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Agenda item 23: <i>Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (continued)</i>	3	REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6565) <i>Mr. Silveira da Mota (Brazil), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the report of that Committee and then spoke as follows.</i>
Agenda item 87: <i>Consideration of principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (continued):</i> (a) <i>Report of the 1966 Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States;</i>		1. Mr. SILVEIRA DA MOTA (Brazil), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: The Fifth Committee has recommended a draft resolution [A/6565, para. 7] for adoption by the General Assembly which would authorize the Secretary-General, as trustee of contributions to the United Nations International School Fund, to transfer these contributions to the Board of Trustees, thus allowing the work of construction of the new building for the school to proceed.
		2. The draft resolution also provides for a grant to the School by the United Nations in the amount of \$48,900 to meet the anticipated operating deficit for the academic year 1966-1967.
		3. Reflecting the unanimous views of all who participated in the discussion of this item in the Committee, the draft resolution also includes an urgent appeal to those Governments that have not already done so to contribute to the School's development fund, which has reached only one-third of the required amount of \$3 million, and the importance of which to the future of the School is vital.
		4. The Fifth Committee unanimously adopted the draft resolution now before the Assembly, and I hope that the General Assembly will also find it possible to approve that text.
		<i>Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fifth Committee.</i>

5. Mr. KILLION (United States of America): My delegation wished to take this opportunity to comment on the United Nations International School in New York. The United States Mission was pleased to be instrumental in securing from the State of New York a free long-term lease of a building site at Twenty-fifth Street and the East River. The United States Mission was also active in securing a grant of \$7.5 million from the Ford Foundation and \$1.1 million from the Rockefeller family, which represents the cash required for land fill and construction.

6. My delegation, as the host Government to the United Nations, expresses its sincere appreciation to the City of New York and to private enterprise for the generous support which will permit the School to move in 1968 from the tenement-type building in which it is now functioning to one of the most modern school buildings in design and construction. That development is both necessary and proper. As with the United Nations itself, the United Nations International School has the potential of symbolizing peace through education, as young people of all nations learn and grow together in a unique academic environment. The staff and the student body of the School are to be congratulated on their accomplishments in the success of the School as an institution of learning and of communication among nations.

7. I have talked to mothers of children who are enrolled in the School. The students, as you all know, come from all over the world and represent many races, many cultures and many backgrounds. They come from countries with different political ideologies. The companionship, the human warmth and the communication between those children, who are the citizens of tomorrow, is, I suggest to all of you, a symbol of great hope and of faith in the world. Perhaps we of older generations can learn from this manifestation of international democracy despite the youth of the participants.

8. We hope that, as the International School moves into larger facilities, an increasing number of children of United Nations representatives will be enrolled in the School and benefit from its programme of learning.

9. My delegation will vote for the request of the Secretary-General for the appropriation to meet the operating deficit of the United Nations International School in New York City. We do so in recognition of the fact that, unlike the case of the School in Geneva, the student body in New York predominantly consists of students whose parents are in the United Nations Secretariat, delegations to the United Nations and international offices. We trust, as my delegation has said in previous years, that the School in time will become self-supporting. But my delegation will gladly and with enthusiasm support the request for the recommended appropriation.

10. The PRESIDENT: Since the draft resolution [A/6565, para. 7] was unanimously adopted in Committee, may I take it that the General Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

AGENDA ITEM 37

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development:
report of the Trade and Development Board
REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (Part I)
(A/6567)

AGENDA ITEM 41

Activities in the field of industrial development
(continued):*
(a) Report of the Committee for Industrial Development

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/6551)

AGENDA ITEM 49

Operational activities for development:
(a) Activities of the United Nations Development Programme;
(b) Activities undertaken by the Secretary-General.
REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/6566)

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

11. Mr. REISCH (Austria), Rapporteur of the Second Committee: The Second Committee authorized its Rapporteur to present its report [A/6567] on the convening of a special session of the Trade and Development Board directly to a plenary meeting of the General Assembly in order to give interested Governments and international organizations enough time to prepare for that meeting. The draft resolution, adopted unanimously by the Second Committee, which recommends it for adoption by the General Assembly, is contained in paragraph 4 of the report.

12. Under agenda item 41 (a), the Committee had before it a draft resolution concerning the holding of an international symposium on industrial development. The draft resolution provides, *inter alia*, for convening that symposium in Athens, Greece, in 1967. Before voting on the draft resolution as a whole, the Committee voted on an amendment by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to paragraph 2 [A/6551, para. 8 (a)]. The Committee also had a separate vote on the fourth paragraph of the preamble. But the draft resolution as a whole was adopted unanimously by the Committee [see A/6551, para. 9].

