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Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fifth Committee.

1. The PRESIDENT: Since I have no request on behalf of any representative to explain his vote, in the absence of any objection I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee [A/6549, para. 5].

The draft resolution was adopted without objection.

AGENDA ITEM 40

Accelerated flow of capital and technical assistance to the developing countries: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/6550)

AGENDA ITEM 41

Activities in the field of industrial development:
(c) Confirmation of the appointment of the Executive Director of the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development

AGENDA ITEM 42

Inflation and economic development: report of the Secretary-General

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AGENDA ITEM 44

Conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/6553)

AGENDA ITEM 94

Development of natural resources

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/6533)

Mr. Reisch (Austria), Rapporteur of the Second Committee, presented the reports of that Committee and then spoke as follows:

2. Mr. REISCH (Austria), Rapporteur of the Second Committee: In order to save time I shall limit myself to pointing out only the most important facets of the action taken in the Second Committee, without attempting to summarize the debate on these items or to outline the main contents of the draft resolutions which have been recommended for adoption by the Assembly.

3. The first item is agenda item 40 under which the Second Committee recommends two draft resolutions [A/6550, para. 18] for adoption by the Assembly,

President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK (Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 76

Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly (concluded):*

(d) United Nations Administrative Tribunal

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6549)

Mr. Silveira da Mota (Brazil), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the report of that Committee.

*Resumed from the 1478th meeting.

draft resolution I on external financing of the economic development of the developing countries, and draft resolution II on the flow of external resources to developing countries.

4. The second report I have the honour to introduce deals with agenda item 42, on inflation and economic development. After debate in the Committee, which was held in conjunction with items 38 and 40, the Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of the decision, reproduced in the report on this item [A/6552, para. 4].

5. The third item—item 44, on the conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament—the Committee adopted the short draft resolution contained in the report [A/6553, para. 4], in which it is recommended that, in future, reports concerning economic and social consequences of disarmament might be presented to the Economic and Social Council on a biennial basis, unless developments warrant additional reports.

6. On agenda item 94, on the development of natural resources, the second Committee recommends two draft resolutions for adoption by the General Assembly [A/6533, para. 20].

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Second Committee.

7. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now deal with agenda item 40. I shall call on representatives who wish to explain their votes before the vote.

8. Mr. FORTHOMME (Belgium) (translated from French): The Belgian delegation will have to abstain from voting on the two draft resolutions on financing [A/6550, paragraph 18], which are to be put to the vote, and would like to acquaint the General Assembly very briefly with its reasons for this attitude.

9. The first draft resolution concerning the outflow of capital from developing countries entrusts to the Secretary-General a mandate which we consider to be too broad and, to say the least, premature. It seems to us somewhat rash to expect the Secretary-General to make proposals at the next session of the Assembly on measures to be taken with regard to a matter which has not as yet been fully examined. Our delegation would have been able to support a text drawn up along the lines of Economic and Social Council resolution 1184 (XLI), that is to say, a resolution which merely requested the Secretary-General to make an over-all study of the question. This study, which is generally admitted to be an important one, should, in our opinion, cover all the aspects of the problem of the outflow of capital from the less-developed countries. It should deal not only with the servicing of the debt, but also with investments made abroad using capital from the developing countries, investments which are to some extent separate from the internal capital of the country.

10. The second draft resolution upon which the Assembly is to vote has been analysed by the Belgian authorities with all the care which it deserves and with understandable interest. Indeed, the problems of internal as well as external financing represent one of the most important aspects of any country's economic development. The Belgian delegation has

finally decided to abstain from voting on account of its objections of substance to several paragraphs, and also because of the procedure which was followed in presenting this text to the General Assembly.

11. My first comment concerns a matter of form, but it also affects the substance. The second preambular paragraph contains a reference to General Assembly resolution 2088 (XX). During the twentieth session, the Belgian delegation expressed a number of reservations concerning this resolution in the Second Committee [997th meeting]. These reservations still apply today, and it would therefore be illogical for my delegation to accept a text containing that reference.

12. Our second comment refers to the seventh preambular paragraph. Here, certainly, the Assembly merely takes note of an estimate made by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. However, the Bank made this estimate within a certain context: the Bank stated that the poorer countries would be capable of absorbing yearly a further \$3,000 million or \$4,000 million in aid. However, in our view, this estimate has never been sufficiently substantiated. To our knowledge, the Bank has never made it clear through what financial means this absorption would be practicable. Hence, we think it would be dangerous to base the entire policy of financing upon an assertion of which the least that can be said is that it remains a subject for careful consideration.

13. Furthermore, though the sixteenth preambular paragraph does contain some justified criticisms of "tied aid", it seems to us to go somewhat too far in its judgements of the consequences of such aid. The Belgian delegation may freely make this criticism since my country's policy of financial co-operation does not predispose us to engage in long debates on whether or not to attach conditions to aid, since Belgium does not practice "tied aid" in the strict sense. Sometimes we seek to ensure, through an exchange of letters accompanying agreements, that the recipient countries shall buy supplies from Belgium, but we ask this only if the materials and equipment are not to be found in the country we are assisting and if the price, quality and delivery dates offered by Belgium firms are competitive.

14. Furthermore, while we think it fair to ask that "tied aid" should be furnished on equitable terms, we consider that it would be a mistake to demand the elimination of this form of assistance since that might bring about an over-all reduction in the volume of aid. The draft resolution in its paragraph 3 (b) (iv), does well to keep in mind the basic need constantly to increase the volume of aid.

15. The two points upon which my delegation entertains the most serious doubts are paragraphs 3 (b) (vii), concerning the methods of repayment of loans, and 3 (b) (viii), concerning the reinvestment of repaid loans. Belgium thinks it unlikely that these provisions could be applied in national legislations and practice. It seems particularly unrealistic to provide for repayment with goods which would be added to the normal exports, while we know that for many products the capacity for import and consumption in our countries has already reached a ceiling which it would be difficult to raise further. Governments would in any case be

unable to impose commitments of the type advocated in the above two paragraphs upon exporters of private capital.

16. Finally, the draft resolution gives rise to further reservations on our part. We are, in particular, sceptical about the study proposed in operative paragraph 5. The Belgian delegation finds it difficult to envisage the possibility of establishing an advisory service of the type contemplated in that part of the draft resolution, let alone making it function effectively.

17. In making these comments, we have tried to be objective and realistic, since it would be wrong and even dangerous for our Organization to adopt a resolution without being aware of the possible limits to its application.

18. I now come to my remarks on procedure. The Belgian delegation would like to have been able to express all these reservations in an explicit manner by abstaining during separate votes on the different paragraphs in question. But the reproduction in the preamble of the entire resolution already adopted last summer by the Economic and Social Council made it impossible to submit any amendments in the Second Committee or to request separate votes. This was to some extent a procedure of "take it or leave it", against which my delegation wishes formally to protest.

