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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ (Afghanistan).

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 (concluded):

- (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)

1. The PRESIDENT: In connexion with this agenda item, I should like once again to confirm the statement I made on the point of clarification raised by the representative of Iran last Friday [1488th meeting], which is on record. Moreover, I should like to express my appreciation to the Chairman of the Sixth Committee for the letter he has kindly written to me in which he has stressed his regret over the incident.

Mr. Arangio-Ruiz (Italy), Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee, presented the report of that Committee and then spoke as follows.

2. Mr. ARANGIO-RUIZ (Italy), Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee: The Sixth Committee had before it the report of the 1966 Special Committee on Prin-

ciples of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States [A/6230], drafted under the highly competent guidance of Professor Riphagen of the Netherlands. The Sixth Committee also had at its disposal the equally excellent report of Dr. Blix of Sweden on the first, Mexico City, session of the Special Committee,^{1/} and the very valuable studies prepared by the Secretariat^{2/} in connexion with the 1964 and 1966 sessions. To those materials must be added, of course, the records of the Sixth Committee debates on "friendly relations" since 1962, and General Assembly resolutions 1815 (XVII), 1816 (XVII), 1966 (XVIII), 2103 (XX) and 2104 (XX).

3. In addition to the law of "friendly relations", the Sixth Committee also considered the question of "methods of fact-finding", in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 2104 (XX) and on the basis of reports of the Secretary-General and of comments of Governments.

4. Regarding so-called friendly relations, the Sixth Committee considered very broadly and in considerable depth, both substantive and procedural questions arising in connexion with the codification and progressive development of the seven known principles: the prohibition of the threat or use of force; the principle of peaceful settlement of international disputes; the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State in accordance with the Charter; the sovereign equality of States; the duty of States to co-operate with one another in accordance with the Charter; the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and the principle that States shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.

5. With respect to the substance, the discussion was mainly directed to a further clarification of the positions of Member Governments on the individual principles, as well as on the nature and form of the declaration which the General Assembly should eventually be able to adopt on the basis of the work of the Special Committee. For purposes of brevity, I shall abstain from mentioning any details concerning either the individual principle or the declaration. These points are covered by part III of the report [A/6547].

6. With regard to procedure and method, the Sixth Committee considered the best ways and means through which the work of codification and progressive development of the seven principles should be further pursued. As all the representatives who spoke agreed that the only organ suitable to pursue such work was

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda items 90 and 94, document A/5746.

^{2/} Documents A/C.6/L.537/Rev.1 and Corr.1 and Rev.1/Add.1.

a special committee, the procedural aspect of the debate and the proposals were confined to the re-establishment of such a body and to the definition of its terms of reference. It was generally agreed that the Special Committee of 1966 should be reconvened. Some differences manifested themselves with respect to the terms of reference of the 1967 session of the Special Committee. These differences concerned in particular:

(a) Whether the Special Committee should consider all the seven principles of friendly relations, or only those the formulation of which had not been the subject of agreed texts in the 1964 and 1966 sessions;

(b) Whether the five principles on which no agreed text were available should be treated in the same manner or whether special instructions should be given by the General Assembly concerning one principle.

7. Although different opinions were expressed, with many nuances, with respect to the measure and kind of attention which the Special Committee should give to the two principles on which agreed texts were available, namely, the sovereign equality of States and the principle of peaceful settlement of international disputes, it was agreed that the Special Committee, having considered as a matter of priority the five principles on which no agreed texts were available, should consider any additional proposals concerning sovereign equality and peaceful settlement with a view to widening the areas of agreement expressed in the formulations of the 1966 session.

8. As regards the other five principles, no differences of opinion revealed themselves in the course of the debate with respect to the work to be carried out on the prohibition of the threat or use of force, on the duty of States to co-operate with one another, on the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and on the principle that States shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter. Differences of opinion arose, on the other hand, with respect to the principle of non-intervention.

9. In the 1966 session, the Special Committee was divided, in connexion with the formulation of this principle, with respect to the value that it should attach to General Assembly resolution 2131 (XX), concerning the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty. According to a number of members of the Special Committee, resolution 2131 (XX) was a political statement of the General Assembly of high value which, as such, constituted a fundamental source of inspiration for the Special Committee in discussing and drafting the legal enunciation of the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States. Those same representatives felt that, while paying due regard to resolution 2131 (XX), the Special Committee should not consider that resolution as qualitatively different from any other source of knowledge of the law or of legal interpretation available to it for the purposes of the codification and progressive development of the principle in question. A greater number of representatives, however, believed that the existence of resolution 2131 (XX) created, with respect to the principle of non-inter-

vention, a situation different from that which prevailed with respect to the other principles. According to these representatives—and I omit, for the sake of brevity, the many "nuances" of their positions—resolution 2131 (XX) was the legal enunciation of the principles of non-intervention, adopted as such by the General Assembly. Consequently, the Special Committee, while free to use all available sources for the codification and progressive development of the principle of non-intervention, should, as far as concerns non-intervention, "abide" by resolution 2131 (XX).

10. A vote taken in the 1966 session of the Special Committee showed that this latter view prevailed by a considerable majority. It was on this very same issue that the Sixth Committee was again divided in the course of the debate on the terms of reference of the 1967 session. In more or less equal proportions, as in the last session of the Special Committee, the members of the Sixth Committee restated, with varying degrees of emphasis, the views that had been expressed last spring. It must be noted, however, that, when the time finally came for deliberation on the terms of reference of the 1967 session, a certain compromise was reached between the two opposing sides. According to this compromise, the Special Committee is, in the words of draft resolution I recommended for adoption by the Assembly,

"to consider proposals on the principle concerning the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, in accordance with the Charter, with the aim of widening the area of agreement already obtained in General Assembly resolution 2131 (XX)" [A/6547, para. 88].

11. If one compares the words I have just quoted with the wording of the resolution by which the 1966 session of the Special Committee adopted the majority view [A/6230, para. 341], it will appear that perhaps a step forward has been made towards reducing the differences between the two opposing doctrines on the value of resolution 2131 (XX). As a number of representatives stressed in the statements they made after the vote had been taken on draft resolution I, the 1967 session should be able to avoid lengthy discussions on the value of resolution 2131 (XX) and deal with the principle of non-intervention in such a fashion as to be able to take account not only of resolution 2131 (XX), but of the proposals which any member of the Special Committee may make, in order to widen the area of agreement and achieve a generally acceptable legal enunciation of the principle of non-intervention.

12. According to the resolution I have quoted, the 1967 session of the Special Committee should meet at such time as to be able to report to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. In addition to the further elaboration of each one of the seven principles, the 1967 session also has a mandate to produce by that time a comprehensive draft declaration embodying the legal enunciation of all seven principles.

13. On fact-finding, the Sixth Committee had before it a report of the Secretary-General [A/6228] in pursuance of resolution 2104 (XX) of 20 December 1965 and a number of comments submitted by Govern-

ments. This item was also considered by the Sixth Committee.

14. As regards the substance of the item, while all speakers recognized the importance of fact-finding for both the maintenance of peace and security and the peaceful settlement of disputes, differing views were expressed about the desirability of its development and about the most suitable kind of machinery or machineries. Those differences were particularly evident with respect to the choice between permanent machinery and *ad hoc* fact-finding bodies. The debate on this matter centred around the question raised by the suggestion, contained in written comments of the Government of the Netherlands [A/6373], that a new, permanent fact-finding body be established. The competence of such a body would be entirely on a voluntary basis, and confined in any case to the establishment of facts relating to disputes or to the execution of international agreements. A variety of views were expressed on this suggestion, and a number of representatives reserved their positions.

15. With regard to procedure, namely, the action to be taken by the General Assembly in the current session of fact-finding, it was agreed that neither the 1964 Special Committee, to which the question of fact-finding had been referred, nor the Sixth Committee had been able fully to discuss the subject. According to the draft resolution finally adopted by the Committee, the item of fact-finding should be placed on the provisional agenda of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly for it to consider further appropriate action.

16. The original proposal of the sponsors of the draft resolution, actually went further [see A/6547, para. 21]. Paragraph 7 of the preamble to that draft resolution provided that the Main Committee dealing with the item at the twenty-second session of the General Assembly should have the assistance of a working group on fact-finding appointed by the Chairman of that Committee, in order to ensure adequate study by the Main Committee itself of the complex relevant materials. The co-sponsors of the draft resolution and the opponents of paragraph 7 later agreed on a compromise in the sense that paragraph 7 would be deleted in order to ensure wider support for the basic proposal; this was done on the understanding that the sponsors of the draft resolution maintained their position and that that understanding should be recorded in the report of the Sixth Committee. The relevant draft resolution appears as draft resolution II [A/6547, para. 43]. Mention of the understanding is given in paragraph 80.

