co-ordination of actions and measures, which would result in ending this intolerable state of affairs. The Security Council, in particular, can and ought to play an important role in this direction.

151. A specific feature of the hold-up in implementing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples at this stage is the fact that the States stubbornly opposing the elimination of colonialism do not consist only of the metropolitan countries but that ever greater activity is being shown also by other Powers, which are formally standing in the background but which wholeheartedly support a colonialist policy—Powers, without whose support this policy and the vestiges of the colonialist system would

long ago have finally collapsed. The widespread and essentially aggressive alliance of Western Powers forms a rear-guard for the colonialist and racist régimes on which they can fully rely in their military and strategic plans.

152. Decolonization is an integral part of the development of mankind on the path of progress, equality of rights and the establishment of friendly relations between peoples and is a condition of their free life, as stated in the preamble to the Declaration. It is in this context that we have to consider the policy of the colonizers and all those who support them.

153. With your permission I would like to cite a few examples to indicate the groupings which, even here in our Organization, are formed when questions connected with the elimination of colonialism are discussed.

154. A group of the following States: Australia, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, voted last year against resolution 2105 (XX), in which the twentieth session of the General Assembly stated its position on the question we are discussing and whose original sponsors were, almost without exception, States with the bitterest experience of colonialist enslavement. Still another episode that once again offered telling evidence of this confraternity occurred on 23 May 1966 in the Security Council during the vote on the African States' draft resolution in Southern Rhodesia. It was on this very occasion that the Western alliance prevented the adoption of the important draft resolution tabled by Mali, Nigeria and Uganda.^{2/} A characteristic feature of the African session of the Committee of Twenty-Four was that, in the voting on the draft resolutions regarding decolonizations, the United States delegation supported only one out of the seven drafts adopted—and that was a draft with which even the Administering Authority itself had agreed at that session.

155. This is precisely where the answer must be sought to the question: why is the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples not being implemented? Here I would like to stress the point that this is not just a question of a voting attitude or of expressing specific points of view, but of the confraternity of the colonialists and their protectors that is determined also by the quantity and the types of arms being supplied, the financial and economic assistance given, the capital investments made, the material supplies furnished and, above all, unfortunately, the indescribable sufferings and the lives of the enslaved colonial peoples.

156. In this connexion I cannot but refer, for example, to the evidence and information brought to the notice of the Committee of Twenty-Four during its meetings in Algeria by petitioners from the Portuguese colonies and a former officer of the Portuguese colonial army, which could not fail to evoke feelings of horror at the shameless way in which colonial wars are being waged at the present time. They were really shocking evidence of our times.

157. A number of colonial and aggressive wars have been waged with the full support of NATO. The NATO Treaty is arbitrarily motivated by the doctrine that any success gained by the national-liberation movement represents a threat to its military and strategic positions and it treats colonies as a kind of economic and military rear base for the conduct of aggressive and interventionist acts of violence, directed against peoples who are fighting for their liberation.

158. It cannot be sufficiently stressed that the United States, for instance, uses its colonial territories in the Pacific for waging an aggressive war in Viet-Nam.

159. The Declaration is also not being implemented in this sense that the Western Powers refuse to give effect to the measures set forth in the specific resolutions adopted by our Organization in implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) or on individual colonial questions. The United Kingdom, in particular, bears a serious responsibility towards the United Nations and the whole world for its systematic manoeuvring and its evasiveness in implementing the resolutions of the United Nations, thus, in fact, directly helping to create a second racist régime in Africa.

160. Another serious circumstance is the non-implementation of United Nations measures regarding South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal by the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and other States. Particularly dangerous for the future development of the situation in Africa is the increasing economic and military co-operation of the Federal Republic of Germany with the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and with the Salazar régime in Portugal. The Western States are even urging the Federal Republic of Germany to carry out this policy, a continuation of the traditions of German colonialism, on the assumption that the Federal Republic of Germany, as a State which is not a Member of the United Nations, will escape criticism and action by the latter.

161. The States mentioned are helping the monopolists to increase their investments in the colonies, to grab the natural wealth and exploit local manpower in the most flagrant fashion. There is every ground for asserting that economic and financial interests are the reason why the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western Powers are interested in maintaining the colonial system in Africa, in the south of the Arabian Peninsula and in other places. The activity of foreign monopolies in colonial countries has become the main obstacle to the progress of peoples on the path to freedom and independence.

