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President: Miss Angie E. BROOKS (Liberia).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Dugersuren (Mongolia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 24

Special programme of activities in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Preparatory Committee for the Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (*concluded*)

1. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland): I shall vote in favour of this draft resolution [A/L.572/Rev.1]. In doing so I must say that there are certain recommendations in the report which my Government cannot accept. In particular, I refer to those sections of the report which might involve the specialized agencies in constitutional difficulties. It would be wrong to call on them to go beyond their proper functions.

2. By voting for this draft resolution we in no way abandon our policy of not condoning, let alone assisting, the use of violence. Nevertheless, it scarcely needs restating that my country has made a greater contribution in the advance from colonialism to self-determination and independence than any other country in the history of the world. Therefore, we would naturally be the first to welcome any public celebration of that achievement.

3. Mr. EL GOULLI (Tunisia) (*translated from French*): Nine years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the problem of decolonization is still a grave one.

4. Confronted by the irresistible and irrevocable movement of peoples towards independence and freedom, colonialism is today in its death throes.

5. In its specific and traditional form, colonialism can now and henceforth be regarded as a completed chapter in the history of mankind. Even if colonialism does continue to prevail in certain territories and to provoke crises marked by suffering and bloodshed, even if it is still present in certain areas, the colonial system no longer exists except in a few isolated spots, where acts of violence herald its imminent and inevitable end. The time has come for the administering Powers to review and revise their policies. They must accept once and for all that the world-wide movement for liberation of peoples is part of the forward march of history and that any direct or indirect attempt to resist that legitimate movement is not only immoral, but foredoomed to failure.

6. By its resolution [2465 (XXIII)] of 20 December 1968, the General Assembly, in establishing the Preparatory Committee for the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, wished to give particular emphasis to that commemoration. As a member of that Committee, my delegation took an active part and showed the greatest interest in its proceedings. The Preparatory Committee has submitted a most interesting report to us; we owe this excellent study to the competence of the Committee's officers and to the work carried out by the Secretariat.

7. The recommendations contained in the report, which were unanimously adopted by the members of the Preparatory Committee, provide a framework for the commemoration of the anniversary by the United Nations, its specialized agencies, national Governments, and the non-governmental organizations concerned. Those recommendations deserve our attention and support. The Committee of Twenty-Four is, under its terms of reference, fully qualified to implement those recommendations. My delegation accordingly believes that we should entrust the Committee with the task of preparing a draft declaration on measures to be taken to put an end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

8. The anniversary should not be a mere commemoration; on the contrary, it should be an occasion for a search of conscience and for deep reflexion on the real causes of the persistence of the colonial phenomenon, so that the goals towards which our future action will be directed can be realistically outlined, thus paving the way for the attainment of the objectives set forth in the Declaration.

9. A brief retrospective analysis of the evolution of the colonial question will serve us as a basis for assessing the work accomplished, for determining what remains to be done and, of necessity, for deciding on a new strategy.

10. Chapter XI of the Charter, followed by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and finally by resolution 1654 (XVI), which was designed to give effect to the Declaration and under which the Committee of Twenty-Four was established, are the three pillars on which the dynamic action of the United Nations in regard to colonization now rests.

11. The United Nations has certainly played a determining role in the historic movement towards abolition of the system of exploitation of peoples by other peoples, a role effectively supported by public opinion in the colonizing countries that are in favour of the emancipation of colonized populations.

12. While it is a source of deep satisfaction that most colonized countries have now acceded to national sovereignty, it is nonetheless deplorable that vast territories remain under the colonial yoke and that their progress towards independence does not, for the moment, offer promising prospects. We are thinking in particular of the situation in southern Africa and in Palestine. It is with deep repugnance that in the mid-twentieth century we see peoples forced to submit to colonial domination, with all the arbitrariness, injustice and humiliation that this entails. Tens of millions of oppressed human beings, who nevertheless cherish freedom and dignity and who are fully aware of their natural and legitimate right to self-determination, are struggling courageously against the forces of domination.

13. Measures adopted by the United Nations have thus far proved ineffective. We must therefore take new decisions in order, on the one hand, to encourage and assist the peoples of the colonial territories to achieve their aspirations, and, on the other, to induce the colonial powers to take part in the work of decolonization through specific decisions which would give a strong impetus and general and precise direction to the measures that must be instituted to enable the peoples still under foreign domination to free themselves from the colonial yoke.

14. Member States must, in the first place, discharge their obligations under the Charter and co-operate with the United Nations to the full. Their hesitations and procrastinations encourage the racist régimes of southern Africa to pursue their policies in the face of world opinion.

15. South Africa is refusing to implement the resolutions on Namibia, and, by practising *apartheid*, which has nothing to learn from Nazi racism, is continuing to disregard the law of nations. Portugal is carrying on a colonial war over a vast area stretching from Guinea (Bissau) through Angola to Mozambique. The Zionists are maintaining their colonial hold in Palestine.

16. Why be surprised, in these circumstances, that a minority of British settlers, in defiance of the great Power on which they are dependent, rebel, proclaim a State and enslave an African nation of 4 million people? The existence of enslaved peoples must cease, whether force or persuasion is required, whether or not the colonial Powers agree. No power in the world can arrest the march of history. It is therefore in the interests of the colonial Powers to change their course, to spare Africa further suffering, to bow to the demands of history and accept as

the lesser evil a compromise solution based on the sacred principle of self-determination and freedom. We must make them understand that a decisive military victory is impossible; we must make them grant subject peoples without delay the right freely to decide their own future.

17. Once this principle is recognized, nothing can prevent the completion of the decolonization process. The colonialists will thus keep the door open for future co-operation, the need for which the parties concerned will ultimately recognize and which remains possible when the independence of peoples is achieved through dialogue and conciliation.

18. It is in battle that mutual esteem and respect are born. It is therefore our duty to strengthen our moral and material support for the liberation movements until the peoples they represent win their freedom, achieve their legitimate aspirations and take their place among the nations that cherish peace and justice. At the same time, however, we should restrain the unleashing of hatreds and passions and encourage the parties involved to understand each other's views so that a favourable climate can be created for discussion, which will lead perforce to self-determination.

19. Direct action and armed conflict are not in fact sufficient to resolve the colonial problem. A time comes when negotiation is essential. Negotiation, with all the flexibility and mutual concessions it entails, is necessary in the end. On this dialogue depends the future of all mankind. We must therefore exercise firmness and determination and also show patience, ingenuity and flexibility. In that way we will restore the notions of dignity, honour and freedom to tens of millions of human beings.

20. In Tunisia the armed struggle constituted a valuable and decisive means of arriving at the dialogue which culminated in our independence. To attain independence we passed through alternative stages of violence and negotiation. We accepted compromise solutions in order to move forward and to reduce the distance separating us from our objective, namely the independence of our country. We were fortunate to have an interlocutor who cherished the principles of freedom, so that France agreed to negotiate with us.

21. This policy of proceeding by stages enabled us to achieve our aspirations at the least cost, which helped to point the way to other peoples of Africa. It is against that background that we view the final phase of the colonial era. If we succeed in bringing it to a successful conclusion, we shall not only reduce the threat of war, but also help to give the world stability and security in addition to the peace that is so ardently desired.

22. Mr. LOURENCO (Portugal): I should like to say a few words in explanation of the position of the Portuguese delegation on the question before the General Assembly, namely, the proposal to commemorate the tenth anniversary of resolution 1514 (XV).