13. The third report [A/6566] deals with agenda item 49. After hearing statements by the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme, Mr. Hoffmann, and the Commissioner for Technical Co-operation, Mr. Hoo, the Committee unanimously adopted a draft resolution [A/6566, para. 8, draft resolution I]. That draft resolution, among other things, decides to authorize temporarily the continued use of the funds of the Technical Assistance component of the United Nations Development Programme for the provision of operational personnel by all the participating organizations, at the request of Governments, for the years 1967-1968. It also took note of the reports of the Governing Council of the United Nations Development Programme on its first and second sessions of this year [A/6566, para. 8, draft resolution II].

*Resumed from the 1485th meeting.

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

14. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to consider, under item 37 of its agenda, the convening of a special session of the Trade and Development Board of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. If there is no objection I shall take it that the draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee [A/6567, para. 4] is adopted by the Assembly.

The draft resolution was adopted without objection.

15. The PRESIDENT: The Second Committee will, in due course, report on the remaining aspects of its consideration of agenda item 37.

16. The Assembly will now turn to the consideration of agenda item 41 (a): The report of the Second Committee is contained in document A/6551. The financial implications which would result from the adoption of the draft resolution recommended by the Committee [A/6551, para. 9] are based on the decision of the Economic and Social Council and will be taken into account in the 1967 budget estimates. Since the draft resolution was unanimously approved by the Committee, may I take it that the Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

17. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to agenda item 49. I invite Members to turn their attention to the two draft resolutions recommended by the Second Committee [A/6566, para. 8]. Draft resolution I was adopted unanimously in the Committee. May I take it that the Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

Draft resolution I was adopted unanimously.

18. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution II. If there is no objection, I shall consider this draft resolution adopted by the General Assembly.

Draft resolution II was adopted without objection.

AGENDA ITEM 87*

Consideration of principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations:

- (a) Report of the 1966 Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General on methods of fact-finding

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/6547)

19. The PRESIDENT: In the absence of the Rapporteur I invite the attention of the Assembly to the report of the Sixth Committee (A/6547).

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

20. The PRESIDENT: In addition to the report of the Sixth Committee (A/6547) the Assembly has before

the report of the Fifth Committee [A/6564] on the financial implications of draft resolution I recommended by the Sixth Committee.

21. The General Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolutions recommended by the Sixth Committee [A/6547, para. 88]. I put to the vote draft resolution I.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 52 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

22. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution II which was adopted unanimously by the Sixth Committee. If there is no objection, I shall regard it as having been adopted unanimously also 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 the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (*continued*)

23. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on those representatives whose names are inscribed on the list, I shall give the floor to the representative of Sierra Leone to introduce a draft resolution.

24. Mr. Collier (Sierra Leone): On behalf of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/L.506, I have been asked to make a few comments by way of introduction. Before I begin, however, I should like to draw attention to the fact that Iraq has now joined the list of co-sponsors, and I feel sure that many other delegations will wish to add their names by the time we have concluded consideration of this item. The co-sponsors are now the following: Afghanistan, Algeria, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Kuwait, Liberia, Mauritania, Sierra Leone, Syria, United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia.

25. This draft resolution covers fairly comprehensively the stage which this debate on colonialism has now reached. As may be seen clearly from the paragraphs of the preamble, many resolutions have been adopted on this subject, and these paragraphs draw attention to specific resolutions which have been adopted covering various aspects of the problem. But the particular authority for this draft resolution is to be found in the report of the Special Committee [A/6300/Rev. 1] which is now before us. This report covers the work of the Special Committee during the past year. It is true that specific draft resolutions will come before the General Assembly covering various items on the agenda of the Special Committee on colonialism, but this draft is a comprehensive document covering the whole area of operation, and I believe that it is important because it deals with certain fundamental principles connected with this problem and draws the attention of the General Assembly to the questions confronting the task of decolonization and the solutions which, we think, will bring such problems to an end.

*See also para. 79 below.

26. The most important factor, to which we have drawn attention in the preamble, is that six years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we still find colonialism rampant. It is from this fact that we proceed, in the draft resolution, to draw attention to the reasons for this situation. This has been done particularly in the operative paragraphs, and here I would quote paragraph 6:

"Declares that the continuation of colonial rule threatens international peace and security and that the practice of apartheid, as well as all forms of racial discrimination, constitutes a crime against humanity".

27. This is an important new element which we are bringing out at this time because, as has been stated during the course of the debates, colonialism has reached certain dimensions of which this world Organization should take full note. The time has come when the international community should develop a consensus on this question which would define colonialism as it really is: a crime against humanity. This is particularly significant at this time when the world body, in another place, is concerned with the question of Rhodesia—another element of colonialism, the element which has racialism in it, quite apart from the traditional type of colonialism. Therefore, we have introduced this aspect of the problem in paragraph 6.

28. We have introduced a new element, which is to be found in operative paragraph 15 and reads as follows:

"Invites the Special Committee, whenever it considers it proper and appropriate, to recommend a deadline for the accession to independence of each Territory ..."