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

17. The PRESIDENT: In addition to the report of the Sixth Committee [A/6547] the Assembly has before it the report of the Fifth Committee [A/6564] on the financial implications of draft resolution I recommended by the Sixth Committee.

18. The General Assembly will now take a decision on the proposals before it. The draft resolutions recommended by the Sixth Committee appear in para-

graph 80 of document A/6547. I put to the vote draft resolution I. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras.

Against: None.

Abstaining: United States of America, France.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 85 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

19. The PRESIDENT: I now draw the attention of Members to draft resolution II. This draft resolution was adopted unanimously by the Sixth Committee. If there is no objection, I shall regard it as being adopted unanimously also by the General Assembly.

Draft resolution II was adopted unanimously.

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

21. Mr. KHLESTOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Speaking in explanation of its vote on draft resolution II, regarding methods of fact-finding, as set forth in the Sixth Committee's report to the General Assembly [A/6547, para. 88], the Soviet delegation would like to state the following.

22. During the consideration in the Committee of the draft resolution on the question of methods of fact-finding, the Soviet delegation, like many other delegations, pointed out that it was opposed to the setting up of any kind of permanent body for fact-finding in possible disputes and conflicts between States. In doing so, we pointed out that we attach great importance to fact-finding in such cases and we hold that the Security Council, as the organ which, under the United Nations Charter, bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, can establish any subsidiary organs, including also those necessary for fact-finding in conflicts or disputes between States. We also pointed out that there are other possibilities, too, for fact-finding during international disputes, provided for under international agreements to which States may have recourse.

23. The Soviet delegation, and also representatives of a number of other States, have declared that they see no objection to the above-mentioned draft resolution, which has a procedural character, and have emphasized in doing so that that fact does not in any way affect their position on the matter in question. We should now like to stress once more that the fact that we did not object just now to the draft resolution on methods of fact-finding in no way affects the position which our delegation explained at this session, along with other delegations, on this question. That fact also cannot in any way affect the position which we will consider it necessary to adopt in future either on the substance of the question of "methods of fact-finding", or in regard to the procedural aspects connected with its further consideration.

24. We have made this statement in order once again to make it quite clear what our position is on this issue, a position which has already been explained both by our delegation and by the delegations of a number of other countries.

25. Mr. TEJA (India): Like many other delegations that spoke in the Sixth Committee in the discussion of this question, my delegation was not completely satisfied with certain assumptions underlying certain paragraphs of draft resolution II but then, as now, it voted in favour of it, since it does not wish to come in the way of the smooth working of the Assembly. I wish to make it clear, for the record, that our position in the vote on this item should not be interpreted to imply any support for the idea of establishing new international fact-finding bodies. We are of the view that the existing institutional and *ad hoc* devices are adequate for the purpose of fact-finding.

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)

26. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker on the list for the general debate on this item is the representative of Romania.

27. Mr. TILINCA (Romania): The representative of Romania who will speak on this item is not ready and wishes to take the floor later on.

28. The PRESIDENT: I should like to recall once again what has been stated and practised throughout the meetings of the General Assembly: if a certain representative is not ready to speak in the order in which his name is inscribed, he will be given the floor at the end of the meeting.

29. Mr. SHEVCHENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): Nearly six years have elapsed since the memorable day when, in this hall, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, a document of historic importance was adopted—the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It was a great triumph for the freedom-loving and peace-loving forces of the present day. The vitality of that document and its importance have been confirmed by all the events that have happened

since, which have convincingly shown that the historical fate of colonialism is predetermined and that there is and can be no return to it.

30. In adopting the Declaration, our Organization laid down definite principles of international law regarding colonial problems. In particular, it declared that "the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation". Our Organization thereby recognized as legitimate and just the struggle of the colonial peoples for their freedom and independence.

31. We believe it is appropriate and expedient to recall this fact today when certain Governments are unstinting in verbal declarations on their "devotion to the United Nations Charter", on "collective responsibility for the future of this Organization" and so on, while, in fact, they boycott the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and make no contribution whatever to strengthening this Organization and enhancing its prestige.

32. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR considers that it is fundamentally important now, when the General Assembly is considering the progress of decolonization in the light of the report of the Committee of Twenty-four [A/6300/Rev.1], to make a very determined effort to get the colonial Powers to give a clear and articulate reply to the question what they have done in concrete terms to implement the Declaration. And, in particular, what reply have they given to paragraph 5 of that document, which reads: "Immediate—I emphasize 'immediate'—steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other Territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those Territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom".

33. It is a well-known fact—and this can be seen from the results of the work of the Committee of Twenty-four this year—that the colonialist Powers—now, as in the past, are trying to sabotage the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and of the numerous resolutions adopted by the Committee of Twenty-four, the General Assembly and the Security Council.

34. If that were not so, would we be noting today, six years after the adoption of the Declaration, that there are still more than eighty-five colonial territories with a population of about 50 million people?

35. Thanks to the persistent and stubborn struggle of peoples, with the support of all the anti-colonialist forces and with the support of the United Nations, the régimes of colonialist oppression have been eliminated in many Territories.

36. At the same time, however, one cannot but observe that at the present time the pace of the liberation of peoples has slowed down considerably. Many

delegations at the last, and also at the present, session of the General Assembly have expressed legitimate concern in this connexion.

37. Recent events show that the colonialist Powers have strengthened their resistance to the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Oceania for their final emancipation, and in particular sectors are counter-attacking.

38. This activation of the forces of colonialism has become possible because of the increased aggressiveness of modern imperialism, above all, of United States imperialism, which is committing aggression against the people of Viet-Nam. The United States is striving to convert Viet-Nam into a base for counter-attacks against other countries of Asia and Africa and to intimidate the peoples who are fighting for freedom and independence. In the last analysis this means that United States aggression in Viet-Nam represents a very serious challenge to the whole world national-liberation movement.

39. United States aggression in Viet-Nam, the intervention and subversive actions against African countries and the punitive operations of the United Kingdom in South Arabia—all these are links in a single chain of aggressive colonialist actions.

40. The colonialists and the neo-colonialists are doing everything possible in order to maintain their positions: economic difficulties, domestic contradictions, religious and national dissension, and so on.

41. Recent events show conclusively that it is essential for collective colonialism to be opposed by a mighty front of collective anti-colonialism. It is becoming more and more clear, as never before, that there is an urgent need for further unification of all the forces opposing aggression and colonialism. It was, after all, thanks to the unity of action of all the anti-colonial forces that decisive victories were won in the cause of the national liberation of hundreds of millions of people.

42. The principal strongholds of colonialism—that is, on the African continent—are the Republic of South Africa, South West Africa, the Portuguese colonial empire with Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea and, lastly Southern Rhodesia with its white minority racist régime. The struggle for the liberation of these territories is entering a truly decisive stage. The wave of the liberation movement is moving closer and closer to the frontiers of the Republic of South Africa. The further development of decolonization in the southern part of Africa depends largely on the development of events in Southern Rhodesia.

43. It can be affirmed that the solution of the problem of Southern Rhodesia has become a serious test for our Organization too, since the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly are being boycotted by the colonialists. It is common knowledge that the United Kingdom laid the foundation for today's racist régime by handing over to it armed forces and creating the economic and political conditions for the advent to power of the Smith régime and its subsequent proclamation of so-called independence. It is none other than the United Kingdom which, before the actual proclamation of this "independence", declared

that it did not propose to resort to force. The so-called sanctions announced by the United Kingdom were aimed not at all at liquidating the racist régime but at dragging out time in order to enable that régime to consolidate its forces. That purpose was also served by the long protracted "negotiations" between the United Kingdom and Smith, which have already rightly been condemned by the present session of the General Assembly [resolution 2138 (XXI)].

44. It seems likely that now, after Smith's rejection of the United Kingdom's latest proposals, a new game is being planned, designed to deceive Africa, our Organization and world public opinion. The United Kingdom programme of so-called "selective mandatory sanctions", proclaimed in the Security Council [1331st meeting] is not sufficient. This can already be seen from the fact that these measures are extremely limited in scope. The declaration made by the United Kingdom Foreign Secretary in the Security Council [1332nd meeting] to the effect that the United Kingdom Government would be agreeable to introducing an embargo on the supply of oil to Southern Rhodesia, if a proposal to that effect were worded "in acceptable form", creates the impression at first glance of being only yet another manoeuvre.

45. If, prior to the proclamation of "independence", the United Kingdom Government declared that it did not intend to resort to force (it is not intending to do this even now), then, in announcing on 5 December in the House of Commons the plans for the said sanctions, the Wilson Government hastened to declare that such sanctions should not develop into "a confrontation, whether economic or military involving the whole of southern Africa". But what does all this really mean?