23. As we all know, this resolution was inspired by the delegation of the Soviet Union, but perhaps few realize that its tenth anniversary coincides with the first centenary of

the birth of Lenin. The two dates are in fact not unrelated. Those who are familiar with the political thought of Lenin will recognize it as the source from which the Soviet delegation drew its inspiration. Resolution 1514 (XV) and the resolutions which have since been based on it correspond to the political philosophy which Lenin has left behind. The commemoration of its tenth anniversary will, therefore, provide an occasion for eulogizing the initiative taken by the Soviet Union and paying a tribute to the political thought of the father of the Soviet Union. In saying that, we do not wish to imply any criticism; we are merely making a marginal note.

24. However, that is not the aspect of the proposed tenth anniversary celebrations on which my delegation wishes to dwell. My delegation has an inveterate habit of being self-consistent. Not having accepted resolution 1514 (XV) at any time in the past, my delegation is unable to participate in the commemoration of its tenth anniversary. However, whereas my delegation only abstained when that resolution was voted upon at the fifteenth regular session of the General Assembly, today my delegation sees no alternative but to cast a negative vote on the proposal to commemorate the tenth anniversary, for during the intervening period actions taken in the name of, or under cover of, that resolution have only confirmed the doubts which my delegation felt when it abstained in the original voting.

25. Before going further, my delegation would like to stress that resolution 1514 (XV), like every other resolution of the General Assembly, is only a recommendation which Member States are free to accept or reject according to their sovereign criteria and in the exercise of their sovereign right. No amount of verbal adornment or emotional effervescence can invalidate that fact, which clearly follows from the Charter provisions. It is condemnable that the sovereign and equal right of Member States, even though it is the fundamental principle enshrined in the Charter, is not respected when certain Member States are concerned. It is this disrespect that is at the basis of campaigns of violence, bordering almost on total war, that are mounted and carried on against them from this very chamber, with financial support to which these Member States themselves must contribute because they are Members of the Organization. Indeed, disrespect for the Charter rights of these Member States has gone so far as to make them targets of partisan propaganda conducted even through a subsidiary organ of the Secretariat, namely, the Office of Public Information, which is duty bound to be impartial. My delegation will have more to say later on that score. Meanwhile my delegation cannot refrain from emphasizing how illegal and how obnoxious it is for the majority in this Organization to disrespect the sovereign right of dissent which the Charter recognizes as a fundamental and inviolable prerogative of every Member State.

26. My delegation cannot concur with the view that resolution 1514 (XV) is the Magna Carta of decolonization. Everyone knows that the process of decolonization was decided upon long before by the Western Powers holding territories in a colonial status, and that it would have been carried to its conclusion even if there had been no resolution 1514 (XV) approved by the General Assembly in 1960 on the initiative of the delegation of the Soviet Union.

27. On the other hand, this resolution has done no more than cast a shadow on those Western Powers, while drawing attention to itself and to those who inspired it, with a view to furthering barely disguised political motives. At the same time great care has been taken to see that the principles of the resolution are not applied to countries and peoples that were independent and sovereign until about the end of the Second World War, but have since become colonies in the midst of a spurt of humanism that was suspect from the beginning. Equal care has been taken to see that the principles of the resolution are not applied to the Territories that were expressly listed as Non-Self-Governing Territories in another well-known resolution of the General Assembly and have since been subjugated by force of arms by a neighbouring State which has unilaterally declared their annexation without any reference either to the wishes of the respective populations or to any other acceptable process.

28. Such a double standard in the application of resolution 1514 (XV) is certainly not conducive to creating in my delegation any regard for it or for those that inspired and championed its adoption by the General Assembly back in 1960. Quite the contrary. My delegation views that resolution as already demolished, in the process of its application by some of the very Member States that sponsored it. It is said that resolutions of the General Assembly have a moral force. But what moral force can be attached to a resolution that has been applied in such a discriminatory fashion? What moral force can be attached to a resolution that is held up for the attention of only certain Member States and subjected to the pressure of power politics by interested big nations, while it is openly flouted and defied by some of its sponsors themselves?

29. My delegation has heard many a panegyric of resolution 1514 (XV). We would prefer to hear an honest analysis of its application over the years and then it would become clear who is behaving like an ostrich, burying his head in the sand and refusing to face realities. Indeed, it would then be seen how attempts are made to camouflage realities in a forest of words.

30. The Portuguese stand on resolution 1514 (XV) thus reaffirmed does not in any way detract from the fact that the Portuguese Government has always rejoiced at the emergence of so many Territories and peoples, formerly non-self-governing, into full independence and sovereignty. That fact will be readily admitted by all who are not weighed down by momentary passion.

31. Since 1960, under the influence of ideas such as the ones propagated under the auspices of resolution 1514 (XV) approved that year, international life has unmistakably moved away from the normal to an alarming extent, and no one will deny that it has not moved along the right road. It is said that when one sows the wind one must be prepared to reap the whirlwind. It would appear that the international community has placed itself in this unenviable situation and is rushing headlong towards the abyss, while those who ought to hold the reins of guidance remain impassive and heedless of the danger looming ahead.

32. Formerly there was a certain number of accepted norms and rules that regulated the conduct of States, even

in times of hostility, and in a way conditioned their acceptance into the midst of the international community. It was then deemed admissible for a State to give asylum to politicians in disgrace and difficulties, but it was not considered permissible for a State to encourage and aid bands of guerrillas organized with the open and declared objective of effecting violent incursions into the territories of other States; it was not considered permissible to finance, organize and conduct campaigns of false propaganda and calumnies against other nations; it was not considered permissible to prepare, train and equip professional revolutionaries dedicated to violence, for the purpose of employing them against other Governments and other systems of administration; it was above all not considered permissible to suborn and incite to revolt populations of other countries with a view to furthering the achievement of political objectives. Today all these and worse things that are condemnable from all aspects of morality and law are done nonchalantly and cold-bloodedly under the cover of ideas such as those that have proliferated around resolution 1514 (XV), while all the time we hear preached around us, inside and outside the United Nations, all sorts of high-falutin talk about non-violence and other high-sounding terms, such as the principle of good neighbourliness, the need to adhere to principles of peaceful coexistence among States and the essentiality of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. And is it not strange that, simultaneously, there is a procession of occurrences such as unrestrained terrorism across frontiers, invasions, hijacking of planes and other similar misdemeanours? Even high-ranking officers of national armies of certain States are openly commissioned to serve with professional agitators in other countries with the avowed objective of overthrowing the established social order and no one even so much as mentions this in passing. All such conduct, condemned internationally only a few years ago, is considered normal today.

33. How can all this be justified in the light of the principle of peaceful settlement of international differences consecrated in the Charter?

34. It would seem that one is witnessing on all sides a superabundance of hypocrisy and cynicism in international dealings and that the international community is being shorn of all vestiges of that mutual respect and trust among nations that have proved indispensable over the centuries as the very cement of international intercourse.

35. That much, my delegation feels, has to be acknowledged by all those who are observant students of international politics in our day.

36. My delegation wishes to express the most formal reservations concerning the recommendations contained in paragraph 22 of document A/7684. We are particularly opposed to the suggestion made in recommendation 2 that representatives of the so-called national liberation movements should be invited to New York in order to participate in a commemorative session in 1970 and to join Member delegations in the drawing up of a new "programme of action" intended to further the aims of resolution 1514 (XV), to all intents at the expense of the United Nations.

37. No one can reasonably expect the delegation of any Member State to agree to sit at the same table with men who are leaders of movements dedicated to hatred and violence against that Member State while murderous acts continue to be perpetrated against its populations in pursuance of that policy of hate and violence and in the face of the clear threat of escalation implicit in the "programme of action" that it is proposed to draw up and approve at the commemorative session in 1970. As regards the recommendations concerning the documentation and informative material which the Secretary-General is asked to prepare with the assistance of the Office of Public Information, my delegation had occasion to make a detailed analysis of this matter in the Fifth Committee when the financial implications of this item were being considered there.