We believe that, in the general context of continued colonialism, the time has come when the Special Committee should be in a position to recommend deadline dates for independence. We believe that this can be done, and we think that it is a task to which the Special Committee should address itself.

29. The draft resolution contains many proposals which we have adopted before, and the Assembly should have little difficulty in adopting these recommendations now. For example, we have emphasized the fact that in the southern part of Africa today we have this "unholy alliance" of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, establishing a kind of bulwark on that part of the continent against progress; and by this conduct they are jeopardizing international peace. This aspect of the question has been referred to in previous resolutions and we have repeated it here, this time with added emphasis.

30. Another element of the utmost importance which is contained in this draft refers to the part played by financial interests and monopolies. We see the unfortunate situation of many countries, particularly capitalist countries, supporting resolutions against colonialism, but doing very little to prevent their nationals from engaging in those activities which have made colonialism possible and allowed it to thrive in our times.

31. Thus we have set out in the operative paragraphs important provisions to prevent these prac-

tices. We have also drawn attention to the useful role the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees could play in alleviating the sufferings of refugees who have to run away from their countries because of the oppression and unsatisfactory situations which colonialism has created in those territories.

32. We have also drawn attention to the fact that there are military bases existing in colonial territories which should be dismantled. As has been pointed out before, these military bases, which are sometimes established in colonial territories in the name of the military and so-called world-wide interests of the big Powers—interests, by the way, which very often do not have much meaning in the lives of the territories on which those bases have been established—have often been used as springboards for attack against the citizens of these territories who legitimately seek to rid themselves of colonialism. We have drawn attention to that in operative paragraph 11, and indeed we are requesting the colonial Powers to dismantle those military bases.

33. We have also included in this draft the important principle, which indeed was approved last year, that struggles for liberation are legitimate, that they should be encouraged in every way and that the persons engaged in them should be regarded as worthy citizens and patriots of their country legitimately engaged in liquidating colonialism and freeing their countries from pressure and oppression.

34. Of course, we seek to have the mandate of the Special Committee renewed in the draft resolution. We believe that the existence of the Special Committee on colonialism has done very much for the process of decolonization. It has been a very useful body which has been keeping under close scrutiny what has been happening in those territories.

35. We have also emphasized the importance of visits outside Headquarters. We believe that these visits perform a very great service in dramatizing the involvement of the United Nations in practical solutions of problems confronting this world body. It is all very well to adopt resolutions. Many of them, unfortunately, do not have much chance of implementation. But in the area of colonialism much can be done, and indeed much has already been done. We believe that this kind of direct involvement in the areas where colonialism exists serves as a source of inspiration to those persons engaged in struggles. We think that these visits have proved their value. Thus we recommend that they should be continued and that provision should be made for that.

36. Finally, this draft resolution in fact contains nothing very new. All it seeks to do is to place in one resolution what we believe these problems to be and what solutions can be recommended. We believe that, at the stage which the debate has reached at the United Nations, we should be able to seek new measures to solve these unfortunately old problems—for example, as I said before, the recognition that colonialism in all its forms really belongs to the category of crimes against humanity. We believe that these struggles, like the struggles of patriots and liberation fighters, should be recognized as being legitimate.

37. We are also emphasizing the fact that colonialism, in its present odious manifestations, has very powerful undertones of racism. We find this clique, this alliance, this entente strongly established in the southern part of Africa, in South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia. This alliance should be recognized for what it is, and active steps should be taken to break it up.

38. We also recognize the fact that, were it not for the practices and activities of monopolies and were it not for the activities of those nationals in colonial Territories who pretend to be against colonialism, colonialism would not continue to be a cancer in the international community today.

39. We have brought out all those facts, and we hope that all those delegations which have said on many occasions how much they abhor colonialism in all its forms and how very anxious they are to do all they can to get rid of colonialism in our time will find no difficulty in supporting this draft resolution.

40. The PRESIDENT: The draft resolution has been introduced by the representative of Sierra Leone on behalf of its sponsors. I wish to thank the sponsors of the draft resolution for their co-operation in submitting it at an early stage of the debate. I consider this to be very constructive co-operation because those who wish to speak on the draft resolution during the general debate will have before them the document on which the Assembly may take action. I am also grateful to them for being able to introduce this draft resolution at this early stage and to explain its purposes.

41. I call on the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, one of the sponsors of the draft resolution, in further clarification of the purposes of the provisions of that draft.

42. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania): Tanzania, as one of the co-sponsors, wishes to make a few comments on the draft resolution [A/L.506] which has been introduced by the representative of Sierra Leone. My delegation was gratified to note, Mr. President, that you told us this morning that we could make general comments on the draft resolution as we went along, and my delegation will indeed do that. I feel that if I were to comment on it paragraph by paragraph, I would be repeating what has already been said by the representative of Sierra Leone. Nevertheless, in order to make absolutely clear the whole picture concerning the draft resolution, I shall try, as far as I can in my short statement, to bring out the true picture of the draft resolution.