19. Belgium was not a member of the Council during its forty-first session when it adopted resolution 1183 (XLI), now being submitted for the Assembly's approval. But the Belgian representatives who were present at Geneva remember the laborious negotiations, the difficult discussions and the numerous abstentions during the separate votes on several of the paragraphs in the resolution, the same paragraphs upon which I have been commenting. Belgium would have wished this recommendation, which came to us from the Council after having been the subject of so many reservations and preoccupations, to have been submitted to the Second Committee for open debate. This would have given the countries who were not members of the Council an opportunity to put forward their views, either by submitting amendments or through separate votes. The manner in which the resolution was submitted made such a debate impossible. Hence, the only way which was left open for my delegation to express its reservations was the one it adopted in the Second Committee: an abstention on the draft as a whole.

20. Before concluding, I should like to emphasize that our abstention in no way diminishes Belgium's desire to continue its endeavours at financial co-operation, endeavours which are matched by few countries.

21. Mr. OLSEN (Denmark): The delegation of Denmark will vote in favour of draft resolution II [A/6550, para. 19] which endorses Economic and Social Council resolution 1183 (XLI). We shall do so because we regard the draft resolution on the whole as signifying a step forward in the debates on the volume and the terms of transfer of capital and technical assistance to the developing countries, not least because of the emphasis it puts on the importance of easier terms for this transfer and of increased contributions through multilateral channels. This vote does not,

however, imply an approval of all the provisions of the Economic and Social Council resolution. Since Denmark is not at present a member of the Economic and Social Council, we consequently were unable to take a stand on the resolution when it was subject to separate votes in Geneva. I shall therefore take this opportunity to mention briefly the points whereon reservations exist on our part.

22. With respect to operative paragraph 3 (a) of the Economic and Social Council resolution, Denmark has indeed in the last year increased the volume of the resources it makes available to the developing countries very considerably, and we firmly intend to continue that increase still further in the years to come even if we are a net importer of capital. My Government has accepted the 1 per cent target. We cannot, however, take upon ourselves any commitment to reach that target at a precise date.

23. We furthermore have some reservations regarding operative paragraph 3 (b) (iii) on non-project assistance, (vi) on purchases from other developing countries, (vii) on repayment in the form of mutually determined goods and services, as well as (viii) on reinvestment in the debtor countries.

24. I shall not go into detail here, but simply say that what we fear is the practical consequences for the volume of aid that we see as a likely result of some of the measures envisaged in these paragraphs.

25. The PRESIDENT: I put to the vote the recommendation of the Second Committee which appears as draft resolution I [A/6550, para. 18].

Draft resolution I was adopted by 99 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

26. The PRESIDENT: I shall now invite Members to take a decision on draft resolution II.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 98 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

27. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Sweden wishes to make a statement in explanation of his vote.

28. Mr. BILLNER (Sweden): The Swedish delegation has voted in favour of the second resolution, and we have done so with great satisfaction. We find that it marks an important step forward in the work of the United Nations for the advancement of economic co-operation on a global scale, with particular reference to the problem of the transfer of capital resources for development. Our attitude has been expressed by our positive vote on the draft resolution as a whole.

29. The Swedish Government, however, is not in a position to take upon itself the commitment set forth in one paragraph of the resolution. My delegation stated at last summer's session of the Economic and Social Council that we should have to abstain if that paragraph were put to a separate vote. I refer to the 1 per cent target mentioned in paragraph 3 (a) of the operative part of the Economic and Social Council resolution. The Swedish Government has, like other Governments, accepted the recommendation of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development for the 1 per cent target. We are consistently working towards this target and we shall continue to do so. However, we are not in a position to take upon our-

selves the commitment to reach the target at the precise date.

30. The PRESIDENT: The next item of business, agenda item 41 (c), concerns activities in the field of industrial development. The Secretary-General proposes [A/6539] the appointment of Mr. Ibrahim Helmi Abdel-Rahman as Executive Director of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization for a term of four years beginning on 1 January 1967. Unless I hear an objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly confirms that appointment by taking note of document A/6539.

It was so decided.

31. The PRESIDENT: I am sure I speak on behalf of all Members of the General Assembly when I extend to Mr. Ibrahim Helmi Abdel-Rahman my best wishes for success in his important work.

32. The next report of the Second Committee for consideration this afternoon relates to agenda item 42, entitled "Inflation and economic development". May I take it that the text of the decision proposed by the Second Committee [A/6552, para. 4] is adopted without objection also by the General Assembly?

The text of the decision proposed by the Second Committee was adopted without objection.

33. The PRESIDENT: The next report of the Second Committee relates to agenda item 44. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee [A/6553, para. 4].

The draft resolution was adopted without objection.

34. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to agenda item 94, entitled "Development of natural resources". The report of the Second Committee is to be found in document A/6533, and the report of the Fifth Committee on the financial implications of draft resolution I recommended by the Second Committee is contained in document A/6534. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to make statements before the vote.

35. Mr. ELM (Iran): My delegation is pleased to endorse the five-year programme of nine selected natural resources surveys,^{1/} and hopes that Member States in a position to do so will make voluntary contributions to this very useful programme which will provide great opportunities for the developing countries to develop their resources. I am pleased to announce that the Government of Iran will contribute the sum of \$50,000 towards the implementation of this survey programme.

36. Mr. ANDERSEN (Iceland): The delegation of Iceland would like to make a few remarks in connexion with the subject under discussion in order to clarify its understanding of the contents, aspects and implications of draft resolution I referred to in the report of the Second Committee [A/6533] which is now before the Assembly.

37. It is, of course, clear that the study of the resources of the sea is envisaged under the terms of the draft resolution to which I have just referred;

and it is equally clear that, when the results of the comprehensive survey of activities in this field, with eventual recommendations, have been submitted, the matter will again come up for consideration, and decisions can then be made as to further action. That is clear.

38. But I should like to draw attention for a moment to one or two other points. Let me say first that my delegation quite agrees with the proposals of the Economic and Social Council resolution which is endorsed in the draft resolution to which I referred. We believe that it would be useful, in the words of the draft, "to make a survey of the present state of knowledge of the resources of the sea beyond the continental shelf, excluding fish, and of the techniques for exploiting these resources". We hope indeed that something worth-while will come out of that work.

39. I now turn to the other idea contained in the draft resolution which I am discussing, namely, the idea of

"Ensuring the most effective arrangements for an expanded programme of international co-operation to assist in a better understanding of the marine environment through science and the exploitation and development of marine resources, with due regard to the conservation of fish stocks".

40. I would emphasize that the Icelandic delegation whole-heartedly agrees with this principle. Indeed, the Foreign Minister of Iceland, in his statement from this rostrum during the general debate [1430th meeting], dwelt upon this point, although he did not go into detail since that would have fallen outside the traditional scope of the general debate which, as we know, deals with a survey of world affairs in general.