46. It means that, with the help of the Security Council, it is desired to bring some pressure to bear on Smith, in order that he should agree to the colonialist deal proposed by the United Kingdom during the last meeting between Wilson and Smith.

47. The incontrovertible fact is that the United Kingdom is the principal culprit in the Southern Rhodesian drama. In our opinion, the United Kingdom cannot evade the responsibility for putting an end to the unlawful racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. For this purpose, the most resolute action is needed. In that connexion the Ukrainian delegation shares the approach of a number of African delegations which, both during the general debate and in the Fourth Committee discussion, and now, have advocated that the Security Council should adopt a decision to apply the enforcement measures provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

48. The racists and colonialists in Southern Rhodesia, Portugal and the Republic of South Africa are linked together by a pledge to help one another. We have to deal with a single colonialist stronghold embracing the southern part of Africa. So far our Organization has been dealing with the problems of Southern Rhodesia, the Portuguese Territories, apartheid in the Republic of South Africa and South West Africa as separate problems, although, even with such an approach, it was understood that they were interrelated. But has the time not come for the

Security Council and the General Assembly to consider this colonial problem as a single whole? We believe that the present session of the General Assembly should now draw the attention of all States to the dangerous consequences of the formation in the southern part of the African Continent of the tripartite alliance to which I have referred, and should urgently appeal to all States to refrain from giving any support, any help, or any co-operation to this alliance, which is directed towards preserving colonialist slavery and against the peoples of Africa. Assistance to any one of its members should be considered as assistance to the whole of this colonialist alliance.

49. Such an approach to the colonial problems in the southern part of Africa as a single whole is all the more justified since the single motive force of that collective colonialism is the activities of foreign financial and economic monopolies. Both the Smith régime and the rulers of the South African Republic and the Portuguese colonialists are merely tools in the hands of international monopolies and their authorized representatives.

50. Our delegation supports the condemnation of the activities of foreign monopolies in African territories, which is contained in the resolution of the Committee of Twenty-Four dated 22 June 1966 [A/6300/Rev.1, Chapter II, para. 619]. We are convinced that the Assembly should confirm this condemnation of the activities of foreign financial and economic monopolies in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, Bisao Guinea and all other colonial territories, which are directed towards maintaining colonial régimes, and should call upon the Governments of the countries concerned to take all necessary measures to put an end to those activities.

51. In summing up the results of the work of the Committee of Twenty-four in 1966, it should be pointed out that the Committee has, unquestionably, done valuable work in helping to unmask the policies of the colonialist Powers and the activities of foreign monopolies and in working out useful specific measures for the implementation of the anti-colonial Declaration.

52. The work done by the Committee in Africa was particularly successful and fruitful. That has been pointed out here by other delegations also. The General Assembly must, in our opinion, ask the Committee to continue carrying out its tasks connected with the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and endorse the programme of work outlined by it for 1967, including the possibility of holding a number of meetings in Africa and the dispatch of visiting groups to various Territories, in particular, to the areas of the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Oceans.

53. During the nearly six years which have elapsed since the adoption of the historic anti-colonial Declaration, the General Assembly has adopted quite a number of useful and constructive decisions aimed at implementing that Declaration. But the colonialist Powers have been ignoring and are continuing to ignore those decisions. This is how the United Kingdom has behaved and is behaving regarding the problems of Southern Rhodesia and Aden, and this, too, is how the Portuguese colonialists and the racists

in the Republic of South Africa have behaved and are behaving. The reason why they are refusing to submit to the will of this international forum is also well known: in carrying out their colonialist policy they all rely on the help and support of their friends and allies in a number of NATO countries.

54. In the opinion of our delegation, resolute and energetic action needs to be taken against the colonialists. This action must be carried out by the organ which, under the Charter, bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance and strengthening of peace and security—the Security Council. It is that organ which must deal directly and in real earnest with the consideration of colonialist problems which threaten and violate peace and security. Among the primary tasks of the Council in this connexion is the application of the enforcement measures, provided for under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, against Portugal, the Republic of South Africa, and also against those States that continue to give assistance to the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia, which must be liquidated by the United Kingdom Government in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2151 (XXI).

55. The Security Council must be the basic and decisive force for implementing the resolutions already adopted both by it and the General Assembly and must, first of all, adopt stern and radical measures against the "unholy alliance" of the colonialists in Africa, in order to compel them to get out, once and forever, from that long-suffering continent.

56. Our Organization must create and strengthen around the colonialists an atmosphere of general condemnation and non-tolerance. As was stated in the general debate at the current session of the General Assembly by Mr. Belokolos, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR:

"The present session of the General Assembly must clearly and unequivocally proclaim that the further existence of colonialism is a direct negation of those lofty ideals and purposes for which this Organization was created and that the policy of colonialism contradicts the spirit and purposes of the United Nations and is therefore a direct violation of its Charter." [1436th meeting, para. 121.]

57. The present session of the General Assembly must, in its resolution on the report of the Committee of Twenty-four, solemnly declare that the further continuance of colonialist régimes and of apartheid and racial discrimination, constitutes a crime against humanity.

58. Our delegation is glad to note that a number of delegations share this approach. That was very convincingly stated, more particularly, by the Chairman of the Committee of Twenty-four, Ambassador Collier [1485th meeting]. He quite rightly pointed out that the crimes now being committed by the colonialists resemble the crimes that were committed by the Nazis, a definition of which was given in the Statute of the Nürnberg Tribunal.

59. In the opinion of our delegation, a formal declaration by our Organization that the policy of colonialism is an action against the Charter and as serious an international crime as a crime against humanity,

will provide additional possibilities for the application to colonialists of the enforcement measures provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

60. In our opinion, these crimes committed by colonialists against humanity must be fully brought to the attention of all peoples. And, with this object in view, the present session of the General Assembly should request the Secretary-General to organize the regular distribution, through the appropriate United Nations services, of full information on the progress of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in order that world public opinion should be adequately informed about the crimes against humanity committed by the colonialists.

61. The present session of the General Assembly should, in our opinion, adopt a recommendation also on the fixing of time-limits for granting independence to colonial countries and peoples so as to ensure that the coming year, 1967, shall be the last year of the disgraceful colonial system.

62. Our Organization has recognized the legitimacy of the colonial peoples' struggle for the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence. It has also proposed that all States extend material and moral assistance to national-liberation movements. This appeal should receive the full support of all those who are genuinely in favour of the freedom and independence of peoples.

63. As regards the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, it has consistently supported, and is supporting, the resolute determination of the peoples to achieve the complete and final abolition of all colonial and racist régimes and the complete and final destruction of the shameful system of colonialist oppression.

64. Mr. PARTHASARATHI (India): The item now under consideration in the General Assembly is the report of the Special Committee covering its work for the year 1966 [A/6300/Rev.1], which is a highly significant document. The Special Committee has undertaken extensive studies of some sixty Non-Self-Governing Territories, ranging from Territories that happen to be the focal point of world attention today to remote and small islands whose problems are hardly known to the rest of the world. The Special Committee has also undertaken two very valuable and specialized studies concerning the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in the Territories under Portuguese administration and in Southern Rhodesia. My delegation, as a member of the Special Committee since its inception in 1961, has participated with keen and active interest in the Committee's work. In this regard, my delegation would like to place on record its great admiration for the dynamic and constructive leadership and guidance provided by Ambassador Collier of Sierra Leone as the Chairman of the Special Committee. My delegation is also deeply appreciative of the untiring efforts of the Chairman and the most co-operative attitude of the other members of the Committee, which enabled us to undertake our work in a most comprehensive and efficient manner.

65. The interest of my Government and people in the historic process of decolonization arises from the fact that we emerged as an independent sovereign nation only about twenty years ago. While my delegation has been highly gratified to see a great many nations emerging as masters of their own destiny in the past few decades, we are also deeply concerned to note that there are still large areas in Africa and in other parts of the world under colonial domination. As my Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi stated while addressing the Afro-Asian group at the United Nations on 1 April 1966:

"... we who have recently gained independence from colonial rule cannot for a moment forget the sad plight and anguish under which our brothers and sisters exist in Aden, Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa".

66. The situation, especially in the southern part of the African continent, continues to be critical with no prospect for a peaceful and early solution. The diehard colonialists who have formed an infamous alliance against all forces of reason and justice continue to prosper at the expense of the blood and sweat of the indigenous Africans. In the opinion of my delegation—an opinion shared, I am sure, by a number of others—these vicious remnants of colonialism manage to survive, partly at least, due to the direct and indirect assistance they get from some of their powerful friends. My delegation regrets this deeply and reiterates its appeal to those countries to take effective action, that we believe is within their power, to destroy these bastions of colonialism.