38. Here I shall only observe that if propaganda against a Member State were held to be in order on the part of an organ that is subsidiary to the Secretariat of the United Nations, then it would follow that Member States are no longer free to exercise their sovereign right and prerogative of disagreeing with the majority. That in turn would undermine and render nugatory the sovereign equality of Member States, which is the corner-stone of the structure of the United Nations as evidenced in the Charter.

39. It need not be stressed that the Secretariat, and consequently all its subsidiary organs, should be impartial, factual and objective in the discharge of their tasks in all matters related to differences in points of view among Member States. That obligation of the Secretariat, which is one of the principal organs of the United Nations in the terms of the Charter, cannot be invalidated by any resolution of the General Assembly, and no "mandate" can be alleged to justify the Secretariat adopting a partisan attitude and publicizing comments on debates and resolutions, selecting only those that are unfavourable to a Member State, without at the same time stating adequately that Member State's point of view in a spirit of absolute objectivity and impartiality.

40. In these circumstances, for reasons that have already been made clear both here and in the Fifth Committee, my delegation feels that it is time we considered the question whether we should continue to contribute to such items of the annual budget of the United Nations as go to underwrite expenditure on actions specifically directed against our sovereignty and territorial integrity. My delegation would like to add that it will be extremely difficult for us to pay our share of the expenditure on the proposed documentation and publication programme recommended in paragraph 22 of document A/7684 and on other programmes connected with the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of resolution 1514 (XV).

41. In conformity with the views I have stated here, my delegation will vote against draft resolution A/L.572/Rev.1.

42. Mr. CHAYET (France) (*translated from French*): In proposing that a special programme of activities be organized for the tenth anniversary of the General Assembly's adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) on 14 December 1960, the sponsors of the draft resolution before us [A/L.572/Rev.1] encourage us to throw our minds back and to

consider what has been accomplished in the sphere of decolonization during the decade that is now drawing to a close.

43. My delegation will associate itself all the more willingly with the consideration of this subject, since only a short time ago France had heavy responsibilities beyond its shores. Naturally, it will convey its thoughts on the results of the decolonization with which it has been directly associated.

44. At the time of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, thirteen ancient territories formerly under French administration has just been welcomed as members of our Organization and others were about to be. That very admission to membership bore witness to the fact that my country had not waited until 1960 to undertake, pursue and successfully complete the process of decolonization incumbent upon it. As long ago as 1945, nearly 25 years ago, France organized democratic elections in the territories for which it was responsible. As long ago as 1958, it left the choice of their political future to the populations concerned. Some freely opted for a complete emancipation in the shorter or longer term; others, enjoying the same freedom of choice, preferred, for historical, sentimental or geographical reasons, to exercise autonomy within the French Republic. In both cases, the final traces of the colonial system were effaced, and whatever remained of relationships of domination was replaced by new relationships of co-operation based on the principles of independence and equality among States.

45. Decolonization would lose all meaning if the young nations, left to the blind operation of the law of the market, fell under the economic domination of the privileged States or if, after casting off the political yoke of a metropolitan Power, they found themselves under the financial dominance of over-clever lenders or confined to the status of mere suppliers of primary commodities.

46. The task is not completed with the acquisition and recognition of sovereignty. Economic independence must still be established and ensured. One is nothing without the other. To achieve those objectives, the newly independent States count on the many-sided co-operation of the more favoured nations: both multilateral and bilateral assistance, elimination of fluctuations in commodity prices, assistance in the technical training of producers, private investment as well as official financial assistance.

47. France has tried to live up to these expectations. Once again this year it has just announced a considerable increase, in national currency, in its contribution to the United Nations Development Programme, while maintaining the budget for its bilateral co-operation at the previous level. Parallel to this, France is carrying out with Africa, within the European Economic Community, a unique policy of association, whose distinctive feature is precisely that it overlooks no aspect of the fight against under-development.

48. For nearly 10 years my country has thus been constantly participating, in the most concrete way, in the work of decolonization and of putting into practice the major principles summarized in the resolution of which the

General Assembly is preparing to celebrate the anniversary: the right to self-determination, condemnation of any attempt to destroy the territorial integrity of a country and of any exploitation of one people by another. Who could fail to be in favour of applying those principles universally?

49. But, as my delegation has already had occasion to state, resolution 1514 (XV), adopted by the General Assembly at its fifteenth session on 14 December 1960, by going beyond a solemn reaffirmation of these principles, disregarded certain provisions of the Charter. Moreover, it became the starting point for the creation of new mechanisms or bodies whose existence has given rise to new legal problems, without making a genuinely decisive contribution to the elimination of colonial régimes. Those reasons alone would have caused my delegation to abstain on the draft resolution before us, as, moreover, it would have done in the case of paragraph 7 of the resolution on the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization [2499 A (XXIV)], had that paragraph been put to a separate vote. I must add, however, that the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee which, under the terms of the draft resolution would become those of the General Assembly, also contain several paragraphs whose compatibility with the Charter of the United Nations seems doubtful because they either extol recourse to violence or suggest interference in the domestic affairs of Member States.

50. While regretting that it cannot once again demonstrate its profound conviction that decolonization must be completed with dispatch, and while fully appreciating the lofty motives of the sponsors of the draft resolution, my delegation will be unable to vote in favour of it.

51. Mr. KACHAN (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic considers that, if the tenth anniversary of the General Assembly's adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in 1960 is to be adequately celebrated, the provisions of that Declaration must be implemented fully and unconditionally, so that not a single colony and not a single people enslaved by imperialism remains on the earth.

52. The United Nations is called upon to make an important contribution to the struggle against colonialism. To that end, the General Assembly should prepare and adopt at its twenty-fifth session a recapitulatory document on the implementation by States of the Declaration and of other United Nations decisions on decolonization, containing an analysis of the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration in respect of the remaining colonial territories and providing for appropriate measures for the abolition of colonial régimes in these territories. It would be desirable to include such measures as the fixing of specific time limits for the termination of colonial status, the setting up of representative organs of government and steps to promote economic, social and cultural advancement in the interests of the indigenous population and to eliminate all forms of oppression and racial discrimination. Special attention should be paid to the question of ending the harmful activities of foreign monopolies and nationals in colonial territories and abolish-

ing the privileges and advantages granted to them. It is also essential to include measures for the dismantling of military bases in colonial territories and for the cessation of military activities by the colonial Powers in these territories. In analysing the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration, it is essential to identify and censure those who are really responsible for the continuing non-implementation of the Declaration, that is to say, the leading Western Powers which, despite United Nations decisions, are assisting and supporting colonial and racist régimes.

53. It is vitally important that steps should be taken to publicize in all countries the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other United Nations decisions on decolonization. To this end, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in co-operation with the Preparatory Committee, should draw up an appropriate programme providing for the dissemination, by all the information media available to the Organization, of the ideas contained in the Declaration and the decisions on decolonization, describing their practical implementation by States and publicizing the struggle of the peoples of colonial territories for freedom and independence.

54. It would also be desirable for all States to prepare national programmes for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration, with a view to informing the peoples of their countries of the Declaration on decolonization and also of the national liberation struggle of the colonial peoples.

55. The forthcoming celebrations and special measures on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be closely linked with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

56. In the opinion of the Byelorussian delegation, the recommendations contained in paragraph 22 of the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [A/7684] would serve as a useful basis for a programme of measures on the occasion of the anniversary of the Declaration.