41. But since we are now dealing specifically with the problem of the resources of the sea, I consider it necessary, and indeed appropriate, to state that the Icelandic delegation feels very strongly that the survey in the field of fisheries should cover not only the work of international organizations, but also—and this is very important—the work carried out by the various Member States. This is, in the case of fisheries conservation, a fundamental point because most of the nursery grounds and spawning areas are, as is well known, found in the shallow coastal areas; for instance, in the case of Iceland, in the waters of the continental shelf area.

42. The records of the United Nations contain extensive statements made on behalf of the Government of Iceland which describe our experience in this field; and when I refer to the records of the United Nations I include those of the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly, the Rome Conference of 1955,^{2/} the two United Nations Conferences on the Law of the Sea held in Geneva in 1958 and 1960 and, of course, last but not least, the records of the International Law Commission. I am not, of course, going to repeat our previous statements; the records are there for all to see. But I should like to draw particular attention to the fact that it is of the greatest importance that all coastal States should do their utmost to take conservation measures within the limits of their own

^{1/} See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fortieth Session, Annexes, agenda item 7, document E/4132, chap. V.

^{2/} International Technical Conference on the Conservation of the Living Resources of the Sea.

fisheries jurisdiction. And today, many States are doing exactly that. Others are planning further action. My Government is very much interested in following this development and would welcome any information on the subject.

43. The Government of Iceland, as is well known to many in this Assembly, for several years has been engaged in conservation activities of this kind, and it is an established fact that if we had not taken the measures which we did take, our fisheries resources, in the opinion of the world's foremost experts, would have been depleted and ruined. And, since these fisheries resources form the foundation of the economy of Iceland, the consequences would have been disastrous.

44. We all know that the United Nations Conferences in Geneva in 1958 and 1960 on the Law of the Sea were fully aware of the priority position of the coastal State in the field of fisheries and fisheries conservation. That particular problem is not under discussion now, but the delegation of Iceland would underline that these coastal efforts should be included in the proposed survey. Otherwise, the proposed study would be quite unrealistic.

45. In the case of Iceland, it is a corner-stone of our policy to continue our efforts in this field within the framework of our law of 1948 concerning the scientific conservation of the continental shelf fisheries; that is, within the area corresponding roughly to our continental shelf. We have noted with warm appreciation the growing understanding of this necessity as far as our country is concerned, and in other countries as well where modern legislation regarding fisheries jurisdiction has been enacted or is being planned.

46. For our part, the Icelandic Parliament passed a resolution in 1959 to the effect that all efforts should be made by the Government of Iceland to achieve international recognition of the necessity for the implementation of the law to which I just referred. And the proper and necessary implementation of that law is based on the progressive development of international law. We look to the new nations of the world to participate, and indeed to take a leading part in that progressive development.

47. I should like also to say that the Icelandic Government firmly supports the work done internationally beyond the limits of coastal jurisdiction, and we have always been supporters of that work. My Government has studied the recent report of the fisheries experts which was prepared under the auspices of the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea. That report shows conclusively that the depletion of fish stocks in the North Atlantic area is imminent. The report will undoubtedly be taken into account in the proposed survey. It is indeed a remarkable document. And I would add at this time that, although the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea is not among the organizations listed in the draft resolution, we take it for granted that that very important organization is included in the general formula dealing with that aspect of the matter.

48. To sum up, the delegation of Iceland understands that, under the terms of the proposal before the

General Assembly, the entire field will be covered: the work done by various international organizations, and the even more important and valuable work which has been done by the various Governments, which have come a long way from the three-mile fishery limits that, while they lasted, caused incalculable harm to the conservation of fishery resources of the sea.

49. Now that many new States have joined the United Nations, further development of international law in this area is not only to be hoped for, but should reasonably be expected. The new Member States may realize that, by joining the ranks of the coastal States in their rightful claims, they will be contributing to their own welfare and to the welfare of mankind. I would indeed very much like to elaborate on this point at greater length, but I realize of course that I would then be going beyond the framework of this particular meeting. In any case, our arguments have been stated so often here and in the United Nations Conferences on the Law of the Sea that our friends can study the records—and perhaps find some useful material which might be helpful in solving their own problems in this field. A more extensive statement will be submitted by the Icelandic Government to the Secretary-General.

50. The PRESIDENT: Is there any other representative who wishes to make a statement before we proceed to explanations of vote? I intend now to call on the representative of the United Kingdom. If any representative wishes to speak at this stage or make any statement, I shall be pleased to call on him. However, once we go on to explanations of vote, I shall, very respectfully, expect speakers to confine themselves to explanations of vote.

51. Sir Edward WARNER (United Kingdom): My delegation has listened with interest and attention to the statement of the representative of Iceland. There is one point arising out of that statement which obliges my delegation to comment. This is in connexion with the reference to the Althing resolution of 1959.

52. I am sure that the representative of Iceland, in making this reference, has in mind the text of the exchange of notes settling the fisheries dispute between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of Iceland on 11 March 1961, which was duly registered with the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The penultimate paragraph of the Icelandic note reads as follows:

"The Icelandic Government will continue to work for the implementation of the Althing Resolution of 5 May 1959, regarding the extension of fisheries jurisdiction around Iceland, but shall give to the United Kingdom Government six months' notice of such extension and, in case of a dispute in relation to such extension, the matter shall, at the request of either party, be referred to the International Court of Justice."^{3/}

53. My delegation felt obliged to recall the terms of this exchange of notes to the attention of this Assembly in the light of the remarks made by the representative of Iceland with respect to the implementation of the Althing resolution.

^{3/} United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 397 (1961), No. 5710, p. 278.

54. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Iceland, as he made clear at the beginning of his statement, spoke on a point of clarification. The representative of the United Kingdom, whom I did not interrupt, spoke in exercise of his right of reply. I should like to draw the attention of Members to the fact that rights of reply can be exercised only at the end of the meeting, after we have disposed of all the items before us. When I asked if anybody wished to make a statement, I did not have in mind a right of reply before the time came for rights of reply.

55. There are two representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote before the vote. I shall now call on them.

56. Mr. ROOSEVELT (United States of America): Because the concepts and principles which will motivate our affirmative vote on this draft resolution are so strongly held, we wish to make them part of the official record.

57. As the problems of hunger, inadequate resources and limited development continue to give urgency to our efforts here, we must continue to survey and utilize all means for co-operation and progress available to man.

58. The United States regards this draft resolution for the survey of existing international exploitation of marine resources and of present training programmes in the marine sciences as a major and important step towards the judicious and effective usage of our last unexploited, certainly our most vast, natural resource.