67. It is not the intention of my delegation to comment in detail on the situation prevailing in the southern part of Africa as we have already done so on prior occasions in the Fourth Committee, as well as in the General Assembly. However, I wish to reiterate the gratification of my delegation at the decision of this Assembly to terminate South Africa's mandate over South West Africa. My delegation, which has been deeply concerned about the miserable plight of the people of South West Africa and has championed their cause in the United Nations since its very beginning, eagerly awaits the recommendations of the *ad hoc* Committee appointed by the General Assembly in its resolution 2145 (XXI) concerning the practical means by which the Territory should be administered. Let me reaffirm once again the full and unreserved support of my delegation for the inalienable rights of the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence.

68. As regards the Portuguese colonies in Africa, we find that the policy of Portugal has become only more and more intolerable. Portugal, along with its racist-colonialist allies, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, has successfully thwarted every attempt made by this world Organization to free the long-oppressed people of its colonies. In this regard my delegation also believes, as the study on the activities of foreign, economic and financial interests operating in Portuguese colonies indicates, that the large foreign monopolies operating in these colonies have long exploited the indigenous people to reap quick benefits for themselves. In view of the foregoing, my

delegation co-sponsored a draft resolution in the Fourth Committee [A/6554, para. 14] asking for mandatory economic sanctions against Portugal. It is the belief of my delegation that nothing short of this action will have any impact on the intransigent attitude of Portugal.

69. Southern Rhodesia is today the most explosive and critical problem facing this world body. The recent events that have brought the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom to the Security Council to ask for selective mandatory economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia have only served to substantiate the view of my delegation, often stated here, that the racist minority régime cannot be brought down by the half-hearted and ineffective measures that have so far been applied. The views of my delegation in this regard are fully expressed in resolution 2151 (XXI), which seeks the application by the Security Council of the necessary enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter and calls upon the United Kingdom Government to take all necessary measures, including the use of force, to put down the rebel régime.

70. The extensive study on Southern Rhodesia undertaken by the Committee of Twenty-four has very clearly indicated that voluntary economic sanctions applied against Southern Rhodesia alone will not have the desired effect on the Southern Rhodesian economy as long as South Africa and Portugal refuse to cooperate. My delegation will, however, refrain from making any further comments on the failure of sanctions to bring about the desired results, as we shall have an occasion in the near future to state our views at length.

71. A great deal of time and attention has been given to the issue of Aden by the Committee of Twenty-four and the Fourth Committee this year. My delegation welcomed the assurance given by the United Kingdom Government that it would leave the territory by 1968, and that the military base in Aden would be removed. However, the statements made by the administering Power, as well as by the petitioners from Aden, indicated that the situation in Aden had worsened considerably and that an atmosphere of fear and violence prevailed in the territory. My delegation, along with a number of other members of the Special Committee, believed that the best manner in which the United Nations could assist the people of Aden was by sending a special mission to Aden with appropriate terms of reference. We hope and trust that the mission, which will be appointed by the Secretary-General, will be able to accomplish its task with the co-operation of all concerned.

72. Now I turn to the island of Fiji, far away in the Pacific, where the United Kingdom Government has consistently disregarded the relevant United Nations resolutions. The administering Power has vigorously pursued a policy meant to divide the communities and keep them apart in order to perpetuate the minority European interest in the island. It is commendable, however, that the Fourth Committee recently adopted a draft resolution [A/6572, para. 13] reaffirming the universally recognized democratic principle of "one man, one vote" and calling for its application in Fiji. My delegation has always rejected communal voting and has upheld the equal representation of every

citizen, regardless of race or religion, as an inviolate and just principle. My delegation hopes that the administering Power will agree to the visit of a mission to the territory, as it has done in the case of Aden.

73. Perhaps this is an appropriate stage in my intervention to comment on the general idea of sending visiting missions of the United Nations to Non-Self-Governing Territories. My delegation believes that its benefits are manifold. Not only does it help the United Nations to study the problems of a Territory in their true perspective, but it also enables the peoples of these areas to become fully aware of the ultimate possibilities concerning their future. The practical utility of such missions in helping to prepare for elections or referendums and in any similar arrangements necessary before the achievement of internal autonomy or independence cannot be exaggerated. The case of the Cook Islands and the more recent case of a visiting mission to Equatorial Guinea are two of the many examples illustrating the utility of such missions. Needless to say, they also serve to highlight the deep involvement of the United Nations in the process of decolonization.

74. The Committee of Twenty-four, through its sub-committees, has done a commendable and pioneering study of the many island Territories scattered in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans. My delegation believes that these studies are very valuable for they not only provide guidelines to the administering Powers but urge them to take action where no action in the desired direction has been forthcoming, or where it has been delayed unduly. It is no exaggeration to maintain, as my delegation does, that, but for the attention given to these small Territories by the Special Committee, none of them would have achieved even the measure of self-government and economic and social development that they possess today.

75. The Special Committee visited Africa during the months of May and June 1966, at the invitation of the Governments of the United Republic of Tanzania, Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Somalia and Ethiopia. These visits enabled the members of the Committee to come into closer contact with the people of the dependent Territories and better to comprehend the complexities of the situation. Many nationalist leaders from these colonies who could not have come to the United Nations Headquarters to ventilate their grievances, owing to the distance and cost involved, were also given easy access to the Committee in Africa.

76. I should like to take this opportunity to express the appreciation and gratitude of my delegation to the host countries in Africa, whose hospitality and co-operation were overwhelming. In this regard, my delegation also feels compelled to express its intense disappointment with some of the administering Powers whose unco-operative and negative attitudes prevented the Committee from visiting some of the colonial countries to learn the facts at first hand.

77. At this stage I should like to refer with satisfaction and pride to Barbados, which achieved independence only a few days ago. My delegation followed the trials and tribulations of Barbados before independence with great interest and concern in the various bodies of the United Nations. The people of

that new and young nation, who have long fought for the enjoyment of their inherent rights, have just begun their challenging and most exciting venture of national reconstruction and progress. Despite the many problems common to all newly independent nations and despite the problems arising from particular situations, my delegation has no doubt that these courageous people, under the able guidance of Prime Minister Errol Barrow, will be able to shape their destiny in peace and prosperity. We extend our most sincere felicitations to the Government and people of Barbados, and my delegation looks forward to working with their representatives in this Organization.

78. As a nation which has suffered all the evils of colonialism and imperial domination, our commitment to the cause of achieving freedom in every single colony is irrevocable. Colonialism and peace are irreconcilable and hence all nations, of whatever ideological persuasion, which are devoted to the cause of peace should strive to put an early end to the last vestiges of colonialism.

79. Finally, let me affirm on behalf of my Government and people that my delegation looks forward to another year of hard but most worth-while work as a member of the Special Committee in our endeavours to bring freedom and independence to the millions who are still deprived of them.

80. My delegation has co-sponsored the draft resolution [A/L.506] on the item now before the Assembly for consideration. We have done so in the belief that the implementation of its provisions would greatly expedite the process of decolonization, which, in its turn, would help reduce the tensions prevailing in the world today. My delegation hopes that the draft resolution will be adopted by the Assembly by an overwhelming majority.

81. Mr. WAZIRI (Afghanistan) (translated from French): I would like first to express my delegation's gratitude to the Chairman of the Special Committee for the efforts he has made in order to submit his admirable report to us.

82. At its fifteenth session, under resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Since that memorable event, the General Assembly has every year examined the situation regarding the implementation of that Declaration, and, after studying the Special Committee's report, has asked the latter to continue its search for ways and means of ensuring the immediate and complete implementation of the Declaration to all the Territories that have not yet attained independence.

83. The adoption in 1960 of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence and the decisions taken by the General Assembly recognizing the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for freedom and independence, the appeal addressed by the General Assembly to all States to lend their material and moral support to that struggle and the condemnation of colonialism in all its manifestations have given political support to all the peoples struggling against colonialism.

84. During the present session of the General Assembly we have had the welcome opportunity of greeting the accession to independence of new States which have become Members of the United Nations. Guyana, Lesotho, Botswana and Barbados are States which, having become independent this year, have won the fight against colonialism waged by the peoples and by the United Nations.

85. On the other hand, decolonization is making slow progress, not because the United Nations is not doing all that it can, but because there are still men and Governments that do not believe in the equality of peoples and are continuing to violate the principles of the Charter.

86. The Afghan delegation is deeply disturbed that, after twenty years of discussions and debates, we are still faced with colonial questions which have not been solved and that the resolutions of the United Nations during the years that have passed have constantly come up against the unjustifiable attitudes and refusals of the administering Powers.

