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*President:* Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK  
(Afghanistan).

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*)

ADEN

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/6557)

AGENDA ITEM 67

Question of Territories under Portuguese administration: 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

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/6554)

AGENDA ITEM 69

Question of Fiji: 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

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/6572)

*Mr. Esfandiary (Iran), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, presented the reports of that Committee and then spoke as follows:*

1. Mr. ESFANDIARY (Iran) (Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee): The first report [A/6557] concerns the question of Aden which the Fourth Committee took up under item 23. In this report, the Fourth Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt a draft resolution on Aden [A/6557, para. 19] which was approved by the Committee by a roll-call vote of 100 to none, with 3 abstentions.

2. It will be noted that under operative paragraph 5 of this draft, the General Assembly would request the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee and the administering Power, to appoint immediately a special mission to be sent to Aden for the purpose of recommending practical steps for the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and in particular, for determining the extent of the United Nations participation in the preparation and supervision of the elections and submitting a report to him as soon as possible for transmission to the Special Committee.

3. Under the terms of operative paragraph 6, the General Assembly would request the United Nations Mission on Aden to consider recommending, *inter alia*, practical steps for the establishment of a central caretaker government in the Territory and to assist in the organization of the elections.

4. In order to achieve near unanimity in the voting on this resolution, the Fourth Committee devoted twenty-two meetings to this question, in addition to the extensive consultations and negotiations that were held among members. The resolution thus reflects a spirit of co-operation and compromise among delegations and foreshadows the important role that the United Nations could play in the attainment of the goals laid down in the relevant General Assembly resolutions concerning Aden.

5. May I express the hope that the General Assembly, with the same measure of support, adopts this draft resolution as did the Fourth Committee.

6. The second report [A/6554] deals with the question of Territories under Portuguese administration which the Fourth Committee took up under item 67. The Fourth Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt the draft resolution on the Territories under Portuguese administration which is contained in paragraph 14 of this report. This draft was approved by the Fourth Committee by a roll-call vote of 76 to 12, with 16 abstentions.

7. During the Committee's consideration of this item, several delegations made reference to the role that could be played by international institutions, particularly the specialized agencies, in the attainment of the objectives of previous United Nations resolutions concerning the Territories under Portuguese administration. In this connexion, these delegations urged that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the specialized agencies, and other international relief organizations be requested, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, to increase their assistance to the refugees from these Territories and to the people suffering from Portuguese military operations.

8. Further, these delegations were concerned to ensure that the specialized agencies, in particular the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, refrain from granting Portugal any financial, economic or technical assistance as long as the Portuguese Government failed to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). In order to assist the Committee in its examination of this aspect of the problem, a representative of the World Bank and the Legal Council of the United Nations were invited to make statements and answer questions in the Committee. It was in the light of these statements that a large number of delegations agreed that the Secretary-General should be requested, in operative paragraph 10 of the resolution, to enter into consultations with the World Bank in order to secure the latter's compliance with General Assembly resolutions 2105 (XX) and 2107 (XX) and the present resolution. In this connexion, the hope was also expressed by many delegations that the proposed consultations would be undertaken without delay and that the results would be reported to the Special Committee of Twenty-Four as a matter of urgency.

9. It will be noted that by operative paragraph 12 of this draft, the General Assembly would decide "to include the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration in the agenda of its twenty-second session". In view of the grave concern expressed by the majority of members of the Fourth Committee on the situation prevailing in these Territories, I wish to commend this report to the serious attention of the General Assembly.

10. The third report [A/6572] concerns the question of Fiji, which the Fourth Committee took up under item 69. In this report, the Fourth Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt a draft resolution [A/6572, para. 13] which was approved by the Fourth Committee by a roll-call vote of 76 to 6, with 17 abstentions.

11. It will be noted that under operative paragraph 3 of this draft the General Assembly would endorse the decision of the Special Committee to appoint a sub-

committee to visit Fiji for the purpose of studying at first hand the situation in the Territory, and request the Chairman of the Special Committee, in consultation with the administering Power, to appoint the sub-committee as early as practicable. By operative paragraph 8 of this resolution, the General Assembly would decide to keep the question of Fiji on its agenda.

12. The PRESIDENT: If I hear no proposal under rule 68 of the rules of procedure, interventions will be limited to explanations of vote.

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

13. The PRESIDENT: The items before the Assembly, as Members are aware, have been debated at length in Committee. May I, therefore, take the liberty to seek the co-operation of Members of the General Assembly in asking them to make their statements as brief as possible, and to confine these statements—as has been decided—to explanations of vote.

14. Representatives who may wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply will be given an opportunity to do so after all the explanations of vote have been heard and after a vote has been taken on each item.