59. The United States appreciates the efforts of the fifteen co-sponsors of this draft resolution, and we hail the broadly based support which their efforts engendered. As we look back over the debate which attended this draft resolution, we see that many delegations contributed to its development; we see that the delegations of Somalia, Australia and France, to name but a few, have suggested improvements. The co-sponsors have complied with all requests except those which would lead to duplication of existing efforts.

60. Like the others who hope for effective international co-operation in this vital area, we look forward to the report of the Secretary-General and await his proposals for an expanded programme of international co-operation in the field of marine resources.

61. Believing as we do in the importance of this draft resolution, our affirmative vote is linked to the hope and suggestion that experts of the highest international reputation in this area be engaged to direct the study and assist the Secretary-General in the formulation of his proposals for future action. Due to the weight of human need which may—and we pray will—be met by the successful exploitation of marine resources, we most strongly urge that this study be conducted not only with the co-operation of the specialized agencies and their constituent bodies such as the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission, but also with the co-operation and advice of their respective advisory bodies such as the Scientific Committee on Oceanic Research of the International Council of Scientific Unions and the Food and Agriculture Organization's Advisory Committee on Marine Resources

Research. We suggest that the leading specialized agencies, their advisory committees and the most reputable experts whom they can nominate to the body of experts be involved in this urgent task.

62. Looking back over this draft resolution, I am indeed thankful that we have included in its provisions one which allows "the utilization of such voluntary services as may be offered". I should like to say right now that it is my own personal conviction that we may indeed find this project so worthwhile that it may command to itself contributions and resources from the private sector so that it can most effectively be carried forth.

63. No man can define the vistas toward progress which may be unlocked by these efforts in marine research. Human ingenuity may establish man's mastery over the sea and his utilization of the sea for mankind. There will of course be difficulties; perhaps the legal problems will be most difficult to solve. But if man can hope to master the seas, he can similarly aspire to international co-operation in the resolution of his difficulties.

64. This draft resolution looks to the day when there will be a better, richer, more plentiful life for the human family. Let us co-operate in the seas which are on this earth as well as in the important one of outer space.

65. It is for those reasons that our vote will be in the affirmative.

66. Mr. BOIKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): I should like to explain the position of the Ukrainian SSR on draft resolution II proposed in the report of the Second Committee [A/6533, para. 20] which is now before the plenary session of the General Assembly.

67. I wish to state that we have no objection to the substance of the five-year survey programme for the development of natural resources proposed by the Secretary-General in the report.^{4/}

68. At the same time we have noted that it is proposed to obtain the funds for the financing of this programme, namely \$11.5 million, from the United Nations budget. Since we understand that these expenses are to be regarded rather as falling within the category of "operational expenses", we would think it appropriate that at least part of this amount should be provided in the usual way, that is to say, through funds based upon voluntary contributions.

69. Our view is based primarily on the fact that the United Nations Development Programme should already take part in this stage of the implementation of the said survey programme in natural resources. Apart from financial considerations, we have practical considerations in mind connected with the fact that the United Nations Development Programme, as we see it, will take part in the future in the application of the results of the survey when it is completed. Practice shows that the United Nations Development Programme is better able to undertake such a task if it is informed about the work it will have to do at

^{4/} See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fortyeth Session, Annexes, agenda item 7, document E/4132.

the stage when the project to be carried out is still being prepared. Therefore, the Ukrainian delegation submitted an appropriate amendment [*ibid.*, paras. 18 and 19] in the course of the consideration of this question in the Committee. I should like to explain here that in voting for draft resolution II, contained in the report of the Second Committee [A/6533], the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR still considers that the United Nations Development Programme should pay attention to the considerations expressed in the Committee with regard to the participation of the Development Programme in the natural resources survey provided for in the Secretary-General's report.

70. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to vote on the two draft resolutions recommended by the Second Committee in paragraph 20 of its report [A/6533, para. 20]. I invite members to turn their attention to draft resolution I entitled "Resources of the sea" which I shall now put to the vote.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 100 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

71. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to take a decision on draft resolution II. This draft resolution was adopted unanimously by the Second Committee. If there is no objection, I shall also regard it as having been adopted unanimously by the General Assembly.

Draft resolution II was adopted unanimously.

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*)*

72. The PRESIDENT: Members will recall that this item was allocated for consideration in plenary meetings in order to enable the General Assembly to deal with the question of the implementation of the Declaration in general. All the chapters of the Special Committee's report relating to specific Territories were referred to the Fourth Committee. So far, the reports of the Fourth Committee on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland and on Southern Rhodesia have been dealt with in plenary meetings. The Assembly will consider within the next few days the reports of the Fourth Committee on Aden, on Fiji and on the Territories under Portuguese administration.

73. At this stage the Assembly will proceed to discuss the item before us as a whole. Any problems under this item may be referred to, but, for the orderly procedure of our debate, it would be preferable for those representatives who wish to make comments only on certain specific Territories to make those observations before the vote is taken on the draft resolutions relating to each particular Territory.

Mr. Al-Jubouri (Iraq), 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,

presented the report of that Committee and then spoke as follows:

74. Mr. AL-JUBOURI (Iraq), 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: The report of the Special Committee covering its work during 1966 is contained in document A/6300/Rev.1. This report runs to some 2,500 pages. It is necessarily lengthy as it deals with the Committee's examination of the situation in some sixty Territories and contains two special studies, one on Southern Rhodesia, and the other on Territories under Portuguese administration.

75. Members will recall that the General Assembly, at its 1415th plenary meeting, on 24 September 1966, decided that the question of the implementation of the Declaration in general should be considered in plenary meetings, and that the chapters of the Special Committee's report relating to specific Territories should be referred to the Fourth Committee for consideration and report.

76. The Fourth Committee has already submitted its reports on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland [A/6448], on the hearing of petitioners concerning the question of South West Africa [A/6458 and Add.1], and on Southern Rhodesia [A/6482 and Add.1], and adopted its reports concerning Aden [A/6557] and the Territories under Portuguese Administration [A/6554]. Reports of the Fourth Committee on the other Territories covered by the Special Committee's report will be submitted as they become available.

77. In 1966, the Special Committee considered all the Territories on its list of Territories to which the Declaration applies, with three exceptions, and on almost all these Territories the Special Committee either adopted resolutions or submitted recommendations and conclusions which are set out in the relevant chapters of the report. The report of the Special Committee also contains information on the three Territories which it was not able to consider. New developments in the case of some Territories made it necessary for them to be considered more than once.