87. My delegation believes that the present situation of the colonial Territories greatly involves the responsibility of the United Nations. We regret to note that these Territories are plunged into disquieting disorder and that their populations are deprived of their fundamental rights.

88. The Afghan delegation condemns not only classic colonialism, the so-called Western colonialism, but any kind of expansionism aimed at the exploitation and oppression of human beings and the domination of man by man, for such practices are based on force, isolation and division.

89. Year by year the situation in Southern Rhodesia grows worse. The rebel Government continues to trample underfoot the sacred principle of respect for human dignity and the inalienable right of every people to liberty, self-determination and independence.

90. In such circumstances we feel that the United Nations should be alert to seek ways and means of putting a speedy end to the rebellion in the Territory of Southern Rhodesia and helping the people of Southern Rhodesia to set up a majority government and an equitable society free from discrimination. We hope that speedy progress will be achieved in this respect and that, as called for in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, the United Kingdom Government will take without delay appropriate action to enable the people of Southern Rhodesia to determine their own future in conformity with the objectives of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

91. With regard to the territories under Portuguese administration, the Government of Portugal persists in disregarding the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. Likewise, that Government is trampling underfoot the sacred principles of respect for human dignity and refuses to grant the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination, as reaffirmed in the said resolutions, and there is nothing to show that it has abandoned its aim of integrating the said territories politically and economically into the metropolitan country.

92. In these circumstances the United Nations must take all the measures required to ensure the rapid accession of these countries to independence.

93. Furthermore, the Government of South Africa continues to refuse to implement the General Assembly resolutions concerning South West Africa. With its baseless arguments the Government of South Africa continues opposing the implementation of General Assembly resolutions. Year by year the situation grows worse, and the South African Government denies to peoples their inalienable right to freedom, self-determination and independence.

94. The policy of apartheid that is applied in the Territory of South West Africa is regarded by my delegation as a flagrant violation of human rights. Like the overwhelming majority of delegations in this Assembly, the Afghan delegation condemns racial discrimination and the policy of apartheid; it considers that the United Nations should intervene in South West Africa in accordance with the provisions of the resolution [2145 (XXI)] recently adopted by the General Assembly.

95. The Afghan delegation believes that the General Assembly should pay special attention to the question of Aden and the peninsula of South Arabia and to Oman and the other colonial Territories. It fully supports the terms of draft resolution A/L.506, as it feels sure that the essential point at the present time is to put an end, as quickly as possible, to the anachronism represented by the continuation of colonialism in the middle of the twentieth century.

96. My delegation considers it a privilege and an honour to be a member of the Special Committee. Afghanistan, which has unreservedly supported the Declaration on the Granting of Independence, has always fully approved the recommendations of the Special Committee. This is because we are convinced that, so long as men continue to be oppressed by their brothers, international peace and security will always be threatened.

97. Mr. JOVEJATI (Syria): Hardly an item considered by the General Assembly compares with item 23 in significance and acute relevance, or as an incarnation of the most important international problems. Hardly an item so clearly illustrates how the fundamental principles of the Charter stand today and to what extent they are jeopardized by powerful forces of reaction.

98. The framework of the United Nations endeavour to emancipate peoples and societies from the chains of colonial domination and exploitation was established in the Declaration of independence for colonial countries and peoples embodied in resolution 1514 (XV). By institutionalizing the right of dependent peoples to self-determination and setting up the mechanism for its functioning, the authors of the Declaration sought to concretize further the great steps achieved so far by the great contemporary revolution against injustice and inequality; and by the creation of the Special Committee, the instrumentality for activation of the principles of the Declaration and for vigilance over its proper application was provided. Thus principles, framework and organ have been made available. What remained and still remains to be materialized

so that the whole task of decolonization may be crowned with success is the will to translate the ideals into deeds. With regard to this latter factor, indeed the most crucial point, the practice of reviewing the evolution of the situation year after year by this Assembly acquires special importance. It allows the extent of progress to be assessed, the defects to be analysed, and the pockets of recalcitrance to change to be unravelled. What is still more important is to seek the most effective methods at the disposal of the international community to bring to a fruitful conclusion, whatever the circumstances, this noble task of emancipation which it has pledged to undertake.

99. In this respect the relevant reports of the Special Committee give an adequate picture and afford clear indications as to achievements, expectations and disappointments.

100. As to the determination of the Special Committee to pursue its duty with tenacity, under the able guidance of its past, present and future Chairmen, and to accept to that end any inconvenience or sacrifice, there can arise no doubt. Those members who have familiarized themselves with its work and heavy schedule can attest to its devotion to the cause it promotes, aided by the distinguished Secretary-General and the very able staff he has put at its disposal.

101. But the key to the solution of problems often remains in the hands of the administering Powers, and in this connexion the only power the Special Committee can use is the power of persuasion, and where that fails it can only make recommendations and denounce the party responsible for failure.

102. On the positive side of the account, the attainment of independence by Guyana, Botswana, Lesotho and Barbados was gratifying, and due tribute must be paid to the sacrifices the peoples of those countries sustained for the sake of reconquering their right to dignity and freedom.

103. The coming year, 1967, will be marked by the hope that the dialogue already initiated on the preparation of the independence of Equatorial Guinea, and about to be initiated on Ifni and the Sahara, will lead the task of decolonization of those Territories to fruition not later than 1968.

104. Nineteen-sixty-eight is also the final date set for the accession to statehood of Aden. The United Nations presence in the Territory, at last accepted by the administering Power under the physical pressure of the national liberation movement and the moral pressure of the United Nations, is counted upon to normalize the political climate and ameliorate the deep wounds inflicted on that valiant Arab people through 130 years of ruthless conquest.

105. Yet, in spite of that partial improvement, concern over the aspects of the colonial policy in that area pursued by the same administering Power has not been less. In fact, that Power is engaged in a triple course giving rise to gravest misgivings and perpetuating the seeds of conflict and tension. Consolidation and extension of military installations is going on; isolation of the area from any contact with the Arab world is imposed on such a scale that even the modest financial, cultural and technical assistance

tendered by the League of Arab States to the peoples of those Territories is obstructed.

106. Last but not least, permanent allegiances, through unrepresentative and outmoded régimes, are bought, in full exploitation of tribal feuds and primitive ignorance. Illiteracy, not literacy, is promoted. Backwardness, not modernization, is preserved. The awakening of the masses is feared and suffocated in the cradle.

107. Members will have found astounding revelations in this connexion in the statement of the Assistant Secretary-General of the Arab League before the Special Committee in the meetings in Cairo last June [A/6300/Rev.1, chap. II, paras. 314-344].

108. In some other instances, and still in the same area, the fairy tale of sheikhs and sultans, alleged to be fully sovereign, fully independent, fully popular, but leaving, out of their own will, all care of defence matters, foreign affairs, security, resources and economic potential in the benevolent hands of British friends, is a cynical attempt to mislead world public opinion in this twentieth century in which we live, in the era of the United Nations and its principles.

109. Yet, the liberal circles in the colonialist Powers themselves appeal for the calling off of such a travesty of truth. Their plea is that, if the colonialist Governments are bound to take a course counter to the sovereignty and independence of peoples, let them do so at least with honesty; let them declare forthwith that what they seek is a monopoly over vast resources, the imposition of unfair contracts in the exploitation of those resources, and the establishment of military bases from which they can permanently threaten with immediate suffocation any voice for emancipation and liberty and any endeavour towards unity, socialism and justice.

110. The colonial policy which brought bloodshed and suffering to the area is the same in other colonial Territories; only the methods and pretexts are different. Otherwise, how can the suppression of the elementary rights of four million Africans in their cherished land of Zimbabwe by a minority of fanatics be explained? Was it not at the initiative of the same colonialist Power that land was here alienated, there simply usurped, here distributed to settlers, there merely annexed to the Crown, here yielded to companies, there—in the most arid portions—used to confine the innocent, rightful African people? The Security Council is now again seized of the matter, but whose procrastination is responsible for the aggravation of the situation?

111. Again, how can the persistence and the consolidation of the practice of apartheid and the factual conquest of South West Africa be explained if not by the prior assurances the violators of the Charter and of the will of humanity have got, that sanctions would not be universally applied against them, that surrounding African countries would not be permitted to arm sufficiently to threaten their illegitimate acquisitions, and that the huge trade and illicit profits realized at the expense of African sweat and blood are too precious to be overridden by any human ethics?