15. The General Assembly will first consider the question of Aden. I would draw the attention of the Assembly to the report of the Fifth Committee [A/6569], containing the financial implications which would result from the adoption of the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee [A/6557, para. 19].

16. I call on the representative of Yemen to speak in explanation of the vote before the vote.

17. Mr. TARCICI (Yemen) (translated from French): My delegation has adopted a special and consistent attitude towards the question of Aden. It would like to make that attitude clear and to have it noted in the General Assembly, as it did in the Fourth Committee [1620th and 1652nd meetings]. The draft resolution on the question of Aden [A/6557, para. 19], submitted to the General Assembly—that is, the draft dealing with the whole occupied part of South Yemen, including the port of Aden—is from the point of view of classic decolonization, a helpful and welcome document.

18. This draft resolution, however, views the problem it seeks to solve from one specific angle only—that which would entail ending colonization in a rather over-simplified fashion. It has not taken into consideration any of the historical, geographical, economic, social or other aspects and realities which argue in favour of the reunification of a nation and not of the arbitrary creation of a new nation, as announced by the United Kingdom delegation.

19. These indisputable facts, which have been expounded at length in the Committee, should, first of all, lead to the creation in the territory of conditions that would help to clear the whole region of the out-moded vestiges of colonization in order to prepare this occupied part of Yemen for free self-determination, freed of all the influences which the colonial Power has deliberately nourished for more than a

century and a quarter. An atmosphere thus cleared would create the conditions indispensable for self-determination, freed from neo-colonialist manoeuvring, and lead to the reunification of the part occupied by the colonial Power with the zone that remains unsubjected and independent. It would lead to total reunification and not only to reunification limited to the zone occupied by the colonialists.

20. These conditions, if they were created, would certainly promote the restoration of the Yemeni nation within its natural frontiers rather than the creation, artificially and arbitrarily, of a new nation based on the geographical considerations imposed by the accidents of occupation.

21. In the official statement he made in the Fourth Committee on 10 November 1966, the representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland stated:

"... it is no less than the welding together of some twenty diverse units into a single State, a task of bringing together people of very different outlook and stages of development to form one working brotherhood, to create a new nation..." <sup>1/</sup>

22. Lord Caradon, who is surely one of the most learned and best informed of men, wanted to ignore the fact that the Yemeni nation has existed for thousands of years and did not have to wait for the Colonial Office to come and create it at the last minute. The United Kingdom delegation also drew the frontiers of this so-called "new nation" on the basis of colonial occupation. In the same statement, the representative of the United Kingdom told us:

"Let me emphasize again our clearly stated policy that all the states of South Arabia, including the modern port and city of Aden and the wide stretches of the hinterland of the protectorate, should be included in the new independent State of South Arabia." <sup>2/</sup>

23. The United Kingdom Government has apparently forgotten that for decades it has constantly exerted every possible and imaginable pressure on the Governments of Sana'a, with its various archaic or modern régimes, to get them to accept an unfortunate de facto situation but has failed to get Yemen to yield or oblige it to adopt an attitude which would endorse the cleavage between the occupied and independent parts or to recognize the ridiculous dismemberment of the occupied part into at least twenty States.

24. Can the United Kingdom Government have forgotten also that the animosity which it has constantly shown towards the Yemen Arab Republic and which leads it to refuse to recognize this Republic that has had a seat here for four years past, is essentially due to this legitimate attitude of the Yemen in favour of the Yemeni nation's right to its unity? Further, how can the United Kingdom Government not be aware, for instance, that the reunification of Aden with the regions of Taiz or Albaida is as natural as its joining with the region of Makalla and Zafar in Eastern Yemen? Is it also possible to imagine separating the islands of Kamaran and Perim from official Yemen?

25. May I also recall the statement which my delegation made at the time of the adoption of the basic resolution on Aden, a statement which clearly shows the staunchness of our attitude and our attachment to this right! I propose to quote from the record of the 1277th meeting on 11 December 1963. On that date, in connexion with the adoption of the basic resolution on Aden [resolution 1949 (XVIII)], our delegation made the following statement:

"My delegation was not able to support the resolution on Aden which has just been voted on, because we firmly believe that the real and total liberation of our country ... will not be attained unless the fundamental unity of Yemen within its natural frontiers, bringing together all our people now divided by colonialism, is achieved. We are convinced that only the unity of our country and people can really put an end to colonialism in all its forms. Such unity, in keeping with the natural aspirations of all our people, does not in any way imply that the south must be joined to the north or vice versa. These are national aspirations for the unity of the Yemeni people. They are shared by every section of the nation and in all parts of the country, whether occupied or free. The fragmentation of our people has reduced them to a state of defencelessness and is a handicap to their development and progress." [1277th meeting, para. 116].