162. One of the principal conditions for consistent decolonization is also the abolition of all military bases on colonial territories. We consider that there is no longer any need to prove here how well-founded this requirement is. The question is clear, and this was proved both by the twentieth session of the United Nations General Assembly and by the Committee of Twenty-Four. There is no need to comment in detail on the purposes for which military bases in Aden, Guam and other territories have been and are still being used or on the way in which intervention was practised in the Congo.

^{2/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1966, document S/7285/Add.1.

163. The theory has been fully confirmed that colonialism is unthinkable without a colonial army and without military bases. All the more alarming, therefore, is it to be told that the number of military bases in colonial territories has not only not decreased but that, in a number of cases, existing bases are even being expanded and new ones also are being built.

164. Particularly dangerous, too, are the attempts that are more and more frequently being made by Western Powers, even after the granting of formal independence, to secure for themselves the further continuance of bases by means of "defence agreements"—unequal agreements that are concluded while colonialist conditions still prevail.

165. The twenty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly must resolutely condemn these attempts to impose an outsider's will upon peoples which have not yet attained full independence and recommend the Committee of Twenty-Four to make a thorough study of the problem of military bases on colonial territories and work out measures for the speediest possible implementation of the provisions of paragraph 12 of General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX).

166. I consider it necessary also to draw attention to the fact that recently the metropolitan territories have shown an increasing tendency to establish in colonial territories, by means of the most varying forms of colonial self-government and semi-self-government, unrepresentative régimes designed to maintain the dependence of the territories on the metropolitan country, even after formal independence has been granted.

167. Statements recently made by the United Kingdom in the Fourth Committee about the Aden question have failed to dispel doubts and fears that the administering Power will continue, in the future also, to carry out its plans to convert Aden and other parts of South Arabia into a neo-colonial formation which would enable it to retain its position of military and political domination.

168. The 1966 discussions in the Fourth Committee have stressed the need for paying proper attention to all the neo-colonialist manoeuvres, both as regards circumventing resolution 1514 (XX) by setting up dependent, though formally independent régimes, and also as regards the activities of foreign monopolies and finance capital that creates a material basis for neo-colonialist dependence and subordination and for the establishment and maintenance of military bases and the violation by force of the territorial integrity of colonial countries.

169. The United Nations General Assembly, which has described colonialism, apartheid and all manifestations of racial discrimination as a threat to international peace and security and a crime against humanity, drew an important logical conclusion when it recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples suffering under the colonial yoke to attain self-determination and independence and when it called on States to extend to the national-liberation movement every kind of material and moral assistance.

170. The fact that the existence of colonialism is based on the constant use of force and continuous aggression against the oppressed peoples of the colonies fully entitles the latter to resort to self-defence by every means, including armed struggle, which should give them the right to self-determination and independence.

171. This right of peoples still living under colonialist domination has again found expression in the resolution of the present General Assembly session on the prohibition of the use of force in international relations and respect for the principle of self-determination of peoples—this time with a direct reference to the United Nations Charter.

172. Resolution 2160 (XXI) of the current session, to which I have just referred, has again affirmed the right of peoples under colonial rule to exercise their right to self-determination and independence and the right of every nation, large or small, to choose freely and without any external interference its political, social and economic system.

173. On that basis, and with reference to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as to the Declaration on non-interference, the present session of the General Assembly has formulated an important thesis, namely, that any direct or indirect coercive action, which deprives peoples under foreign domination of their right to self-determination, freedom and independence, and also their right freely to determine their political status and carry out their economic, social and cultural development, constitutes an infringement of the United Nations Charter. In this context, too, it will be necessary in future to analyse in every specific fashion all the actions of the colonialists and of those who support them.

174. The delegation of Czechoslovakia feels bound, in conclusion, to say a few words about the Committee of Twenty-Four. We believe that it is a really business-like body which has done much useful work. At its African session, especially, held in May and June 1966, it adopted a number of important decisions which must be given all possible support [A/6300, chap. V (part 1), paras. 649-676]. And, although the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is not a member of the Committee, it will continue in future also to follow its work attentively and, within the limits of its possibilities, to collaborate in its work.

175. Permit me, in concluding my statement, to assure this plenary meeting of our Organization that the struggle for the speediest and complete elimination of colonialism will continue in future also to be one of the main component parts of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy and that our country, in accordance with all its activities, will in future also support in every way the struggle of all oppressed peoples for their emancipation from the colonial yoke, and for consistent respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.