112. How can the Portuguese colonial policy, suppressing as it does the identity, the African per-

sonality, and the natural rights of millions of Mozambiquans, Guineans and Angolans, be explained without the shield of defence that its Atlantic Alliance so conveniently affords to it? Not the defunct theory of assimilation, but the Portuguese position in such a powerful alliance, is behind its opposition to the trend of history and the evolution of human relations. The argument that certain Powers can still have a defensive alliance with Portugal when, on the other hand, they condemn its policies is an artificial structure of semantics that evades recognition of the truth and attempts to justify a morally indefensible position. The spokesmen of the Atlantic Alliance time and again emphasize the community of outlook, of culture, of civilization and of ideals among themselves. Only when faced with the facts of Portuguese colonial policy do they single out the purely defensive links that bind them to Portugal in what they describe as only a restricted area.

113. Another alliance of interests among the forces of reaction which oppress the African people in the colonies under Portuguese domination in South Africa, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia is true and real. No assurance that a "formal alliance" does not exist can change that reality, for it is an alliance of reactionary spirit which is based on the so-called superiority of the white race and an alliance of interests based on the inhuman exploitation of the African race. When the illegitimate privileges of the settlers are threatened in one part, the other parts are sensitive and immediately put up fanatic support for the threatened and fanatic resistance to change.

114. And behind this alliance of interest and quest for the survival of privileges stands the power of monopolies and international finance. Its behaviour in the usurped African territories is unfortunately based on discrimination against the African, whose very resources they exploit with no benefit to Africans.

115. While all industrial legislation attests to the universal tendency to pay the worker his full share, the African worker is underpaid and denied training and opportunities for advancement. Through this, the rate of plus-value jumps to a phenomenal index and the rate of profit triples. But these practices have been from the outset made possible only by the dominating Power, which condones these practices, hence the gratitude of these companies and the support they give to the oppressor. They come to associate the permanency of these profits with the permanency of the oppressive Power. They afford it every support within their capacity to assure this permanence. Not only are contributions paid under the guise of innocent taxation, but preferential treatment with regard to the price of commodities is accorded to the metropolitan country. Sometimes they even have their little armies within their precincts in order to help oppression and to suppress from the outset any movement of emancipation. Thus the identity of interests becomes the identity of goals.

116. Certain delegations still claim that they do not see how these monopolies impede the independence of colonial countries. They ask: "Are they not offering work to the Africans? Are not they helping to increase the national income? If they withdrew, would not the plight of the Africans be more sombre?" By these

deliberately naive contentions, they want to appear innocent. The fact is that the story of these companies is a sequence, a fully coherent circle.

117. The countries to whom these companies belong by nationality remain silent. When they are liberal, they reserve their position instead of voting against any condemnation of those interests. They say they have no jurisprudence over those nationals, and so they evade any action, through a legal myth, as if law was created to obstruct justice and as if law can be earnestly called law when it allows injustice to persevere.

118. These violations of the Charter clearly threaten international peace and security, for the peoples in Africa and elsewhere cannot be expected to end their struggle and surrender their rights to dignified life and independence. The rising African countries, increasing in status and strength, cannot be expected to acquiesce in this denial of justice to their brothers. And the suggestion of the representative of Hungary [1487th meeting] that the Security Council has to fulfil in this respect its constitutional role is the first remedy that men attached to the prestige and efficacy of this international Organization can think of. But, simultaneously, the Special Committee must be encouraged to go ahead with its duty, to send its Sub-Committees to various territories, small and large, and to continue its visits to the African capitals to establish this indispensable organic link between intellectual ideals and vivid struggle, and elucidate to the General Assembly the details of the alliance of the forces of reaction and the international monopolies.

119. But, first and foremost, a sense of solidarity among the majority of Member States dictates that the support to the freedom fighters should be concrete, not merely moral. The links between the regional organizations and the United Nations should develop to the extent required by the gravity of the problems. Finally, the supporters of the forces of reaction should be made to understand that on the very level of trade, exchange and material interests Africa can have either friends or enemies, without a place for the half-hearted.

120. The intellectually rich resources which were behind the drafting of a resolution such as resolution 1514 (XV) are not incapable of making these theoretical points concrete at this stage, turning them into a charter of action, a charter which will crown in the end the efforts so earnestly deployed to ensure the primacy of the rule of justice and equity.

121. Mr. RODRIGUEZ ASTIAZARAIN (Cuba) translated from Spanish): Six years ago, the General Assembly adopted the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Every year we meet to analyse the results achieved by the Special Committee on anti-colonialism, the Committee of Twenty-four, which was established to achieve the goals of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

122. My delegation wishes once again to express its appreciation of the Special Committee's efforts to attain these just objectives, despite the colonial Powers' tenacious resistance to the process of world

decolonization. The inordinate concern of the colonial Powers to maintain their political and economic domination over the colonial territories is a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, which proclaims the rights of peoples to self-determination and independence.

123. We realize that the Special Committee's efforts are blocked by the interests of the powerful colonialist Powers, which use every means available in the Organization to hamper, slow down and frustrate any effective action to apply resolution 1514 (XV).

124. Progress is therefore slow, and we are in duty bound to redouble our efforts in the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, which is part and parcel of the general struggle against the imperialism headed by the Government of the United States of America, the principal exploiter and oppressor in the modern world.

125. The imperialists ignore every humanitarian principle and deny the most rudimentary rights to the peoples in their drive to obtain profits and wealth. For the imperialists, the sweat, blood and sacrifice of peoples are only items in a balance sheet. It is for this reason that the work of the Special Committee is consistently blocked by the representatives of all the colonial Powers and their supporters.

126. The resolution approved by the Assembly at its last session concerning the legality of the struggle of peoples for independence and freedom, the appeal to all States to give them moral and material assistance in that struggle, the condemnation of colonialism as a crime against humanity, should serve as an encouragement to us in the attainment of these objectives. But the theatre in which we can most effectively lend our support is that in which the struggle for emancipation of the exploited peoples is being waged. Let us increase our assistance to the liberation movements and finally eradicate the cancer of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

127. The imperialists make futile efforts to suppress liberation movements and preserve colonial rule and exploitation by the use of brutal methods of repression, criminal aggression, armed intervention and the practice of racial segregation and discrimination.

128. At this point, we could describe the most bitter experience in Cuba's history since, as a result of armed intervention by the United States Government, we were cheated of genuine independence and subjected to governments which docilely bowed to the policy of United States colonial rule. Economically, the imperialists forced us into the rule of producers of raw materials for United States industries and a market for their manufactures.

129. Despite the victorious outcome of the revolution, although we have finally done away with the consequences of Yankee colonial policies we still have on our territory the military base which the United States arrogantly and illegally maintains against the will of our people and Government. We call attention to the danger of foreign military bases, which form part of the aggressive arsenal of the imperialists and are used in an attempt to repress independence movements in the colonial and neo-colonial territories.

130. One of the most striking expressions of solidarity among the peoples that are victims of aggression throughout the world was undoubtedly the Tri-continental Conference which was held in Havana, the capital of Cuba, at the beginning of 1966^{3/} and brought together representatives of national liberation movements and other progressive forces from three continents. Since it was a historic event of major importance in the struggle against imperialist and colonialist forces, allow me to quote a paragraph from the general resolution of the political committee on colonialism and neo-colonialism, as a vigorous expression of the proper response of the world's progressive peoples and governments to the violence unleashed by the imperialists:

"To proclaim that, in face of the armed violence which imperialism, headed by the United States, employs to stifle the growing liberation struggle, it is the right and the duty of the peoples victims of aggression to use revolutionary violence. To jointly sustain this struggle in the case of each people and to urge all countries of the three continents to give all their moral support, as well as material, political and diplomatic assistance to the revolutionary movements in the armed or political struggle, which is necessary to ensure victory over imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism on all three continents, and is equally the right and duty of all peoples." [A/6611/Add.1, page 36, para. 4.]

131. In recent years new States have come into being, whose peoples attained their independence after heroic struggle. Nevertheless, there are still peoples subject to the colonial yoke in Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. One of the most brutally repressed peoples is undoubtedly the people of the southern tip of Africa where criminal control is maintained by a grouping of the most racist and reactionary forces in the world, protected and sponsored by the United States imperialists, and, thanks to them, sustained by economic aid and by military alliances such as NATO. With that support, they continue to subjugate the peoples of South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. In Pretoria and Rhodesia these offspring of imperialism labour to maintain their inhuman policy of apartheid in contempt of the international community. The alliance of these colonialist forces is manifest in the constant repression of the independence movement and constitutes a threat to the independent States of Africa and a danger to international peace and security.

132. My delegation, in its statement in the debate on the question of South West Africa [1454th meeting], unambiguously condemned the Government of South Africa for continuing and increasing its oppression of the African population and extending its inhuman and discriminatory practices to the territory of South West Africa. We also voice our support for any measures the African States consider necessary to bring about the independence of the territory or revoke the mandate of South Africa over South West Africa. We are therefore in favour of draft resolution A/L.483, and Add.1 and 3. My country considers that the only

Mandatory Power in South Africa is the people of the Territory, and we reaffirm our willingness to give it moral and material support in its just struggle for independence. However, the refusal of the South African régime and its supporters to respect the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee are further proof of the resistance of the colonial Powers to the United Nations efforts to achieve the objectives of resolution 1514 (XV).