57. At this morning's meeting [1820th meeting] we heard a statement by one representative who touched on questions which had no connexion with the agenda of our meeting. The representative of Panama might have been expected to dwell on such matters as the harmful activities of international monopolies in colonial territories, the elimination of foreign military bases in colonies and other contemporary problems. He might also have referred to certain problems which confront his country in connexion with the presence there of a mighty Power situated in the northern part of the American continent. Instead of doing so, however, he preferred to deal with questions relating to the domestic situation in a number of States, particularly free and sovereign republics comprised in the Soviet Union. We, Soviet people attending this meeting, cannot overlook this hostile and slanderous attack. As the representative of one of these sovereign, free Union Republics, I could expatiate at length on the prosperity of my Republic as the result of the victory of the Great October Socialist

Revolution, and on its successes in all aspects of life. But I shall refrain from doing so, as this does not relate to the topic of our discussion today.

58. I should simply like to answer this speaker with the words "No one can cast a shadow on a lattice". We also have a popular proverb which says "Come, good woman, you're dancing on the wrong foot".

59. With regard to the statement by the representative of Portugal, I should like to say that nothing else could have been expected from the representative of a rotten colonial régime, which still lives by the ideas of the worst periods of slavery and the dark ages.

60. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR would like to emphasize that only the complete and unconditional implementation of the Declaration and of other anti-colonial decisions of the United Nations can serve as a basis for the appropriate commemoration of the tenth anniversary of its adoption.

61. The PRESIDENT: We have now exhausted the list of Members who wished to speak before the vote. The General Assembly will therefore proceed to the vote on draft resolution A/L.572/Rev.1. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Uganda, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: France.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 90 votes to 2, with 1 abstention (resolution 2521 (XXIV)).**

* The delegation of Madagascar subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of the draft resolution.

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

63. Mrs. BLACK (United States of America): The United States voted in favour of the draft resolution just adopted. We did so because of our dedication to the principle of self-determination of all peoples. We consider that, in general, the suggestions outlined by the Preparatory Committee offer promise of leading towards the realization of the general theme of the anniversary: "freedom and progress". We also approve of co-ordination between the tenth anniversary of the Declaration and the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

64. We have some reservations on the recommendation concerning moral and material assistance to "national liberation movements". We favour humanitarian assistance to refugees, but we oppose the implied suggestion that specialized agencies and other international organizations might assist "national liberation movements". That would be asking those organizations to take action contrary to their statutes.

65. I also want to make our position clear on recommendation 13 of the Preparatory Committee dealing with activities on the national level, which suggests devoting particular attention to "the activities of foreign economic and other interests and other forms of colonial exploitation" [A/7684, para. 22]. It is a delusion to equate foreign economic interests with colonial exploitation. Indeed, the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council have repeatedly adopted resolutions to encourage foreign private investment. That was done because of the widespread conviction among developing countries that such investment is in general good for their people.

66. Despite those reservations, we voted for the draft resolution because we believe so firmly in self-determination for all peoples.

67. Mr. POLDERMAN (Netherlands): The delegation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands voted for draft resolution A/L.572/Rev.1 because we uphold the general principles of decolonization.

68. However, my delegation would like it to be noted that our vote should not be construed to mean that we subscribe to every one of the recommendations contained in paragraph 22 of the report of the Preparatory Committee [A/7684].

69. Mr. SHAW (Australia): I should like to make a brief explanation of the affirmative vote which my delegation has just cast on the draft resolution on the special programme of activities in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

70. My delegation has examined closely the report of the Preparatory Committee [A/7684]. It has reservations regarding certain of the suggestions and recommendations made in that report, especially those relating to national liberation fronts. We wish, therefore, to make it plain that in voting for the draft resolution the Australian delegation

is not, and could not be, associated with any action which would be contrary to the Charter of this Organization or to the constitutions and statutes of the specialized agencies.

71. Mr. MORENO PINO (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): The delegation of Mexico voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.572/Rev.1 in order to make it clear, once more, that it fully supports the purposes and principles which led to the drafting and subsequent adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), which is beyond doubt one of the most important resolutions the General Assembly has ever adopted and one of the most effective weapons the Organization has fashioned in its unending struggle to wipe out the stigma of colonialism once and for all.

72. At the same time, my delegation wishes to make it clear that its vote in favour of the resolution does not necessarily imply that it agrees fully with each and every activity referred to in the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In fact, some of the activities suggested in that document are based on assumptions about which we have expressed reservations on earlier occasions. There is no need for me to go into those reservations in detail now, since they are duly included in the records of this Organization.

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

73. The PRESIDENT: Members of the General Assembly will recall that this item was allocated to the plenary Assembly so that it might examine the implementation of the Declaration in general. All the chapters of the report of the Special Committee relating to specific Territories have been referred to the Fourth Committee. The General Assembly has so far examined, under separate agenda items, the reports of the Fourth Committee on Southern Rhodesia [A/7759], Territories under Portuguese administration [A/7768] and Namibia [A/7736 and Add.1]. Subsequently it will examine the reports relating to the other Territories.

74. The Assembly will now begin its consideration of item 23 as a whole, and, accordingly, all problems relating to that question may be raised. However, in order to facilitate the conduct of the debate, it would be preferable for representatives who want to make comments on particular Territories to make them at a later stage when the Assembly takes up the reports of the Fourth Committee containing draft resolutions relating to individual Territories.

75. I now invite Mr. Ghaus, Rapporteur 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, to present its report [A/7623/Rev.1].

76. Mr. GHAUS (Afghanistan), Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementa-

tion of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the Special Committee covering its work during 1969 [A/7623/Rev.1]. This report, which relates, *inter alia*, to item 23 of the agenda, is submitted in accordance with paragraph 11 of resolution 2465 (XXIII) of 20 December 1968, by which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee

“to continue to perform its task and to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration in all Territories which have not yet attained independence”.

77. The complete report of the Special Committee covering its work during 1969 is contained in documents A/7623/Rev.1 and A/7752 and Add.1. An account of the Special Committee's examination of the situation in individual Territories is set out in chapters VI to XXXII of document A/7623/Rev.1. An account of the Committee's consideration of the other specific items referred to in the relevant General Assembly resolutions is contained in chapters I to V and chapter XXIII of the present report [A/7623/Rev.1].

78. The report of the Special Committee relating to item 68, “Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa”, is contained in document A/7752 and Add.1.

79. It will be recalled that with regard to agenda item 23 the General Assembly, at its 1758th plenary meeting on 20 September 1969, decided that the question of the implementation of the Declaration in general should be considered in plenary meetings and that those chapters of the Special Committee's report relating to specific Territories should be referred to the Fourth Committee for consideration and report.

80. The Fourth Committee has already submitted reports on Namibia [A/7736 and Add.1], on Southern Rhodesia [A/7759] and on Territories under Portuguese administration [A/7768]. I understand that the reports of the Fourth Committee on the other Territories covered by the Special Committee's report are expected to be submitted to the plenary Assembly shortly. I shall therefore confine the following remarks to those items dealt with by the Special Committee which relate to the more general aspects of the question of decolonization.

81. At the outset of its work for the year 1969 the Special Committee to which it had given close attention in previous years, namely, Mauritius, Swaziland and Equatorial Guinea, had attained independence. During the year it also noted that agreement had been reached between the Governments of Spain and Morocco concerning the retrocession of the Territory of Ifni and that some constitutional progress had been achieved in certain of the dependent Territories.