78. The Special Committee also completed studies on the activities of foreign economic and other interests in the Territories under Portuguese administration and in Southern Rhodesia. The study concerning Southern Rhodesia and the consideration thereof by the Special Committee are contained in document A/6300/Rev.1, chapter III (part II). The Fourth Committee has already submitted its report to the Assembly covering its consideration of this matter in part II of the report on Southern Rhodesia [A/6482/Add.1]. The study concerning the Territories under Portuguese administration, which is supplementary to that undertaken by the Special Committee in 1965, together with the Committee's consideration thereof, is contained in document A/6300/Rev.1, chapter V (part II). It has been the subject of discussion by the Fourth Committee during the current session in connexion with its consideration of the question of the Portuguese Territories.

79. In the context of General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) of 27 November 1961, and in particular,

*Resumed from the 1468th meeting.

of operative paragraph 7 of General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX), the Special Committee, availing itself of the invitations extended to it by the Governments of Algeria, Ethiopia, Somalia, the United Arab Republic and the United Republic of Tanzania, held another series of meetings in Africa in the capitals of these countries in May and June 1966. The Special Committee laid particular stress on the important results achieved by these meetings in Africa, which not only underlined the increasing concern of the United Nations for the position of colonial peoples, but strengthened the Committee's own capacity to assist these peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence. The Special Committee was profoundly grateful to the five Governments for their invitations and unanimously adopted a resolution to this effect on 22 June 1966. An account of the Special Committee's work in Africa is set out in part II of chapter II of the report [A/6300/Rev.1], as well as in the chapters relating to specific Territories which were considered by the Special Committee. In this connexion, I would also draw attention to the general resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 22 June 1966 concerning the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) with regard to the colonial Territories considered during its meetings in Africa.

80. The General Assembly, by its resolution 1970 (XVIII) of 16 December 1963, decided to dissolve the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and entrusted its functions to the Special Committee. The Special Committee, accordingly, examined during 1966 information on Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter. Details of its consideration of this item are set forth in chapter XXIII of the report. This report will be taken up by the Fourth Committee at the present session.

81. Under the terms of resolution 2105 (XX) by which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee "to apprise the Security Council of developments in any Territory examined by it which may threaten international peace and security and to make suggestions which may assist the Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations", the Special Committee, in 1966, drew the attention of the Security Council to the situation obtaining in a number of Territories examined by it, including Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Aden and the Territories under Portuguese Administration. An account of the action taken by the Special Committee in this connexion is set out in paragraphs 296 to 302 of chapter I of the report.

82. In 1966, the Special Committee noted the attainment of independence of three of the Territories which had been the subject of extensive consideration by the General Assembly and by the Special Committee, namely, British Guiana, which became Guyana; Bechuanaland, which became Botswana; and Basutoland, which became Lesotho. Prior to the attainment of independence of Bechuanaland and Basutoland, the Committee gave urgent attention to the measures necessary to enable them to enjoy complete independence and to secure their territorial integrity and sovereignty. An account of the consideration by the Special Committee and its action in respect of these

Territories is contained in chapter VII. This report has already been considered by the Fourth Committee and, on its recommendation, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2134 (XXI), on 29 September 1966.

83. In operative paragraph 8 of its resolution 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965, the General Assembly requested "the Special Committee to pay particular attention to the small Territories and to recommend to the General Assembly the most appropriate ways, as well as the steps to be taken, to enable the populations of the small Territories to exercise fully their right to self-determination and independence". In arriving at its conclusions and recommendations concerning the small Territories, details of which are contained in the relevant chapters of the present report, the Special Committee took this provision into consideration.

84. In operative paragraph 9 of the same resolution, the General Assembly requested "the Special Committee, whenever it considers it appropriate, to recommend a deadline for the accession to independence of each Territory in accordance with the wishes of the people". In its consideration of specific territories, the Special Committee took account of this provision.

85. Subject to any directives that the General Assembly at its twenty-first session may wish to give in connexion with the question of the small territories and of deadlines for the accession of Territories to independence, the Special Committee will continue to be guided by these and other provisions of General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX).

86. In paragraphs 184 to 223 of chapter I of the report, and in many of the chapters of the present report relating to specific Territories, the Special Committee has set out its recommendations with regard to visiting missions. The Special Committee continued to attach great importance to such visits as a means of collecting first-hand information on conditions in the territories and on the wishes of the people, in order to assist it in the implementation of the Declaration. Accordingly, the Special Committee intends to pursue its recommendations with the utmost vigour and to continue to seek the co-operation of the administering Powers to enable such visits to take place in the forthcoming session.

87. In its report to the General Assembly at its twentieth session, the Special Committee stated that

"Subject to any directives the General Assembly at its twentieth session may wish to give for the speedy implementation of the Declaration, the Special Committee intends to continue its consideration of the question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable".^{5/}

88. In the seventh preambular paragraph of its resolution 2105 (XX), the General Assembly noted "the action taken and envisaged by the Special Committee regarding the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable". In 1966, the Special Committee considered a report submitted by the Working Group concerning this question, and approved the proposals

^{5/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23, chap. I, para. 66.

contained therein. An account of the work of the Special Committee in this regard is contained in paragraphs 263 to 269 of chapter I of the report.

89. During the year, the Special Committee also considered the question of the implementation of General Assembly resolutions 2105 (XX) and 2107 (XX) and pertinent resolutions of the Special Committee with respect to the requests and appeals contained therein addressed to international institutions and specialized agencies. Details of the confirmation by the Special Committee of this matter are contained in paragraphs 224 to 261 of the report.

90. Finally, in order to assist it in carrying out its tasks in 1967, the Special Committee offered a number of recommendations which the General Assembly may wish to consider in connexion with its examination of the implementation of the Declaration. These recommendations are set out in section XII of chapter I of the report. Among them are the following.

91. The Special Committee considers that the General Assembly should renew its appeal to the administering Powers to implement the Declaration on the granting of independence in the colonial territories they are administering, without further delay. The Assembly should again appeal to the administering Powers to co-operate with the Special Committee by facilitating visits to territories in accordance with the requests contained in resolutions and decisions already adopted by the Special Committee. The Assembly should again request the administering Powers to co-operate with the Secretary-General in promoting large-scale dissemination of the Declaration and of information on the work of the United Nations, and in particular of the Special Committee in the implementation of the Declaration.

92. The Special Committee recommends that the Assembly approve the programme of work as outlined in the section of the report referred to above, and make adequate financial provisions to cover the expenses of the activities of the Special Committee, including the cost of visiting groups. Further, within the context of operative paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI), the Special Committee may decide to hold another series of meetings in Africa in 1967.

93. I commend this report to the General Assembly.

94. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Chairman of the Special Committee. Ambassador Collier of Sierra Leone.

95. Mr. COLLIER (Sierra Leone): Once more the General Assembly has on its agenda the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The question of colonialism has, in the recent history of the United Nations, come to assume ever-increasing importance. Enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations we find a reaffirmation of faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women, and of nations, large and small, and in justice for all men. Sobered by the grim experience of the Second World War, the international community was anxious to save succeeding generations from the scourge of

war, and, fully aware that flagrant disregard of the dignity and worth of the human person had been an important contributory factor to the Second World War, created an Organization the purposes of which were clearly directed towards the establishment of an international community with equal justice for all.