133. The situation in Rhodesia deserves special attention. Over a year ago the unilateral declaration of independence was proclaimed by a white minority of fascist settlers who continue to repress the African population of Zimbabwe in defiance of resolutions adopted by the United Nations. What have the imperialists done? How have they responded to the call of the international community? Let us look at a few figures that were published, not in a Cuban newspaper, but in The New York Times, yesterday, Sunday, 11 December, section 4, page 1, where it was pointed out that Rhodesian exports to the United States increased from \$15.4 million in 1965 to an estimated \$19 million in 1966; they increased from \$25.2 million to \$25.8 million in the case of the Federal Republic of Germany; and from \$36.4 million to \$42 million in the case of South Africa. Such is the response of the imperialists, colonialists and racists to the efforts of the Committee of Twenty-four.

134. My country, in solidarity with the heroic struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, reaffirms its willingness to give the Zimbabwe people the moral and material assistance they need to achieve independence.

135. My delegation views with concern the situation in the Territories under Portuguese colonial domination where the peoples of so-called Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, as well as the populations of Angola, Mozambique, St. Thomas and Principe, are subjected to constant repression to stifle their just aspirations for independence.

136. Cuba once again hails from this rostrum the victorious development of the national liberation movement of so-called Portuguese Guinea and reaffirms its full support for peoples fighting to free themselves from foreign rule.

137. In Latin America we still have the irritating case of Puerto Rico which continues to be under the colonial rule of the Government of the United States. Referring to the situation of Puerto Rico in the general debate on 18 October, Dr. Raúl Roa, Minister of External Affairs of my country, said:

"With its assumption of an anti-colonialist position without concealment or reservations, the Cuban delegation is entitled to request the support of all independent States for its sister island of Puerto Rico. The United States has used and is using every trick and stratagem to prevent this case from being considered by the General Assembly. It is not enough to clamour for the abolition of the last vestiges of European colonialism in Latin America. True and consistent anti-colonialism means demanding before anything and above anything the abolition of the United States colonial rule over Puerto Rico, whose people share our language, tradition and culture, whose independence, together with that of Cuba,

^{3/} First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held at Havana, January 1966.

was fought for by José Martí to complete Simón Bolívar's unfinished task of liberation and to build a barrier against the economic and political expansion of the United States into the southern part of the continent.

"The Cuban delegation believes that, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the anti-colonialist resolutions that have been adopted, the General Assembly should take a stand on this matter. Last year, in my letter dated 1 October 1965, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba requested that the case of Puerto Rico should be included in the agenda of the Committee of Twenty-four. The document reiterated an identical request by forty-seven heads of States or Governments meeting at the second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries and echoed the demand of all the patriotic organizations of Puerto Rico. The Committee's working group made a recommendation that a study should be made to ascertain whether Puerto Rico could be included in the list of territories which have not yet gained their independence, postponing consideration of the matter until the Committee's next session.

"The Cuban delegation reiterates its request to the General Assembly to take up the case of Puerto Rico without further delay. It may fittingly be emphasized that it does so not merely as a Member of the Organization but on behalf of and as representative of a heroic and sacrificed people who have been fighting for their complete emancipation for a century. States Members will have to choose between supporting the independence of this people or tightening its shackles." [1446th meeting, paras. 113-115.]

138. The question of the inclusion of Puerto Rico in the agenda of the Special Committee was again discussed this year. The working group felt that a new and detailed study was needed and decided that that study should be undertaken as soon as possible during the Special Committee's next session.

139. My delegation reiterates that the Special Committee is fully competent to study the case of Puerto Rico, a dependent territory to which General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) is fully applicable.

140. The United States imperialists make futile efforts to try to hide the real situation in Puerto Rico. In the United Nations they refer to General Assembly resolution 748 (VIII). In the first place that resolution was approved by the General Assembly without a full and accurate report on the situation in Puerto Rico. The United States reported a plebiscite in which the people had allegedly chosen its destiny. However, it concealed the fact that in the plebiscite voters could not opt for independence and that 60 per cent of the electorate abstained or expressed their opposition to Yankee colonial occupation. There is another point to consider: the United States now cites resolution 748 (VIII), but at the Ninth Inter-American Conference at Bogotá in 1948, the United States opposed the adoption of an anti-colonialist resolution for fear that anti-colonialist studies in America would bring to light its illegal occupation of Puerto Rico. At that time, General Assembly resolution 748 (VIII) did not exist.

141. We firmly believe that the imperialists cannot hide the facts for ever, however hard they try. Puerto Rico is subject to the legislative, judicial and executive control of the United States. Its people have no jurisdiction over questions of citizenship, foreign affairs, defence, immigration and emigration, external trade, currency, postal service, radio and television communications, etc. The only right that the United States has granted to the population is the right to be compelled to die in the defence of imperialist interests, as in Korea and Viet-Nam. In this, one must recognize the generosity of the United States.

142. In conclusion, I wish to say that my country will vote in favour of any measures proposed by the Committee of Twenty-four to promote the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

143. Mr. GEORGESCU (Romania) (translated from French): The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania is taking part in the discussion of the problems concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in the conviction that the United Nations must play a more effective role in the final elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism. Freedom and independence are, of course, the result of the struggle of peoples subjected to colonial domination, but our Organization, through the means appropriate to it, can also contribute substantially to the success of that struggle and to the final abolition of the out-moded colonialist system.

144. The annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the United Nations gives an important place to the problems of decolonization. In the introduction to his annual report the Secretary-General states:

"It must be admitted that, while the United Nations has been in the forefront of support for the principle of self-determination, and while it has done much to encourage and at times to assist the emergence of dependent peoples, it has so far failed to provide or facilitate effective solutions to the several difficult and serious colonial problems which remain." [A/6301/Add.1, p. 11.]

It was at that stage that the work of the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly at the current session began.

145. Although the General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted adequate recommendations and decisions regarding the proclamation of the independence of Non-Self-Governing Territories, important colonial problems, such as those of South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and the Portuguese Territories continue to be particularly serious because the administering Powers obstinately refuse to implement the numerous resolutions adopted and continue to resort to the use of police and armed forces for the maintenance of their domination.

146. Some of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at the present session represent, in our opinion, a step forward in the process of decolonization.

147. Thus, the withdrawal of South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa and the establishment of the

Committee of Fourteen^{4/} to submit, not later than April 1967, recommendations on preparing the Territory for independence [see resolution 2145 (XXI)] place a direct responsibility on the United Nations. The fourteen Governments, and our Organization as a whole, will no longer be able to confine themselves to general studies and recommendations but will have to take effective practical measures which can lead to early independence for South West Africa.

148. In its resolution 2151 (XXI) of 17 November 1966, the General Assembly does not confine itself to recognizing the right of peoples to struggle against the colonial Powers; it also calls upon all States to extend all moral and material support to those who are waging a hard fight to achieve their national independence or, in the case of Southern Rhodesia, to the Zimbabwe people to overthrow the illegal racist Government of Smith.

149. The policy practised by Portugal in the Territories under its administration is, in the words of the draft resolution adopted by the Fourth Committee [A/6554, para. 14], condemned as a "crime against humanity".

150. Thus, in view of the persistent refusal of the administering Powers and their repressions and colonial wars, this international body does not confine itself to its own measures and decisions. It also considers it necessary to encourage peoples to continue their sacred struggle for independence and calls upon all States to give moral and material support to that struggle which constitutes the decisive factor in the elimination of the hateful régime of colonial domination, the slavery of modern times. In the case of Rhodesia, the purpose of the appeal is to overthrow the racist and illegal Smith Government.

151. Colonial domination has, for centuries past, been a real disaster for whole continents and for mankind. The continent of Africa, which has suffered most from foreign occupations, can be proud of the centuries-old civilizations and cultures and other remarkable civilizations in full development which the colonialists found in Africa and tried to destroy during their domination. The Dakar Festival of Negro Art represented for some people a "discovery" of Africa. The African art treasures brought to light a new and majestic world. The history of Africa does not, as the apologists of colonialism claim, begin with the colonization of that continent. On the contrary, colonialism interrupted Africa's development and sometimes even involved the destruction of flourishing civilizations in that vast territory.

152. The process of decolonization is far from being complete. Although this chamber offers us a magnificent sight where half of the delegations represent young recently liberated countries, there are no less than fifty Territories of varying sizes still under colonial domination.