43. It is now six years since the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted in the Assembly, yet today, we are still discussing the question of colonialism, simply because certain Powers have refused to comply with the provisions of that resolution. And indeed, as pointed out by the representative of Sierra Leone, we note this fact in one of the preambular paragraphs.

44. My delegation wants to stress the urgent need of granting independence to colonial countries and peoples, and indeed the fulfilment of this responsibility is extremely urgent in Africa and the world over. If we are to be saved from the explosions that could lead

to another world war, then decolonization has to be completed now.

45. For centuries Africa has suffered under foreign domination and, indeed, exploitation. Today about one-third of Africa is still languishing under colonialism, imperialism and racial humiliation. The enslavement and abuses of Africa and the African people by the colonialists, imperialists and racist régimes are as intolerable as they are an affront to all mankind.

46. But let me emphasize once again that the people of Africa have made a solemn decision. The Organization of African Unity and the freedom fighters of such colonies have resolved to bring the continued humiliation of Africa to an immediate end; and I must say that this resolute desire is indeed endorsed by resolution 1514 (XV), adopted by the General Assembly and in fact recalled in one of the operative paragraphs of our draft resolution. It is, however, not surprising that some colonial Powers are scared of the freedom movement. But it must be clear to them that they are fooling nobody but themselves by displaying the ostrich mentality.

47. They can never succeed in hiding from the world the wicked inhuman practices being perpetuated in the colonies, which are being exposed by men of goodwill and by the United Nations through the Committee of Twenty-four. Let me, however, add that it is very disappointing to note that, even at this late hour, a small but powerful minority of Members of this Organization are still practising colonialism and are continuing to give moral, economic, military and other forms of assistance to such inhuman and doomed régimes as those of Salazar, Vorster and Smith. Indeed, again, this point has been noted in our draft resolution. Needless to say, such Powers still continue to help Salazar, Vorster and Smith with economic and military material to fight against the principles of human freedom and human dignity. Let me here stress the role played by the Western Powers. I know that some delegations here will tell us that we are trying to be one-sided by making such references, but, nevertheless, the Committee of Twenty-four has gathered ample evidence to prove our case. That is why we have included this fact in our draft resolution.

48. The Western Powers must understand that, by supporting colonialism, they are indeed eroding the very authority of the United Nations. We cannot continue to speak in terms of human rights; we cannot continue to adopt conventions on human rights and pretend that we are bringing progress to humanity by these mere declarations of intention, unless we are able to defeat colonialism. At present this is the major challenge both to human dignity and, indeed, to human freedom.

49. Let me assure some of the Western Powers that it is definitely in their interest that the process of decolonization should be completed. Failure to complete it may lead us to a catastrophe that the very Charter of the United Nations intended to avoid. It will not be an exaggeration if I say that the clouds of this catastrophe can now be seen in Southern Rhodesia.

50. Before, however, I take up some of the major items on the question of decolonization, I want to stress

once again what we have so often maintained, and that is that colonialism is indeed a crime against humanity. I need not add that this expression will appear very often in our draft resolutions. We have seen how the colonial régimes have perpetuated these crimes since the advent of colonialism in Africa and, indeed the world over. Thus, in the Congo, King Leopold murdered over one million Africans; the Germans in South West Africa reduced the population of the heroic Herero people by hundreds of thousands; in Tanganyika—now Tanzania—in 1895 the Germans murdered over 150,000 people; in the Sudan, the gallant people under the leadership of the Mahdi were mercilessly murdered.

51. All these were perpetuations and are perpetuations of colonial adventures still continuing in the remaining Territories in Africa, and, indeed, the world over. For example, I need not recall the fact that over 300,000 people were mercilessly murdered in Angola in 1961, most of them defenceless women and children. I need not recall the thousands of defenceless women and children who are daily being murdered by the Portuguese colonizers in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea.

52. May I remind Members that thousands of people in Southern Rhodesia, in South West Africa, in South Africa and in the Portuguese colonies are languishing in gaols for the simple reason that they stand for freedom. If all these crimes cannot be termed a crime against humanity, as we have termed them in our draft resolution, then my delegation would wonder what the originators of this word meant it to be. If then we can accept that these crimes committed by some of the colonial Powers are crimes against humanity, I wonder why this international community cannot do something about it.

53. If the international community is to fulfil responsibilities to humanity, something must be done about these crimes. In fact, I would go to the extent of suggesting that it is high time that we set up a machinery in the United Nations that would look into these crimes and indeed go into the matter of how best they can be punished.