82. Nevertheless, it was the feeling of the majority of members that complete achievement of the goals laid down

for colonial peoples in the relevant provisions of the Charter and in the Declaration itself had been delayed and that in several Territories it was still far from early or peaceful realization. Many members expressed their concern about the persistent denial of the most fundamental human rights to the indigenous peoples in a number of the Territories, particularly in the southern part of Africa, and about the fact that the authorities concerned were resorting increasingly to repressive measures aimed at stifling the desire of those peoples to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

83. It was against this background that the Special Committee embarked upon the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it for 1969. In the course of its work it followed up the implementation of the various resolutions adopted by the General Assembly concerning the colonial Territories, reviewed current developments regarding those Territories and formulated appropriate recommendations for action by the international community as well as by States and the competent United Nations organs, with a view to accelerating the pace of decolonization and the economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants. The numerous problems with which the Special Committee was concerned had in many cases acquired greater complexity over the past few years, and some of them required continuous review in the light of developments. By adhering to a heavy schedule of meetings between February and December, the Special Committee was able to give adequate consideration to and to submit recommendations on most of the items on its agenda and to transmit to the General Assembly information on the remainder, which would facilitate their examination at the current session.

84. As envisaged in its last report to the General Assembly,¹ and within the context of resolution 1654 (XVI), the Special Committee held a further series of meetings away from Headquarters during May 1969. These meetings took place at Kinshasa, Lusaka and Dar es Salaam, at the invitation of the Governments of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania. As in previous years, the session held away from Headquarters facilitated the appearance before the Committee of representatives of national liberation movements, who furnished useful information on the situation in colonial Territories in southern Africa, on the progress of their struggle for freedom and independence and on their needs for further international assistance. The knowledge and understanding acquired by the Special Committee were duly reflected in the various resolutions and consensus adopted on the Territories concerned. An account of the meetings away from Headquarters is set out in chapter II of the present report.

85. In paragraph 13 of General Assembly resolution 2465 (XXIII), the Assembly requested the Special Committee

“to continue to examine the compliance of Member States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization, particu-

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, agenda item 23, document A/7200/Rev.1.

larly those relating to the Territories under Portuguese domination, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session”.

In the light of the mandate thus given to it by the General Assembly, the Special Committee considered the item, taking fully into account the various relevant General Assembly resolutions on the question of decolonization. An account of the Committee's consideration of the item is reflected in chapter I, section H, of the present report.

86. In paragraph 12 of General Assembly resolution 2465 (XXIII), the Assembly requested the Special Committee

“to make concrete suggestions which could assist the Security Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations with regard to developments in colonial Territories which are likely to threaten international peace and security, and recommends the Council to take such suggestions fully into consideration”.

Consequently, in 1969 the Special Committee drew the attention of the Security Council to the situation existing in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese administration. An account of the action taken by the Special Committee in this respect is set out in paragraphs 126 to 132 of chapter I of the present report.

87. Having regard to the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, particularly resolution 2465 (XXIII), the Special Committee continued its examination of military activities by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration. The report of the Special Committee on this question is contained in chapter III of the present report.

88. In paragraph 14 of General Assembly resolution 2465 (XXIII), the Assembly invited the Special Committee

“to pay particular attention to the small Territories and to recommend to the General Assembly the most appropriate methods and also the steps to be taken to enable the populations of those Territories to exercise fully their right to self-determination and independence”.

An account of the Special Committee's examination of this matter is set out in section G of chapter I. The Special Committee intends to continue consideration of this matter at its next session, taking fully into account the relevant provisions of United Nations resolutions concerning the question of decolonization, in particular those relating to the small Territories.

89. Mindful of the vital importance of securing adequate and first-hand information regarding political, economic and social conditions in the Territories and on the views, wishes and aspirations of the people, the Special Committee gave renewed consideration to the question of sending visiting missions to the colonial Territories. Owing to the obstructive attitude of certain administering Powers, the Special Committee was again unable to dispatch any visiting

group this year. Bearing in mind the constructive role which previous United Nations visiting missions have played in assisting Territories to achieve independence speedily in conditions of peace and stability, the Special Committee has set out recommendations on this question in chapter IV and in other chapters of the present report relating to specific Territories. The Special Committee intends to pursue its recommendations with the utmost vigour and to continue to seek the co-operation of the administering Powers concerned to enable such visits to take place during the course of the forthcoming session.

90. In addition, the Special Committee, on the basis of its own decision which was subsequently endorsed by the General Assembly, undertook the review of the list of Territories to which the Declaration applies. An account of the Committee's consideration of this matter is set out in chapter I, section F.

91. The Special Committee, in accordance with the mandate entrusted to it in General Assembly resolution 1970 (XVIII) of 16 December 1963 and other relevant resolutions, also examined during 1969 the question of information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 (e) of the Charter. Details of its consideration of this item are contained in chapter XXIII of the report.

92. The Special Committee also undertook an examination of the question of publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization with a view to assisting the Secretary-General in the implementation of the request addressed to him by the General Assembly in paragraph 17 of resolution 2465 (XXIII). Members were in agreement that a sustained and well-balanced information campaign by the Secretary-General was necessary to keep world public opinion apprised of the situation in the colonial Territories as well as of the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by the colonial peoples. Taking these considerations into account, the Special Committee recommended that the General Assembly should request the Secretary-General to ensure that the programme of publications and other information activities envisaged by the Office of Public Information in this connexion should be carried out without delay. Further, in order to assist the General Assembly in its consideration of the programme of activities to be undertaken in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration, the Special Committee took preliminary decisions for transmission to the Assembly on the scope, nature and volume of the documentation to be prepared for dissemination in connexion with that anniversary. An account of the Committee's consideration of this question is set out in chapter I, section I, of the present report.

93. In accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2478 (XXIII) concerning the pattern of conferences and taking into consideration its experience in previous years as well as its probable work load for next year, the Special Committee approved a tentative programme of meetings for 1970 which is set out in paragraphs 121 to 125 of chapter I of the present report. In the same connexion, and within the context of paragraph 6 of resolution 1654 (XVI), the Committee decided to inform the General Assembly that it might consider holding a series

of meetings away from Headquarters in 1970 and to recommend that, in making the necessary financial provision to cover the activities of the Committee during that year, the General Assembly should take that possibility into account.

94. The Special Committee also considered the question of petitions from the peoples of the colonial Territories which relate to article 15 of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination and to the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2106 B (XX) of 21 December 1965. In anticipation of the establishment of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in early 1970, the Committee took decisions on this matter which are reflected in chapter I, section J.

95. Further, the Special Committee suggested that the General Assembly, in its consideration of agenda item 23, might wish to take into account the various recommendations of the Special Committee which are reflected in the relevant chapters of its report and, in particular, to endorse the proposals outlined in chapter I, section N, entitled "Future Work", in order to enable the Special Committee to carry out the tasks envisaged by it. In addition, the Special Committee recommended that the General Assembly should renew its appeal to the administering Powers to take immediately all necessary steps for the implementation of the Declaration and the various relevant resolutions of the Organization. The General Assembly might also wish to renew its appeal to all States to comply with the various requests and appeals addressed to them in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on the question of decolonization.

96. Finally, the Special Committee recommends that, in approving the programme of work contained in this section, the General Assembly should also make adequate financial provision to cover the activities of the Committee envisaged for 1970. The Special Committee expresses its confident hope that the Secretary-General will continue to provide it with all the facilities and personnel necessary for the discharge of its mandate.

97. I recommend the report to the serious consideration of the General Assembly.

98. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the acting Chairman 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.

99. Mr. NAVA CARRILLO (Venezuela) (Acting Chairman of the Special Committee) (*translated from Spanish*): The Rapporteur of the Committee of Twenty-Four has just very ably introduced the report on the Special Committee's work during 1969.