153. Voices are still heard in the United Nations speaking of the inability of certain Territories to become independent, either because they would lack the cadres and conditions needed for their development or because they could not exist as independent

States owing to the small size of their territory. But who, in that case, is responsible for the lack of cadres and proper conditions, if not the colonial Powers, which have done everything to prevent the creation of such conditions? The facts are too well known for it to be necessary to recall them here. A simple comparison between the size of the cadres which existed in those Territories when independence was proclaimed and that of the cadres existing at present is enough to show that, in a few years only those young States have trained more cadres than were trained throughout the whole period of colonial domination.

154. It is urgently necessary that all the Territories still under foreign domination, regardless of their size or population, their situation or the fact that they are regarded as "strategic territories" should obtain their independence without delay. Once they are free and independent, the peoples will decide their destiny themselves. They will then be able to choose for themselves any free association thought possible with small neighbouring territories, in accordance with their own interests.

155. A simple glance at the map is enough to show that the Territories which have not yet acquired their independence are spread over almost all the continents, oceans and the largest seas. In many of these Territories there is an explosive situation due to harsh colonial oppression or there are foreign military bases of different Powers. All this makes it imperative that complete independence should be granted as soon as possible and unconditionally to all the peoples living in those more than fifty Territories.

156. According to the Charter of the United Nations, the relations between the administering Powers and the dependent Territories are international in character, since they come under United Nations auspices and supervision and should contribute to the attainment of self-determination and independence by the peoples in question. Twenty years after the introduction of the Trusteeship System, discussions are still going on in the United Nations about the character of these Territories and many retrograde colonialist theories are being advanced. In accordance with the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter, the international Trusteeship System is in the nature of a transition towards independence and should not be hindered by any discrimination or limitation regarding the measures to be taken for the decolonization of Territories that are still dependent.

157. Events have shown that decolonization is a complicated process which the colonial Powers are fiercely opposing by resorting to a whole range of measures extending as far as large-scale military repressions and real undeclared wars against the indigenous inhabitants.

158. The period following the Second World War will go down in history as the period of great political decolonization. The vast majority of the peoples of the colonies have gained independence and more than fifty new independent States which occupy honoured places in this Assembly have been established during that same period.

159. The immense volume of material accumulated in the archives of the Trusteeship Council and the

^{4/} Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa.

Fourth Committee contains innumerable examples of delaying action or opposition to decolonization measures, but, even more, examples of the many means and methods employed by the administering Powers to retain their previous positions and economic privileges in the newly established States. In the struggle it is carrying on to prolong its existence, colonialism tries to don the cloak of neo-colonialism.

160. Recently, in the Fourth Committee, many delegations protested against the attempts of the administering Power to form a federal Government for proclaiming the independence of Aden, one purpose of which would be to preserve foreign economic interests. Neo-colonialism, which is essentially economic in character, seeks, consequently, to replace colonialism.

161. In the Second Committee and in the General Assembly discussions have been going on for several years about national sovereignty over all the natural resources of countries. This clearly involves the consequences of colonialism in the new independent States, the recovery by the peoples of their legitimate right to all national wealth, and the free exercise of sovereignty, not only in the political but also in the economic field.

162. The real situation in those countries, and even life itself, require that decolonization should be carried out in all fields.

163. In the speech which he made on 23 September 1966 in the General Assembly, Mr. Thiam, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal, declared:

"We are aware that in 1938 the ratio between the income of the developed world and that of the under-developed world was fifteen to one. This ratio is now thirty-five to one." [1414th meeting, para. 214.]

This is a situation which concerns the Third World as a whole and, more especially, the fifty countries which have thrown off colonial domination.

164. The monopolies of the former metropolitan countries and other international monopolies possess vast economic resources but do not exploit this wealth sufficiently, especially in the case of raw materials, which are often traded at unremunerative prices, the result being that the process of economic development is incomplete and very slow. They also retain for themselves important economic levers in many Territories.

165. The economic gap between the developed countries and the developing States is tending to become an abyss, dangerous for the progress of mankind and for the security of the whole world. A few facts will make this alarming situation clearer.

166. Referring to the developing countries, the 1965 World Economic Survey stated:

"In 1964 the total [debt] had reached the order of \$40 billion (substantially more than that year's export earnings) and the outflow of interest and amortization payments was about \$5 billion (well over half the net inflow of new long-term capital and donations).

"About three-fourths of this debt was owed or guaranteed by Governments. Between 1956 and 1964

this public-guaranteed debt had grown at about 15 per cent a year". ^{5/}

167. In a study published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,^{6/} it is pointed out that the developed countries, accounting for some 20 per cent of the world's population, possess nearly 60 per cent of the gross social product of the world, whereas the developing countries, with about 46 per cent of the world's population, possess barely 18 per cent of this world product.

168. Objective statesmen and scientists agree in considering that this state of affairs is due, more especially in the newly-liberated countries, to the baneful consequences of colonialism, which persists in the guise of neo-colonialism. Many authorized voices have been raised here in the General Assembly against this situation, asking that steps be taken that could remedy it. In addition, the United Nations has taken certain measures aimed at promoting the economic development of countries in that category, but those measures are far from eliminating the economic legacy of colonial domination.

169. It is quite clear that, whereas colonialism was, until recently, the chief danger for the great majority of the "Third World" countries, today it is neo-colonialism which has become a serious threat to these same vast regions. It is quite probable that our Organization will soon have to deal in a fully responsible fashion with means of remedying the situation caused by the obstacles which neo-colonialism has raised to the normal, balanced development of all countries.

170. The newly-liberated States are going through a period of national rebirth, of constructive efforts for the full realization of the national aspirations of their peoples.

171. We have just referred to some fundamental data on the present economic situation of the Third World. As decolonization is a complex phenomenon, the peoples are endeavouring to achieve full and complete independence by completing economic decolonization after their political liberation.

172. The Romanian delegation is convinced that the newly liberated peoples will consummate their national independence in every field, including the cultural and spiritual fields. Among these peoples, some have fine cultural traditions, while others had their development interrupted when they were thrown into the fog of colonialism. They are all animated by the noble ideals of material and spiritual progress on the basis of full sovereignty, mutually profitable co-operation and peace. It is only after they have won their independence that nations will be able to devote all their efforts to developing their national entity and making, to the full extent of their capacity, the contribution needed for the evolution of society. Far from being an outmoded concept, the nation is a living reality and to provide it with the means of manifesting itself is to

^{5/} World Economic Survey 1965—Part I: The Financing of Economic Development (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 66.II.C.1), chap. III, p. 87.

^{6/} Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, International Conciliation, issue of May 1964; Robert M. Stern, "Policies for Trade and Development", pp. 6-7.

meet an imperative need for the normalization of the international situation and for general progress.

173. Colonialism is still a major source of threats to peace, a source of conflicts and wars. Any impartial observer can note that it was precisely during the period of decolonization after the Second World War that threats to peace, conflicts and wars arose, more especially in Territories under foreign rule and, principally, for reasons connected with the maintenance of colonial practices.

174. Undoubtedly, the more than fifty Territories scattered all over the world that are still colonized constitute a real and active source of armed conflicts. The extremely serious situation which prevails in the southern part of the African continent can rapidly, because of its character and intensity, exceed its present limits. It constitutes a real threat for the independent African countries of the neighbouring areas. In this respect, the United Nations bears a great responsibility.

175. In reaffirming the solemn right of all peoples to full national independence, the Romanian delegation urges that the United Nations should, in implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) take the necessary measures to ensure complete and urgent decolonization, so that each Territory and each people still under colonial rule can achieve real national independence.

176. To that end, our Organization must envisage and take practical steps to prevent the work of decolonization being entrusted to persons or groups of

persons linked with colonialist circles and to ensure that colonialist practices are not perpetuated under the guise of neo-colonialism. The provisional governments which are responsible for ensuring the transition from colonial status to independence can sometimes do serious harm to the fundamental interests of the peoples. All the necessary conditions must therefore be created to enable the peoples which have not yet attained independence freely to express their will for independence and freedom and take their destiny into their own hands.

177. The Committee of Twenty-four has made studies and drawn up well-documented reports on many Territories. It has made suggestions and judicious and valuable proposals which can be put into effect.

178. The United Nations is called upon to take energetic steps at the earliest possible moment to ensure that the intolerable situation prevailing in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique is completely eliminated. It must implement forthwith the recommendations and sanctions decided upon by the General Assembly and the Security Council. The enslaved peoples, world peace and security imperatively require it. To do otherwise would be to encourage the colonialists to continue their dangerous activities with impunity.

179. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before the meeting rises, I should like to remind Members that the time-limit for the submission of proposals on agenda item 23 expired at noon today.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.