54. It would be an abdication of its responsibility if the United Nations were just to sit by while a part of the human race was being subjected to such barbarous tortures. Let us rise to our responsibility so that future generations will not accuse us of having condoned such crimes.

55. I should now like to turn my attention to some of the most pressing problems in the field of decolonization. I shall first take up the question of Rhodesia. I know that this item is being debated in another forum of this Organization. Nevertheless, I want to point out that the full responsibility for this state of affairs lies indeed in the hands of the British Government, which, in our view—I repeat: which, in our view—has handled the whole question of Southern Rhodesia from a racist point of view. We have also been very disappointed by the stand taken on this issue by some Western Powers. While we have been given sweet words, the actions by such Powers have proved that they do not believe in those words.

56. With respect to the United Kingdom, we cannot but doubt its sincerity—simply because every time it has intended to take certain action it has announced that action in advance in order to give Smith time in which to prepare himself to meet such a challenge. Thus, while we were talking about voluntary sanctions, Smith was preparing himself to meet voluntary sanctions, and while we are raising a fuss about the so-called selective sanctions, which are now being discussed in the Security Council and which, in any case, were announced in September, Smith has been given a period of three months in which to prepare himself.

57. Smith is now planning how to overcome a blockade. Should these selective sanctions fail, and I am sure they will, Britain will find itself compelled to come again to the United Nations to request such a blockade.

58. Why cannot our Western friends see reason and understand that the only way to defeat Smith is by force? When we mentioned this last December, we were called all sorts of names. Some suggested that the Africans were being extremists; some suggested that the Africans were merely making empty statements; and some even went to the extent of impugning our motives. But now that the so-called voluntary sanctions of the United Kingdom Government, which were so strongly advocated by some of the Western Powers in this Assembly, have failed, we see no such condemnation of the United Kingdom Government.

59. I should like to repeat once again that the only way to defeat Smith is by force, and I believe that time is on our side and could prove us to be right. Smith is a selfish man, leading a group of selfish people. Smith is a narrow-minded man, leading a group of narrow-minded people. Smith is a tyrannical man, leading a group of tyrannical people who want to reserve Rhodesia to themselves, to the exclusion of 4 million Africans. The only type of reason that such a person or such a group of people can understand is force. Indeed, the treatment that has been accorded to Smith and his group as rebels will go down in history as one of the most flagrant racist acts that have ever been condoned by Great Britain, simply because Smith and his group are white.

60. Turning to the question of South West Africa, I should like to say that it is our hope that the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa will submit proposals that will lead the Territory to self-determination and independence, without the hand of South Africa in it. It is our hope that no Member of this Organization will try to frustrate the convening of a special session of the General Assembly, as envisaged in resolution 2145 (XXI) on South West Africa.

61. With respect to the question of Portuguese colonies, one cannot but regret that, so far, Portugal has not had sufficient sense to decolonize. We have said on several occasions that colonialism constitutes a form of aggression in itself, and indeed Portuguese colonialism is in itself an aggression against the people of Africa. I need not recount the numerous occasions on which independent African States have had to complain against the aggressive acts of Portugal directed against them. The most recent act was the aggression by Portugal committed against Tanzania on 29 November 1966. We know the motives of these Portuguese

acts. First, they aim at diverting world attention from the murderous crimes committed by Portugal in its African colonies. Secondly, they aim at trying hypocritically to show the world that there are no freedom fighters in the Portuguese colonies, that there is only infiltration from the neighbouring independent States.

62. These manoeuvres, however, will not take Portugal very far, for the game which colonial Portugal is trying to play is very well known to us. I want to take this opportunity solemnly to warn Portugal again that the Tanzanian Government and people will not tolerate these acts of provocation. Indeed, may I add that the independent African States will no longer tolerate these acts of provocation.

63. I must, however, rededicate the Government and the people of Tanzania to supporting those who are fighting against such colonialism in Africa. Indeed, this rededication is reflected in our draft resolution when we say that we recognize the legitimacy of the struggle of the people under colonial domination and when we call upon Governments to give moral and material support to such people. Tanzania will not fail to pay any price to get the Portuguese colonizers out of Africa. Their aggressive designs, however, seem to be directed against Tanzania, Zambia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea and Senegal. It is my honest belief that it is high time for these countries to undertake joint action to convince Portugal that these provocations will no longer be tolerated.

64. I should now like to turn to the question of aid given by certain countries to colonial Portugal, especially military aid, and here I want to single out the United States. It is indeed shameful that this huge democratic country should, in our century, be the major supplier of arms to a colonial Power, knowing that these arms will be used against our people who are struggling for their independence. The mere denial of this in public will not help the United States. Our hearts in Africa are deeply wounded that our people should be killed by weapons from the United States. This is a very serious charge. We appeal to the people of goodwill in the United States and to their Government to redress our wounds. In fact, the democratic people of the United States should be fighting on our side to defeat fascism in Africa, for indeed if freedom is to mean anything it must have as much meaning in Africa as the people of the United States would like it to have for them.