100. In a recent statement concerning the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [1797th meeting], my delegation said that the balance-sheet of the decolonization process was unsatisfactory. The fact is that there are still millions of human beings who are subject to colonial régimes—an expression which, with frightening

persistence, continues to cover grave situations affecting the exercise and the effectiveness of political rights, and furthermore, violations of and offences against other human rights of such a nature that they represent an incomprehensible and iniquitous disregard for human dignity and equality.

101. The Committee of Twenty-Four, whose Acting Chairman I have had the honour to be during the last few months, has just completed an excellent task in the struggle to eliminate colonialism and has engaged in a vigorous effort to guarantee the ability of the United Nations to act, in the conviction that the United Nations is not treading an endless path nor attempting to raise false hopes of the grant of self-determination and independence to peoples under colonial domination. True proof of this is the fact that the founding Members of the United Nations include a high proportion of countries born out of the fight for independence, and that the great majority of its present Members won their independence or obtained it with the assistance of international institutions created as testimony of the evolution and improvement of man. This evolution and this improvement are having inevitable results. Anyone who has achieved and benefited from dignity, equality and justice requires an obligation to promote the achievement of these blessings for his brothers, since the journey along the road to human perfection is infinite, and conditions are no better than those we have judged appropriate for ourselves and for the society to which we belong.

102. The activities and efforts of the Organization have not and cannot have any other purpose. But year after year we are obliged to record and deplore the existence of colonial domination in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The gravity of such cases as Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the Territories under Portuguese domination does not diminish the importance of and concern for manifestations of colonialism in other areas or the importance of the common lack of genuine co-operation on the part of the administering Powers responsible for the persistent domination of these peoples who approach the world Organization and—which they have every right to do—beg it to guarantee an end to this odious rule.

103. In this Organization we hear calls for the adoption of effective, practical, tolerant and balanced decisions. If the kind of effectiveness that contravenes the correct interpretation of the principles, procedures and methods governing the decolonization process is what is wanted, or if the kind of practicality that compromises the achievements of non-self-governing communities towards self-determination is what is desired, or if the kind of tolerance that would lead to perpetrating the situations it is hoped to eliminate is what is sought, or lastly, if the kind of realism that would consecrate impediments to the aspirations of these peoples for progress and control over their own activities is what is aimed at, then in fact what is wanted is a denial of the principles we are here to defend and a perversion of the instruments created in the interests of freedom and for the granting of freedom to these peoples.

104. The truth is that the United Nations has unequivocally established the responsibility of its Members with respect to colonialism. But among these Members there is evidence of attitudes that strengthen the challenge to the

Organization's authority and effectiveness in its task of eliminating colonial régimes. The main source of that challenge is the lack of the required co-operation in implementing the purposes and principles that underlie and must govern the process of decolonization.

105. This attitude has two main aspects. First, it takes the form—which is indeed characteristic—of claiming to apply the principles laid down for decolonization while depriving them of their primordial capacity to guide; and secondly, it takes the form of claiming the exclusive right to determine the evolution of situations, drawing conclusions that are incompatible with the provisions of the Charter and of resolutions adopted by the competent bodies. This is evident in respect of the transmission of information, and the Committee of Twenty-Four has encountered problems relating to the availability of adequate information on the Non-Self-Governing Territories. There has also been a persistent refusal to co-operate with the Committee in circumstances in which it judges it appropriate to send visiting missions or when the presence of the United Nations is required in connexion with the adoption of popular decisions from which it is subsequently claimed that politico-constitutional conclusions may be drawn.

106. We sincerely believe that the Special Committee of Twenty-Four has adequately established these facts. In its reports to the General Assembly specific references are made to each case, indicating the Special Committee's efforts to use the means available to it and to adopt the procedures and rules required for the proper performance of its functions. However, the attitude of the administering Powers has impeded the Committee's work. The obligation of those Powers to accept and facilitate the use of these measures and procedures must therefore be restated in unequivocal terms.

107. As we are all aware, the Organization is preparing to commemorate the tenth anniversary of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The Special Committee has been allocated an extremely important task:

“...to evaluate the activities undertaken over the previous 10 years to implement the Declaration, determine their shortcomings, and in the light of that evaluation and taking fully into account the various obstacles to decolonization, formulate specific proposals for measures designed to eliminate the remaining manifestations of colonialism.” [A/7681, para. 22, sub-para. 1.]

108. This means that the Committee must be in the best possible position to submit specific recommendations which will guarantee the rapid achievement of the objectives set forth in the Declaration on the granting of independence. That goal is the common responsibility of all Members of the United Nations. Recognition that a common undertaking is required to uphold these purposes and principles is essential. Only then can we ensure that peoples still subject to colonial domination will attain their freedom, and will enjoy equal rights and equal dignity.

109. Mr. MAZUR (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and

Peoples at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly in 1960, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, is indeed a milestone in the history of the United Nations. This act reflected the powerful impetus of the national liberation, anti-imperialist movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. At that time, the sound of the last shots of the victorious uprising in Cuba had only just died away, the independence of many African countries was being proclaimed and the victory of the Algerian people was drawing near. At that time, no one could any longer have doubts about the critical position and complete collapse of the colonial system of imperialism.

110. The United Nations, whose Charter is based on the lofty and human ideals of equal rights and self-determination of nations and peoples, could not stand aside from this great contemporary movement. Thanks to the common efforts of the socialist States and the majority of African, Asian and Latin American countries and in the face of stubborn resistance from the colonial and imperialist Powers, the United Nations took an active part in the struggle for the complete elimination of colonialism. This has strengthened its authority and enhanced its prestige in the eyes of the progressive forces which are fighting to ensure that our planet is completely purged of the evils of colonialism, that its last hiding-places are destroyed and that it is not allowed to re-emerge in the form of neo-colonialism, that is to say, in new and disguised forms.

111. The history of the adoption of the Declaration and of the elaboration and execution of measures for its implementation is highly instructive. It points unequivocally to those who genuinely support the immediate, complete and final elimination of colonialism, oppose neo-colonialism and stand for the free development of peoples in conditions of peace, self-determination and equality, and to those who have set themselves the diametrically opposite goal and are making every effort to delay the process of the elimination of the colonial system and to paralyse United Nations activities directed towards assisting the colonial peoples. The cloak of words which has served for many years to conceal real intentions has been torn away and has fallen to the ground, and now everyone can see and decide who is who, on the basis of specific acts.

112. But the history of the consideration of decolonization problems in the United Nations is instructive in other ways also. No less important is the fact that it provides sufficient material for absolutely definitive answers to such questions as why the Declaration has not yet been fully implemented, what ways and means the colonialist and imperialist Powers are adopting both inside and outside the United Nations to prevent the self-determination of peoples, that is to say, the establishment of independent national States, and what steps must be taken in order to render effective assistance to the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe, Namibia and other territories in their struggle against colonialism and racism.

113. There can be no doubt that in the struggle between the two opposite trends, the one directed towards the immediate elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and the other towards hindering that process as far as possible and maintaining colonial structures, the former is histori-

cally bound to prevail. It must prevail both outside the United Nations and within our Organization. Indeed, since the adoption of the Declaration, over 60 million people have broken free from colonial enslavement and some 30 new States have come into being.

114. The colonialists are facing difficulties in the United Nations. As a result of the consistent and uncompromising attitude of the socialist States towards each and every manifestation of colonialism and the support of the principles of the Declaration by the majority of Asian, African and Latin American States, it has proved possible to isolate the colonialist and imperialist Powers in discussions of decolonization problems and to prepare and adopt documents containing provisions which, if they had been implemented, might by now have led to the self-determination of all colonial peoples.