96. It was therefore natural that shortly after the Organization came into being, questions of colonialism should assume great importance. This preoccupation with colonial questions achieved full stature in 1960, when the famous Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was passed. That document, as has often been stated at the United Nations and elsewhere, has become the Magna Charta, so to speak, of the decolonization process.

97. Since that time, the drive towards decolonization has gained momentum, and it is gratifying to note that many countries have since achieved independence and taken their rightful places in the councils of nations. Unfortunately, in spite of the many resolutions of the United Nations, in spite of the development of an international consensus against colonialism in all its forms, and in spite of the nearly unanimous condemnation of colonialism as odious, intolerable and pathological, we still have unfinished business on our agenda under the heading of colonialism.

98. It is perhaps fitting and proper for me at the outset of this debate to recall the satisfaction felt by my delegation, and indeed by the entire Special Committee on decolonization, at the fact that since this item was last debated, several countries have achieved independence and are now properly seated as Members of the United Nations. Guyana, which for many years suffered under the yoke of colonialism in spite of the gallant struggles of the heroic people of that country, which remained on the agenda of the Special Committee for some years, has at last achieved independence, and we were proud to welcome it at the beginning of this session as a Member State of the United Nations.

99. It was perhaps significant that Guyana celebrated independence at a time when our Special Committee was in Africa, in keeping with our efforts to pursue and eradicate colonialism wherever it rears its ugly head, and that we were able to hail that country's independence from the beautiful city of Dar-es-Salaam in the Republic of Tanzania, a city which in recent times has come to be regarded as a citadel of freedom and a haven for liberation fighters from all over troubled Africa.

100. Botswana and Lesotho have also achieved independence and are now proudly seated amongst us. Those countries have emerged from the travails afflicting any African territory so close to the cauldron of racism which is South Africa.

101. During recent weeks we have been proud to acclaim the independence of Barbados and welcome that great country, of such rich human resources, into the international community. We have every reason to believe that all these countries which have achieved independence since our last debate will play a valuable role in international affairs, and that the progress of their peoples will be advanced under

their own guidance, thus ensuring for themselves true human dignity and real prosperity.

102. The Special Committee is happy to remove this item from its agenda and is impatient that so many other items remain defiantly on it. Certain colonial Powers remain adamant and recalcitrant. They have refused to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Some have even defied resolutions of the United Nations on this question; they assume a posture of truculence and intransigence.

103. It is perhaps significant that we begin our debate today on the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence on a day when we have been shockingly reminded of the existence of unrepentant colonialism in our times. I refer to the situation in Southern Rhodesia. Mr. Ian Smith, thanks to the mishandling of the situation by the United Kingdom Government, has again defied world opinion and declared his intention to persist with his illegal régime. That régime is abominable, racist, intolerable, and remarkably reminiscent of the odious excesses of the Nazi régime in Hitlerite Germany. This is an apt parallel because racism in any form is racism. It is mounted on a doctrine of arrogance and intolerance based on the alleged superiority of skin pigmentation. It is on this false hypothesis that Mr. Smith and his collaborators have based their claim to govern and to impose their rule on the lives and fortunes of millions of black people. That this mode of thinking should be evident in the middle of the twentieth century is the shame of our time and the scandal of the so-called white civilization of which Mr. Ian Smith proclaims himself to be a champion.

104. Through the vacillation and encouragement of Mr. Harold Wilson, the United Kingdom Prime Minister—for, make no mistake about it, it was overt encouragement for Mr. Wilson to state, a few days before Mr. Smith unilaterally declared independence, that force would never be used, at a time when Mr. Smith had given every indication of his intentions—much will depend now in this question of Rhodesia on the resolve of the United Nations to accept the challenge which this new situation has posed.

105. We have been told that the British Government will be seeking selective mandatory sanctions in the Security Council.

106. At the last Prime Ministers' Commonwealth Conference, in which Sierra Leone participated, Sir Albert Margai, my Prime Minister, stated quite clearly the conditions under which this matter should be brought to the United Nations. In fact, that point of view was reflected in the joint communiqué which the United Kingdom Permanent Representative obligingly introduced into our debate on this matter in the Fourth Committee. The actions we envisage should be taken under Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter, and force should be used if necessary to bring to an end a situation which the British themselves have categorized as illegal and treasonable. Selective mandatory sanctions cannot be of much use if the items selected are such as to make it possible for the régime to continue. That would only amount to a

repetition of the farcical situation created when the British assured the world that the sanctions they imposed when Mr. Smith broke away from legality would end the régime in weeks rather than months. We are by now tired of such assurances.

107. The United Kingdom Government has a clear responsibility here. Let them discharge it; let them show that they are indeed interested in the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations which call for equal rights for men and women, irrespective of colour, creed or religion. Let them demonstrate this time their determination to bring colonialism to a speedy end and thus implement the Declaration in an area in which they have reminded us often enough that they have sole and complete responsibility.

108. Since we have already had a full debate on the question of South West Africa, I shall content myself with stating at this stage that this matter is still on the agenda of the Special Committee and that we hope to keep it there, and to watch with the closest attention the progress of the work of the South West Africa Committee, which has come into being as a result of that debate.

109. It is my duty to express the satisfaction of my delegation and of the Special Committee on decolonization that the Government of Spain has set a commendable example in the area of co-operation with the United Nations during the past year. Whatever else may be said of Spain, let it be remembered that Spain was the first colonial Power to allow a visiting mission from the United Nations to visit a Territory in compliance with the wishes of the United Nations.

110. What we found there is another matter altogether, but let it be said that the Spanish Government gave the United Nations mission every co-operation, offered lavish hospitality, and, so far as we could see, did not place any impediments in the way of the work of the Committee when we visited the Spanish Territories of Fernando Póo and Rio Muni in Equatorial Guinea. That mission has presented a report which will be debated at length. At this stage I only wish to express the hope of my delegation that the Spanish Government will find it possible to accept the recommendations of the mission and thus speedily implement the Declaration and bring independence to the peoples of that Territory.

111. In this context, I wish to express the disappointment of the Special Committee at the unwillingness of certain colonial Powers—notably the United Kingdom—to allow visiting missions from the United Nations into colonial territories. In spite of the fact that those colonial Powers have often expressed a desire to co-operate with the work of the United Nations, in the one most positive area in which they could demonstrate their willingness to co-operate they have so far failed to do so, notwithstanding the many resolutions of the United Nations on the matter. Others of them, like New Zealand, have been extremely tardy in presenting the necessary information on Territories under their care as requested by the United Nations.