65. I should like now to touch on the question of small territories, which indeed is reflected in our draft resolution. As a matter of fact, we can no longer speak about the small territories without saying something about military bases, for these small territories or islands are slowly being turned into ugly fortresses of destruction. I intend, however, to speak on military bases later.

66. My delegation suggests that a serious view be taken, and indeed a serious study made, of the problems of small territories. At the moment, the colonial Powers are slowly coercing some of these territories with a view to absorbing them. Thus, we are given a flood of reasons, among which the question of economic viability is always quoted—as though independence and

freedom were commodities interchangeable with money. My delegation is strongly of the view that the United Nations must make a study of this problem, so as to find alternatives for such territories, and the colonial Powers should put measures for this purpose before the peoples of such territories. What is happening in these small territories is the furtherance of colonialization, even to the extent that islands only ten miles apart are encouraged to feel different from one another. We see an excellent example of this in the Caribbean. I am of the view that the Caribbean should be encouraged to co-operate instead of seeking affiliations with colonial Powers. This is also true in the Indian Ocean and in the Far East. Sometimes you find one island divided between two colonial Powers.

67. My delegation believes that hasty measures for absorbing these territories are unacceptable both to ourselves and to the peoples of the territories, especially when such measures are arrived at behind the back of the United Nations. In this regard, it is of vital importance that special attention be given by the United Nations to the way in which colonial peoples are continually being rushed into referenda by certain administering Powers. For experience has shown us that in several cases certain administering Powers have, in calculated fashion, stage-managed referenda giving the colonized people the option of either fully associating themselves with the metropolitan country or of remaining what those Powers would term "autonomous" entities under the colonial Power. In either case it is a continuation of colonial domination. Furthermore, inasmuch as the colonialists arrogate to themselves the power to lay down the rules for the conduct of such referenda, the inconsistencies involved therein need no deep analysis. We are thus categorically opposed to such high-handed behaviour of the colonialists and to the railroading of peoples and territories into annexation.

68. It thus follows only naturally that the United Nations, in order to play a concrete role, of necessity must not only act as a mere observer invited by an administering Power to witness such discredited behaviour; it should and must also participate in the preparation and conduct of any and all such referenda as will give the colonial peoples a clear-cut opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

69. May I now turn to the question of military bases, which, if I may repeat myself, is reflected in our draft resolution.

70. We in Tanzania are completely opposed to the installation of military bases in colonial territories. We see no useful purpose served by them, especially when such bases are used for purposes alien to the people of a territory. We are sometimes told that such bases are a matter of contract between the parties concerned. We have serious doubts concerning the wisdom of entering into a contract with an enslaved people. And in cases such as these, the colonial Powers are indeed in a fiduciary position; hence such contracts cannot be regarded as legally constituted and truly binding contracts. I know that in other forums of this Organization we are attempting to solve the problem of disarmament. In order, then, to further this good aim, the colonial

Powers must dismantle their military bases in colonial territories.

71. It is our earnest hope that this call will be heeded. We do not like to involve colonized peoples in a blanket of consummation just because certain Powers are involved in a selfish global struggle to dominate the world.

72. Finally, I wish to turn to the question of the Committee of Twenty-four. We feel that the work of this Committee should be continued, as indeed we have indicated in our draft resolution. In actual fact, when one looks at the number of countries that have attained independence since 1960, one sees what good work that Committee has done. And indeed, the admission of Barbados to membership in this body only this morning [1487th meeting] is testimony to what I am saying. We therefore feel that it would be right for its mandate to be extended. However, we believe that the Committee should continue to meet outside New York so that it may work in conditions where it can profit by the presence of petitioners who cannot come to New York. This too we have stated in our draft resolution.

73. We appeal to the colonial Powers to allow visiting missions into their territories. In this way the United Nations could play a useful role in the process of decolonizing the remaining territories. We have on several occasions been told of the difficulties facing the colonial Powers in such territories. It is our hope that those Powers will allow the United Nations to go and see for itself.

74. Let me now turn to the question of monopolies. Here I need hardly recall the report of the Committee of Twenty-four with regard to this matter. Nevertheless, I would like to point out to Members that in the last operative paragraph we have asked the General Assembly to include this item, and we do hope that it will be possible for the General Assembly, during the twenty-second session, to debate this problem in full.

75. I need not add to what is contained in the report, of how the monopolies have helped to impede the progress of colonized peoples towards independence. I will simply say that we have found that such monopolies not only practise the laws of apartheid, not only practise the laws of discrimination, but even go to the extent of paying contributions—money—to the colonial Powers, money which is then used in murderous activities against the freedom fighters. Indeed, we in Africa cannot but conclude that such monopolies are impeding the progress of African peoples towards self-determination and independence. And it is with this in mind that we have included in our draft resolution operative paragraph 20, so that the Assembly, during its twenty-second session, may be able to study this matter in full and make proposals that would bring an end to it.