115. Developing the ideas of the Declaration, the United Nations has declared colonialism and *apartheid* to be crimes against humanity. It has recognized that the struggle of peoples against the colonial yoke is completely and entirely legitimate and has urged all States to give moral and material support to this struggle. The United Nations has unmasked and censured the alliance of colonialists and racists in southern Africa and the political, economic and military support given to it by imperialism, particularly by members of the NATO bloc, and has called for the cessation of this support.

116. Evidence has been given here in this Organization of the ugly role played by international monopolistic capital as well as by the military activities of the Western Powers, directed towards the maintenance of the colonial order. Support has been given to the demand that the States concerned should curb the colonialist greed of their monopolies and dismantle their military bases and installations in the colonies. The United Nations has invited the specialized agencies to withhold assistance to the colonialists and racists, to make every effort to support national liberation movements, including assistance to liberated areas, and to prepare specific programmes to that end.

117. The elimination of the vestiges of colonialism should also be furthered by the decisions on an embargo on arms for the racists of the Republic of South Africa, on sanctions against the Smith régime and on discontinuance of support for the Portuguese colonialists, although in our opinion these decisions are as yet insufficiently consistent and comprehensive. Moreover, the General Assembly has censured the use of mercenaries for the suppression of national liberation movements and has called upon all States to enact legislation to put an end to this shameful practice.

118. Of course, all this by no means exhausts the potential of the United Nations with regard to the implementation of the Declaration, although the foregoing list of measures is quite impressive. As we all know, however, the effectiveness of any document is determined by the way in which it is implemented, and both the colonialists, particularly Portugal and the Republic of South Africa, and their patrons, the imperialist Powers, are undermining the implementation of the decisions adopted in the United Nations under various pretexts. To judge by words they utter from this rostrum, many of them are not opposed to decolonization, but in practice they are sabotaging all steps in that direction.

119. The detailed report [A/7623/Rev.1] which the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has submitted for our consideration shows that the Committee of Twenty-Four has done much useful work in the past year. The analysis contained in the report and the consideration of colonial problems in the Preparatory Committee for the Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration and in the Fourth Committee confirm the conclusion in the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report to this session of the General Assembly [A/7601/Add.1, para. 159] that the "past year has been mainly one of continuing disappointment and frustration in the field of decolonization".

120. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR also wishes to express its serious concern at the recent slowing down of the process of the liberation of peoples. But this cannot and must not cause us to adopt a pessimistic outlook or lead to any kind of passivity or resignation. On the contrary, now is the very time to make a sober and realistic analysis of the situation, to determine its causes, to shed any illusions which some may still harbour and to intensify our efforts to defend the rights of the people still under the yoke of colonialism. That is why we welcome the purpose, the basic goal of celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Declaration, as formulated in the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee, namely, to

"... evaluate the activities undertaken over the previous 10 years to implement the Declaration, determine their shortcomings, and in the light of that evaluation and taking fully into account the various obstacles to decolonization, formulate specific proposals for measures designed to eliminate the remaining manifestations of colonialism" [A/7684, para. 22].

121. A specific characteristic of this stage of the national liberation movement is that it is concerned with the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, which are stubbornly defended by imperialism. The powerful wave of the liberation struggle has washed away vast political empires. The only remaining bastions of colonialism remain in southern Africa and in small colonial possessions scattered about in seas and oceans. The populations of these colonies understandably find it difficult to withstand the overwhelming power of the metropolitan States. Here, in the United Nations, we have heard an abundance of incontrovertible facts disclosing the criminal "unholy alliance" between the leaders of the Republic of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal and the comprehensive support given to these Fascist régimes by the Western Powers. The goal of the imperialist States is perfectly clear: it is to create and strengthen in southern Africa a military and industrial base, a strategic bridge-head for mounting a counter-attack against the independent African countries, just as Israel is being used in the north.

122. The world press has published many facts which prove that the ban on the delivery of arms to southern Africa is a dead letter for the NATO countries. Their firms willingly sell the Republic of South Africa aircraft, rockets, firearms, radar and other equipment required by modern armed forces. On 29 September this year, an article entitled

“Naval Defense of the Southern Oceans”,² which was read into the records of the United States Congress, referred unequivocally to the important place that the establishment of a large naval complex at the Cape of Good Hope held in the strategic plans of the Western countries.

123. None of this is new, but those who are thwarting the implementation of United Nations decisions are trying to vary their tactics. They are sending up trial balloons to see whether they could not simply retain their colonial territories and try to justify their colonial position with the help of the United Nations. It is well known that the smaller the territory, the longer the administering Power takes “to prepare it for independence”. These administrators are trying to prolong “preparation” until the Greek Calends. That is why the principles of the 1960 Declaration and all the decisions taken with a view to developing these principles are anathema to them. They would like to turn the triumphant jubilee of the Declaration into a spectacular funeral. A recent statement in the Fourth Committee by Mr. Alan Lee Williams, the United Kingdom representative, is pertinent in that respect. Mr. Williams said that, in the view of his delegation, one of the most important tasks in the studies to be undertaken in 1970 in connexion with the tenth anniversary of resolution 1514 (XV) should be to take account of a situation quite dissimilar from the one which had prevailed at the time resolution 1514 (XV) had been drafted and to consider whether the general prescriptions of resolution 1514 (XV) were adequate for the remaining colonial problems. What was needed above all, he said, was a flexible and pragmatic attitude to those problems, not an attitude proclaimed 10 years ago for all time, in some kind of sacred and unalterable context.³

124. So the Declaration, or resolution 1514 (XV), no longer “corresponds”, has become obsolete, and the United Kingdom delegation is therefore prepared to propose its revision. But when have the principles of the Declaration adopted by the United Nations not been obsolete so far as the United Kingdom is concerned? After all, the United Kingdom delegation has always opposed these principles!

125. The logic of the arguments advanced by the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom needs examination. In his opinion, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which was adopted a few years ago is already obsolete, despite the fact that the Arabs of Oman, the indigenous population of southern Africa and the Papuans of New Guinea and Papua are still languishing in bondage. Yet it would seem that the continued centuries-old domination of the metropolitan States over dozens of territories, a domination which deprives their peoples of the right of self-determination, has not become obsolete. What the United Kingdom representative is in fact proposing is that we should not fully implement the Declaration, but should close our eyes to the vestiges of colonialism and renounce the application of the instrument, that this is how we should celebrate its tenth anniversary. Thus, the nature of the “flexible and prag-

matic” attitude to colonial problems which Mr. Williams is advocating is quite plain to all of us.

126. Fortunately, the times when the political logic of the colonialists prevailed have passed beyond recall, and we are sure that the hopelessly anachronistic position of the United Kingdom delegation will find no sympathy or support in the United Nations. All attempts to review and weaken the basic provisions of the Declaration, which in our time constitutes a really fundamental document for the solution of decolonization problems, must be decisively rebuffed.

127. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is convinced that, with the existing balance of power in the world, the resistance of colonialism, that mortally wounded but not yet dispatched predator, can be overcome. The colonial Powers and their imperialist patrons can and must be driven and compelled to implement United Nations decisions on decolonization. But for this to happen, the anti-imperialist forces inside and outside the Organization must be activated and unified, so that the divisive tactics of the imperialists, who operate under the slogans of “divide and conquer” and “the whip and the carrot”, may be completely frustrated. In this connexion, my delegation considers it essential to express its views on a number of fundamental issues.

128. We hear, and have heard at this session, statements to the effect that if the United Kingdom were to take decisive measures against the Rhodesian racists, if Portugal were to change its policy and if the Republic of South Africa were to agree to implement United Nations decisions, it would be possible to collaborate with those countries with a view to the peaceful transfer of power to the colonial peoples. We believe that such hopes are illusory.