112. My delegation hopes that those colonial and imperialist Powers will seriously consider co-operating more sincerely with the United Nations in the task

of decolonization. This co-operation is particularly desirable in the case of small Territories where it is important that the United Nations Special Committee should make visits to observe for itself the prevailing conditions to enable the Committee to consider what appropriate recommendations to make in the light of special conditions for the speedy implementation of the Declaration.

113. Colonialism, unfortunately, is not confined to the African continent. One of the most vexing problems on the agenda of the Special Committee has been the problem of Aden. The United Nations has persisted through the years in trying to impress on the British Government the necessity for United Nations intervention. Through the years, the British have refused to co-operate with the United Nations and have sought refuge in their usual declaration that Aden is a British responsibility.

114. In spite of the absence of co-operation from the British, the Special Committee, during its meetings in Africa, passed a resolution asking that the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in consultation with the Special Committee and the administering Power, should appoint a commission to go to Aden to make recommendations which might lead to eventual independence.

115. That was in June. The United Kingdom delegation, in its reply to the letter of the Secretary-General informing it of the request, included certain terms which the Special Committee later decided amounted to pre-conditions, and the Special Committee insisted that unless the British withdrew those pre-conditions it would consider that the British acceptance of the request was not complete.

116. After an unnecessary delay, due entirely to the unwillingness of the United Kingdom delegation to withdraw those pre-conditions in clear terms, a resolution has at last been passed, almost unanimously, in the Fourth Committee asking that the mission should proceed to Aden without further delay. It is the hope of my delegation that the British will not now resort to the usual tactics of delay, prevarication and vacillation and make the task of the mission unnecessarily difficult. We further hope that the British will not now create new obstacles to prevent the Secretary-General from adhering closely to the call of the United Nations that this mission be appointed in consultation with the Special Committee and the administering authority.

117. On the agenda of the Special Committee there are still the questions of many small Territories whose fate remains to be decided. An important principle here undoubtedly is the principle of self-determination. This principle is inviolate, and it seems to my delegation that it has achieved the consensus of the international community of today. Without doubt, new ideas will have to be tried to determine what course of action might best be pursued for the future of certain small Territories, but such considerations could only be valid and relevant in the context of the principle of self-determination, and it will be for the people, in the free and unfettered exercise of their will, to determine for themselves what political future they prefer.

118. Perhaps the most important event in the life of the Special Committee during the past year was the visit of the Committee to Africa. Once more the United Nations Special Committee on decolonization was able to visit African capitals. We made that decision because we believe the United Nations should be directly involved in a practical way with the problems on its agenda. It is all very well to sit in New York and pass resolutions, but it is also perhaps more important that the United Nations should be willing to involve itself in practical ways to produce solutions to outstanding problems. In the case of colonialism there are freedom fighters bitterly engaged in a life and death struggle to preserve the ideals which the world community of today cherishes. It is important that encouragement be given to those freedom fighters by being near the scene of their endeavours to encourage them to greater exertions and to assure them of the interest and concern of this world body.

119. Also, such a visit to Africa was important to the extent to which it enabled the delegation from many countries not familiar with the oppression of colonialism at close range to be exposed to the atmosphere of colonialism.

120. Also, such visits enabled many petitioners who, but for such visits, could never have appeared before the United Nations Committee, because of the expense, to have a chance to state their cases. This year, the Special Committee visited five capitals—Dares Salaam in Tanzania, Mogadiscio in Somalia, Addis Ababa in Ethiopia, Cairo in the United Arab Republic and Algiers in Algeria.

121. In all of these capitals we were received with warmth, good will, graciousness and hospitality. These Governments spared no pains in making available to us every facility necessary for our work. I should like to take this further opportunity to thank the Governments and peoples of these countries on behalf of the United Nations, particularly on behalf of those countries represented in the Special Committee, for all they did to make our visit to their capitals such a memorable and worthy experience.

122. During the visit we were able to dramatize the involvement of the United Nations in the search for practical solutions to colonial problems. We are firmly convinced that the visit to Africa contributed vitally to the understanding of the problems on our agenda and did much to publicize the meaning of the United Nations in those countries.

123. After another year's consideration of the problem of colonialism, we find colonialism still rampant. Colonialism has been able to prosper not only because of the wilful and wicked policies of the particular colonial Powers concerned, but also, and very largely so, because of the activities of the foreign financial and economic monopolies and interests in these countries, particularly in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea and Bisao. It is quite obvious that because of these financial and economic monopolies and interests many Governments have not been able to co-operate fully in the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

124. They find it easy enough to vote in support of resolutions, but then they do little or nothing to pre-

vent the trading and financial activities of their nationals and they actively co-operate in some cases in those activities, activities which are directed towards the exploitation and the making of slaves of the peoples of these Territories. It is a well-known fact that for these Territories to continue to provide such valuable profits for the capital poured in from western capitalist countries, proper labour legislation must be non-existent. These capitalists are anxious that labour costs should be as low as possible in order to boost their profit margin, and so we find, for selfish, greedy and mercenary reasons, the perpetuation of this scourge of colonialism.

125. Another factor which has contributed in no small measure to the continuation of colonialism in our times has been the so-called need to preserve military interests all over the world. We still find military bases located in the colonial Territories, bases which the colonialist Powers prefer to think help them in their over-all strategy in the so-called "East-West confrontation", a confrontation in which the peoples of these Territories have no interest.

126. This situation is bad enough, but it becomes worse when one considers that such military bases could be used as arsenals and springboards for aggression against the peoples themselves of those Territories in their legitimate struggle for independence. Thus we find the existence of military bases in colonial Territories a direct obstacle in the way of the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence.

127. We must continue in the face of this continued problem of colonialism to legitimize national liberation struggles. These are just wars. These are wars which the people of the colonial Territories wage in defence of their rights and freedom. The international community should crystallize a consensus in support of these inalienable principles. These principles should include the self-determination of peoples and the support of the legitimate struggles of peoples still under the yoke of colonialism.

128. We have come to a stage in the development of international thinking when nations should be prepared to recognize that repressive acts directed against dependent peoples struggling for independence, such as we see being perpetrated in so-called Portuguese Territories, South Africa, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia, should be castigated and declared to be crimes against humanity. The world should not sit idly by and wait until events have culminated into a disaster of unthinkable proportions to proclaim in an international tribunal afterwards that crimes have been committed against humanity.

129. We all can remember that at the Nürnberg Trials which followed the last war the leaders of Nazi Germany were tried for what were described as "crimes against humanity". The definition given then of "crimes against humanity" included:

"... murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population before or during the War, or persecution on political, racial or religious grounds, in execution of or in connexion with any crime within

the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, whether or not in violation of the domestic law of the country."^{6/}

130. In the practice of colonialism today we find all these ingredients of murder, extermination, enslavement and persecution present. These crimes are being perpetrated today in colonial Territories. It is highly relevant that colonialism should begin to be recognized in these terms. It is the responsibility of the international community to consider this question in a broader perspective, particularly so as questions of legality are often raised in the defence of the so-called sovereignty of States. It is important now to accept that certain fundamental violations of human rights transcend the inviolability of the sovereignty of States. It is important that we should recognize indeed the legality of such intervention in much the same terms as was argued so persuasively at the Nürnberg Trials.