76. In conclusion, let me repeat again the urgency of decolonization. Time is running short, and what is even more needed is action rather than words. Especially in Africa, the struggle to win back our dignity has reached the stage where those who are not with us are indeed against us. Let us unite against this evil and thereby hasten the day when all mankind may live in freedom and brotherhood.

77. I wish to rededicate the support of the Government and people of Tanzania to all those struggling to be

free. May I take this opportunity to thank all those delegations which have supported this cause in the United Nations. We regard their support as an act of solidarity and friendship that can be relied upon. And here, in this regard, I should like particularly to mention the countries of Latin America and the Socialist countries for the valuable support they have given us in this field of decolonization.

78. May I once again express the hope that it will be possible for this draft resolution to be adopted perhaps unanimously. I know that some of the colonial Powers will come here and try to point out that this draft resolution is impossible. I know that some colonial Powers will come here and try to translate this draft resolution into a cold war item. But, as I have said in another place, the days when the question of the cold war can be exploited have gone; the days when world public opinion can be deceived on such grounds have gone. The days of decolonization have come; the days when we must all stand together in order to give freedom to those under bondage have now come. I do hope once again that it will be possible for this draft resolution to be adopted unanimously. Of course, I must say here that I know there are two delegations—those of Portugal and South Africa—that will not be able to support this draft resolution. Indeed, if they were to support it we would indeed have to examine the possibility that there was perhaps something wrong with it.

AGENDA ITEM 87*

Consideration of principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (continued):

- (a) Report of the 1966 Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General on methods of fact-finding

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/6547)

79. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Iran, who has asked to speak on a point of clarification with regard to agenda item 87.

80. Mr. FARTASH (Iran) (translated from French): I apologize for taking the Assembly's time to request a clarification. During the discussion of agenda item 87, most of the members of the Sixth Committee were busy in the Working Group and could not therefore attend the plenary meeting of the Assembly. The fact that the Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee was himself absent and was unable to present his report proves the point. Moreover, one need only look at the result of the voting — namely, fifty-two votes in favour, with one abstention — to realize that the representatives concerned with this question were not present. The agenda item in question is an extremely important one. We should not forget that the Sixth Committee has had the matter under discussion since the seventeenth session and that the Special Committee has already discussed it at two sessions.

81. In the circumstances, I wonder whether it would not be possible to schedule this item for reconsideration.

*See also paras. 19-22 above.

tion at a future plenary meeting of the Assembly so that it can be discussed as it deserves to be, so that the Rapporteur can present his report, and so that the members of the Assembly can, if need be, express their opinions or explain their votes.

82. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Iran for raising the point of clarification. Indeed, he has brought to the attention of the Assembly a matter which is of importance to us all.

83. Before I deal with the point he has raised, I should like to say that, as is clear from the adoption of resolutions and measures by the Assembly this afternoon, before this draft resolution was put to a vote the Assembly was convened with the right quorum of representatives present. Once a meeting is convened with a quorum, and once the Assembly is in a position to take action, if some representatives leave their seats for any reason it creates an unforeseeable situation.

84. The second point I should like to make is that the item was scheduled to be dealt with this afternoon, and the order of the items had been quite clearly announced before in The Journal, and all representatives knew that this item would be dealt with this afternoon. It was expected that representatives would be present when the plenary meeting was convened for the consideration of this item.

85. The absence of the Rapporteur, referred to by the representative of Iran, cannot, in accordance with the rules, necessitate the Assembly's taking a recess until the Rapporteur arrives to make a statement. That applies equally to any representative who is entitled to make a statement; he can do so only when he is present. In the case of Rapporteurs we had the advantage of having the report of the Rapporteur under his name among the United Nations documents before us and, therefore, when I saw that the Rapporteur was not present, I introduced the document and, with no speaker on the list ready to speak, proceeded to act on the draft resolution. There was no suggestion from the Assembly at that time for a recess, which any representative was entitled to make.

86. I have made these remarks as a clarification of the observations of the representative of Iran for the purpose of the record to indicate that the proceedings in the Assembly were in order, as far as the Chair is concerned, and I should like to know if there is any objection to this statement. There is no objection.

87. Now, coming to the suggestion made by the representative of Iran, I personally think that it is of importance to consider his suggestion. He has suggested the reconsideration of this item: I do not personally have any objection to that procedure. But such reconsideration needs the consent of the Assembly.

88. If there is no objection to the suggestion of reconsideration I shall take it that the Assembly agrees with it. If the Assembly so agrees we shall proceed in accordance with the rules of procedure to take care of the matter.