129. The lessons of history and the experience of recent years, including that of United Nations activities, convincingly show that colonialists have never willingly renounced and never will renounce their domination and will not present the peoples with independence as a birthday gift, even on the occasion of the jubilee year of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations and the tenth anniversary of the Declaration.

130. Of course, many of the representatives of former colonial empires are now trying to prove that decolonization in the twentieth century is the result of their goodwill. It is common knowledge, however, that the uninvited masters of Viet-Nam, Algeria, Indonesia and Southern Yemen were quite simply thrown out by armed force and that they were compelled to leave dozens of other countries by the masses of the people who had risen up in defence of their rights. This struggle was crowned with success primarily because of the formation of a united front of the great revolutionary forces of the modern world, the countries of the socialist community and the national liberation movement, since their fundamental interests coincide.

131. And now, as we can see from the results of the work of the current session of the General Assembly, the colonialists will not voluntarily leave Angola, Mozambique or Guinea (Bissau), or Namibia, or Oman or any of the

² See *United States Congressional Record, Proceedings and Debates of the 91st Congress, First Session*, vol. 115, No. 157, p. A 7893.

³ This statement was made at the 1858th meeting of the Fourth Committee, the official records of which are published in summary form.

so-called small territories. They will not leave these territories until they are compelled to do so by the progressive forces of the world.

132. We sometimes hear and even sometimes read in authoritative documents that the question of the liberation of the colonies should be regarded as a self-contained phenomenon, unconnected with the basic trends and events of contemporary international life and detached from the struggle of the peoples against imperialism and for peace, democracy and the progressive transformation of social life. We cannot endorse this theory since we know that the war in Viet-Nam, the aggression in the Middle East, the occupation of South Korea and the military and economic support of Portugal and the Republic of South Africa are all the work of those very same imperialist colonialist forces. It is perfectly clear that in recent years the imperialist and colonialist Powers have increasingly often presented a united front, developing common strategic positions and taking joint action. A prolonged, complex and unremitting struggle against these forces lies before us.

133. In these circumstances, by supporting the freedom fighters of Viet-Nam, the Arabs struggling against Israeli aggression and the patriots of Mozambique and Angola, we are barring the advance of those who, if we do not stop them, will tomorrow not only prevent the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, but will begin to restore the old order and to weave a ubiquitous web of neo-colonialism, thus depriving the peoples of independence and of the right to determine their own future. Elementary logic shows that those who support the régimes of Smith, Verwoerd and Caetano cannot at the same time be promoting the economic independence and the economic development, say, of the African countries advocating the complete elimination of colonialism.

134. It is absolutely clear to us, the representatives of the socialist countries, that there can be no question of any favourable prospects for the national liberation movement until the aggressive forces can be successfully contained. That is why we continue to pursue a policy which is based on treating questions relating to the liberation of all peoples from national and social oppression as being identical with the maintenance of peace and security. In this connexion, the Ukrainian delegation would like to draw attention to the proposals for the strengthening of international security which the Soviet Union has submitted to this session of the General Assembly. One of the most important elements of these proposals is the demand for the immediate cessation of all measures to suppress the liberation movements of peoples still under colonial administration and for the immediate granting of independence to those peoples.

135. The foregoing considerations lead to the inescapable conclusion that the closed front of racists, colonialists and imperialists must be countered by the closed front of all progressive forces, both within the United Nations and outside it, especially by the solidarity of the socialist countries and the national liberation movement, and that effective aid for the people's struggle for liberation must be intensified. We are deeply convinced that this is the basic course which will lead to the complete victory of the principles proclaimed in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It is only

natural that the imperialist forces, being aware of this fact should try to undermine the unity of the anti-colonialist front. It is these forces which are served by such statements as the one made from this rostrum at this morning's meeting [*1820th meeting*] by the representative of Panama. It is not verbal exercises, diverting the General Assembly from the task of implementing the Declaration, but practical assistance in eliminating the vestiges of colonialism that the peoples of southern Africa expect from the United Nations and its Members. The representative of Panama very clearly demonstrated his own real attitude towards decolonization by not participating in the vote on the question on which he expatiated at such length this morning.

136. An examination of the progress made in implementing the Declaration points to the urgent need for the maximum intensification of United Nations decolonization activities. The colonial system has already been condemned by history, and if the United Nations wishes to keep abreast of the times, it must use all the means at its disposal to promote the speediest execution of that sentence.

137. Our delegation considers that the United Nations and its organs must concentrate on ensuring the implementation of the decisions they have taken. In this connexion, the Committee of Twenty-Four should pay more attention to analysing the manner in which the Governments concerned are carrying out the requests and recommendations of the General Assembly. In doing so, a comprehensive study must be made of the activities of foreign monopolies and military activities in the colonies as a most serious obstacle to the independence of colonial peoples. We also consider that not all the potential and by no means all the channels open to the United Nations have been brought into action. The perfidious policy of the leading NATO countries which are hampering the implementation of United Nations decolonization measures must be finally exposed, and not only exposed but censured. The most stringent measures must be taken against the régimes of the Republic of South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia, in accordance with the Charter of our Organization.

138. Where the Ukrainian SSR is concerned, it has always given and will continue to give every assistance to the United Nations in its efforts to eliminate colonialism. The Ukraine has consistently observed the Organization's decisions directed towards the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

139. The Ukrainian people, which is building its life on the foundations of socialism and communism and is faithful to the ideas of Lenin, considers it to be its international duty to assist all peoples fighting for their national and social liberation and against imperialism and colonialism. We have given such aid in the past and will continue to give it. Moreover, we are convinced that the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia, Zimbabwe, Oman and dozens of other colonial territories, with the support of all the progressive forces of the world, will break the shackles of colonialism and will set out along the broad road of free and independent development.

140. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of Israel who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

141. Mr. EILAN (Israel): The representative of the Ukrainian SSR has just made a scurrilous reference to my country. I suggest that the representative of the Ukrainian SSR address his demands for freedom, justice and self-determination to the Jews of the Ukraine. They may have good reason to be greatly interested in a proclamation ensuring man's elementary rights and a national minority's demands for cultural and religious freedom.

142. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of the Ukrainian SSR, who wishes to exercise the right of reply.

143. Mr. MAZUR (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): I shall be as brief as the representative of Israel. The Ukrainian people have a phrase which covers such situations:

“There is a mulberry tree in the orchard and my uncle is in Kiev.”

There is exactly the same connexion between the question of citizens of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet Ukraine, who are of Jewish nationality and the problems which are on the agenda of this meeting of the General Assembly. When people have nothing to say in defence of their position, they begin to drag in questions which have no bearing on the problem.

144. The PRESIDENT: There are no other speakers inscribed for this afternoon. Before adjourning the meeting I should like to let Members know the intention of the President regarding agenda item 23. In order to be able to organize our work, we should have as soon as possible an indication of how many representatives wish to speak before the vote. With that in view, the President proposes that the list of speakers in the debate on this item should be closed at 5 p.m. tomorrow.

145. If I hear no objection I shall take it that the list of speakers will be closed tomorrow at 5 p.m.

It was so decided.

146. The PRESIDENT: Depending, of course, on the number of speakers on the list, the item will be on the agenda of the plenary meetings for Friday, 5 December, Monday, 8 December, and Tuesday, 9 December so that the Assembly could, if possible, proceed to vote on Thursday, 11 December 1969. This is of course on the clear understanding that, in order to save the time of the Assembly, we may also take up any reports from the main Committees that are ready for plenary action.

147. In order to meet the proposed schedule for this item, delegations intending to submit draft resolutions are kindly asked to do so as soon as possible. Additional time will also be needed if the draft resolutions have financial implications under rule 154 of the rules of procedure. I hope this information will assist delegations in planning their work.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.