131. It seems to me that the time has come when one must raise the argument of colonialism to these new heights. No longer must we be content to reproach, cajole and condemn these dastardly deeds. We must address our minds to the creation of an international consensus on the question of human rights.

132. We are familiar with the questionable contention that certain matters are within the domestic jurisdiction of sovereign States. But as early as the time of Grotius it was understood, that under certain circumstances, the international community could take up a position on a question of human rights and indeed intervene, if necessary, within the domestic jurisdiction of a State. The Nürnberg Trials have taught us that crimes against humanity could exist on the basis of a fundamental violation of human rights of such an enormity as to be directed against the extermination of a people.

133. Let us, therefore, at this twenty-first session of the General Assembly, rise to a new challenge and adopt a strong resolution which would recognize colonialism in its true colours as a crime against humanity and lay the foundation for the acceptance of an international consensus which would enable the United Nations to play a more positive role in the eradication of this evil. In this way we might well be able to achieve the speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and thus satisfy that important cornerstone of the Charter of the United Nations which recognizes the equality of all peoples, regardless of colour, race or creed.

134. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the next speaker I should like to inform the General Assembly that it is my intention to close the list of speakers in the general debate twenty-four hours after we started the consideration of this item. The list will therefore be closed at 6 p.m. tomorrow, 7 December.

135. Mr. RUDA (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): The consideration in plenary meeting of item 23 of the Assembly's agenda offers my delegation an opportunity which it particularly appreciates, in so far as it allows it to state in general terms its views on the present

^{6/} The Charter and Judgment of the Nürnberg Tribunal (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1949.V.7), p. 65.

situation and status of colonial problems throughout the world, to which the Argentine delegation has always devoted its most earnest attention.

136. We should like first to express our gratitude to the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, whose work constitutes the central pillar of the framework of action upon which the General Assembly is now engaged as part of its inescapable duty of achieving the fullest possible implementation of the principle set forth in the Charter in regard to self-determination.

137. We feel, in looking back on this work, that we must draw attention, in a brief retrospective analysis, to the remarkable evolution which the treatment of colonial problems has undergone within the Organization since 1945. The gradual steps which the United Nations has taken to give full recognition to the desires of the peoples for liberation and independence have been difficult and perhaps at times too slow, but there can be no doubt that ultimately the work will be crowned with success.

138. There are memorable milestones on this journey: first, the drafting of Chapter XI of the Charter, the Declaration on Non-Self-Governing Territories, adopted by the founders of the United Nations, followed by General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and the elaboration of this text in resolution 1654 (XVI) which set up the Special Committee. This tripod forms the basis for the present modern and dynamic activities of the United Nations in regard to decolonization.

139. The Argentine delegation has always participated in the efforts of the United Nations to back the struggle of the peoples determined to guide their own destinies, offering enthusiastic support in the search for fair and appropriate solutions.

140. During the present General Assembly we have been happy to mark the attainment of independence of several new States which have also become Members of the United Nations. Guyana, Lesotho, Botswana and Barbados are States which, on attaining their independence, have in 1966 written new chapters in the history of the struggle that has been waged against colonialism through the efforts of the peoples and the activities of the United Nations.

141. Nevertheless, there are still vast Territories and populations subject to colonial systems and their progress towards complete independence does not for the time being offer any encouraging prospects, as was noted in a detailed statement just made by the representative of Sierra Leone. Chairman of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four. We refer in particular to the situation of Territories and populations in the southern part of Africa.

142. On the one hand, it has been possible at this session of the General Assembly to set in motion machinery designed to solve the problem of South West Africa. This is a positive step in the right direction and it is our profound hope that the later stages which have yet to be worked out will not encounter any difficulties or obstacles, so that the people of South West Africa may attain their independence at an early date.

143. On the other hand, there are situations in the southern part of Africa which remain static and offer

no heartening prospect of any kind. We refer to the Territories under Portuguese administration, which pose a grave problem to the international community that grows more acute with time, since the administering Power will not consent to apply the principle of self-determination set forth in the Charter.

144. At the same time, my delegation is particularly anxious about the situation in Southern Rhodesia, which is due to be discussed by the Security Council very shortly. It is our strongest hope that a speedy solution will be found to this problem, based on respect for the rights of the majority of the population of Southern Rhodesia, and the Argentine delegation to the Security Council will bend all its efforts to that end in the forthcoming debate.

145. Six years have passed since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, yet, in spite of it, more than fifty territories are still under colonial administration. This is, in our view, a clear and conclusive indication of the enormous task which the United Nations still has to accomplish in helping these peoples to realize their legitimate aspirations.

146. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) certainly constitutes an appropriate set of criteria for the full realization of this noble ideal. The implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) must bring the process of decolonization in those areas in which the problem still persists to the desired end.

147. My country is in a very good position to appreciate and understand the suffering imposed by colonial policies, not only because in the nineteenth century it had to fight a bloody war to win independence for itself and for its brother nations, but because even now, to this day, the Falkland Islands—which are part of its territory—suffer under foreign rule as a bitter aftermath of those colonial policies which were so frequent in international relations in the last century and the first part of this one.

148. The General Assembly, when it adopted resolution 2065 (XX) at its twentieth session, gave express recognition to the dispute between my country and the United Kingdom over the Falkland Islands. This decision by the General Assembly fostered and strengthened my country's hope that its rights will be restored to it as soon as possible.

149. Resolution 2065 (XX) thus constitutes the successful culmination of a process that has taken place by means of careful study and successive debates, first in Sub-Committee III, then in the Special Committee of Twenty-Four and then in the Fourth Committee.

150. Thus, the General Assembly, after placing the case of the Falkland Islands within the scope and application of resolution 1514 (XV), called upon the Governments of my country and of the United Kingdom to enter into negotiations.

151. In response to this invitation by the General Assembly, negotiations were initiated, and my Government together with that of the United Kingdom has kept the United Nations fully informed of their progress. At this very moment these negotiations are being pursued in London and my Government hopes shortly, before the end of this General Assembly, to

be able to transmit further information on their outcome, as requested in operative paragraph 2 of resolution 2065 (XX).

152. I do not wish to close this statement without first once again expressing my country's gratitude for the understanding and the favourable reception

accorded to its views by the great majority of delegations, in this matter which makes us a directly interested party in the process of decolonization, because of the despoilment to which we were once subjected by the armed might of the United Kingdom.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.