It was so decided.

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)

89. Mr. HUNEEUS (Chile) (translated from Spanish): In a few days, it will be the sixth anniversary of the day on which the General Assembly adopted resolution 1514 (XV), which contains the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Declaration, which constitutes one of the most important advances in the progressive development of peoples towards complete independence, justifies a pause to consider what has been achieved.

90. Much has been accomplished in the last few years. Nevertheless, much remains to be done. While the world moves and progresses towards a genuine international community, the peoples are awakening and are entering into communication with each other. The inhabitants of former empires and the peoples of the new nations are coming together in an unending process of adjustment to changing circumstances.

91. At this session of the General Assembly we are reflecting, in a certain sense, on the events that have taken place over the years. We have drawn up a balance sheet of the advances that have been made in the field of decolonization, and we have also pointed to the long and difficult road that lies ahead of us, the hard road which characterizes the struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed, which separates the peoples, the highest expression of the common man, from the harsh world of interests, the ultimate expression of exploitation.

92. Since the end of the Second World War, the world has experienced a succession of drastic changes and, since the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV), these changes have progressively accelerated. The United Nations has advanced with the times and it is for this reason that we here in this General Assembly are drawing up a balance sheet of what has so far been accomplished in the field of decolonization.

93. This has been a year of accomplishment. The delegation of Chile enthusiastically welcomed the independence of four new nations which are now Members of the United Nations. On an earlier occasion we welcomed Guyana, Botswana and Lesotho. We take this opportunity today to salute Barbados, a country which has joined us as a Member of the United Nations.

94. Our satisfaction is, none the less, mingled with tragedy. It is with profound alarm that we view the southern tip of the African continent. It is with the greatest regret that we observe the shadow that covers that far corner of the African continent, which keeps in darkness an immense, oppressed and subjugated population who are compelled in the middle of the twentieth century to suffer the scourge of colonialism.

95. The so-called policy of apartheid imposed by the Government of South Africa upon the oppressed masses of its Territory and of the Territory of South West Africa constitutes a real crime against humanity. The racist minority which governs the African population

of Southern Rhodesia is another point of tension which must be eliminated.

96. Finally, the colonial policy of Portugal in respect of the Territories of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea completes the circle of oppression and poverty in that region of the world. The just struggle against colonialism will not be concluded in that part of the world until the last vestiges of colonial power have been extirpated.

97. But many territories are still under the colonial yoke, and not all of them are in Africa. Foreign rule also extends to the continents of Asia, America, Oceania and even Europe.

98. The United Nations alone cannot complete the process of decolonization without the full co-operation of its Member States. My delegation understands and applauds the work of the Special Committee of Twenty-four in this regard. Its labours have been fruitful. It has enabled petitioners from all corners of the world to come and state their problems. It has enabled representatives of the United Nations to travel to the oppressed territories and recommend practical measures to permit the people to achieve self-government and independence. Finally, it has made possible a general acceleration of the process of decolonization, permitting the oppressed peoples to express their aspirations for freedom.

99. Unhappily, the Committee's work has not always enjoyed the co-operation of all countries. For this reason, the delegation of Chile wishes on this occasion to appeal to the allies of countries which do not comply with the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV).

100. So long as they continue to support countries which violate basic human rights, give them military assistance and fail to take effective measures to control trade with them, so long as they do not take real measures to end oppression, nothing — I repeat, nothing will have been achieved and the problem of substance will remain, perhaps for many years, without a solution.

101. My delegation accordingly appeals most earnestly to all States to tackle the problem of decolonization wholeheartedly and with determination. Without their full co-operation, years will go by and the problem will still be unsolved.

102. The Chilean delegation would like to refer to the question of the small Territories. This is a very special and delicate problem to which time and thought must be given. General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX) specifically referred to the small Territories and asked the Special Committee to give them special attention and recommended to the General Assembly appropriate measures to enable their peoples to exercise fully their rights of self-determination and independence. Chile has supported that position in both the General Assembly and the Special Committee, of which we have been a member for some years, and we will continue to support it in the future. Chile considers that in many territories with small populations and limited resources the application of the principles of self-determination and independence may involve different measures from those appropriate to other more developed territories with larger populations. The march of time, however, outstrips events; we must appreciate that often the inhabitants of those far-off islands must first adapt themselves to changed circumstances so that they will understand their position in a vast universe that all too frequently is alien to them.

103. Chile wishes to reaffirm, once again, its intention to fight for the cause of the colonial peoples. It wishes to state clearly that it will spare no effort to help the oppressed masses who suffer in their own persons the inhumane policy of colonialism.

104. Finally, in addition to voicing its full approval of the Special Committee's report, the delegation of Chile expresses its full confidence in the work the United Nations is carrying out in the field of decolonization.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.