26. To sum up, the draft resolution submitted for the General Assembly's approval was not conceived with the idea of restoring legality on the basis of genuine self-determination, something which requires preparation that would clear the territory of influences and artifices inherited from the past.

27. Considering that the administering Power has already prepared—as it announced in Committee [1633rd meeting]—both the form and the name of this creation in conformity with its own plans and not the will of the people; that it is both necessary and natural to unite the occupied with the liberated part or vice versa; that it is essential to unify the twenty-three units and States which were created in order to accentuate the divisions, and that the problem arising from the physical departure of the colonial Power has aspects other than the end, pure and simple, of classic colonialism; and considering lastly that both the Fourth Committee and the Special Committee on Decolonization were only empowered to consider the problem from one single point of view and were unable to view it in all its phases and dimensions, my delegation, which has been unable to do anything to fill this gap but did not want to take up an attitude that might be regarded as an excuse to block the implementation of a resolution aimed at putting an end to colonization, and which sees in the dispatch of an independent and neutral mission a positive and desirable element indicating the constructive presence of our own Organization—my delegation has, for all these reasons, chosen in the Committee, as it does here, to do nothing to impede or even delay the adoption of this measure. It has preferred not to participate in the drafting or the voting of a resolution which, in its reduced framework, cannot encompass the problem in its entire and real context.

<sup>1/</sup> Quoted in English by the speaker.

<sup>2/</sup> Quoted in English by the speaker.

28. My delegation believes that its attitude, as thus explained, will be taken into account in the final settlement of this burning question which has been engendered by colonization and which should be solved equitably and in depth, and not merely superficially. In a word, effective decolonization should first clear the area from the vestiges of colonialism, so that it will be possible to avoid the implementation of certain schemes which seek to maintain foreign influence by creating an entity that is bound to be dependent.

29. We are still convinced that only the reconstitution of the true Yemen will ensure the real independence of the whole of this natural and historic region of the Arabian peninsula. My delegation would once again recall from this rostrum that the colonial Power, after having South Yemen occupied by the Royal Navy—the southern part, the name of which derives from Aden and has always been called *Almantiqa Aladaniya*, that is, the region of Aden—has gone on stripping and nibbling away the whole region in order to create a protective bastion for its base in Aden.

30. Now that the knell is tolling for this colonial artifice, things must resume their natural place and the unity of Yemen must be restored in its totality in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of its people and not according to plans already drawn up and announced by the foreign occupying Power.

31. Finally, I would ask for this statement, as well as the statements made by my delegation in the Committee, to be communicated for purposes of information to any mission which, for one reason or another, might be given the task of dealing with the question of Aden.

32. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee [A/6557, para. 19].

*The draft resolution was adopted by 96 votes to none, with 3 abstentions.*

33. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of the United Kingdom, who wishes to speak in explanation of his delegation's vote.

34. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): In explanation of my vote, I wish merely to restate a position which I have already carefully made clear in the Fourth Committee.

35. There are sections of the resolution just adopted with which my delegation certainly cannot agree, but on these no further statement is required now, since we have repeatedly made our position on these matters perfectly plain in the past.

36. We voted for the resolution because we are in favour of setting up a United Nations mission to go to South Arabia. That is the wish of the people of South Arabia and of my Government, and, we believe, of the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations.

37. Operative paragraph 5 of the resolution sets out the Mission's mandate, and I state once again the clear understanding and interpretation of my delegation, arrived at after listening closely to the debate in the Fourth Committee: firstly, that there is no precondition for the establishment of the mission or its

dispatch to Aden; and, secondly, that it will be for the mission itself to decide whether and how it can effectively carry out its task. It is on that understanding and that interpretation that I voted in favour of the resolution.

38. The CHAIRMAN: This concludes our consideration of the question of Aden. We now pass on to agenda item 67 relating to the question of Territories under Portuguese administration. The relevant document is A/6554.

39. I give the floor to the representative of Venezuela in explanation of vote before the voting.

40. Mr. CARRASQUERO (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): The world has undergone great upheavals in order to shake off colonialism, one of the most depressing evils that beset us. No one would argue today that this historic process, which has been crystallized in this Organization, should be halted. The process is irreversible; it is supported and sustained by the conscience of mankind.

41. On occasion, it would appear that the Organization's efforts have been frustrated by events and circumstances. Such events and circumstances have, to a large extent, prevented the eradication of the last vestiges of colonialism, as witness the problem of the Territories under Portuguese administration. General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) clearly established the fact that these territories are Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter.

42. These and other resolutions conflict with the position taken by the Portuguese Government which stubbornly refuses to respect the resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council. Venezuela believes that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) is applicable to these territories. We therefore do not accept the legal fiction that the Portuguese colonies in Africa are overseas provinces of Portugal and consequently an integral part of Portuguese territory. We categorically reject any legal subterfuge intended to circumvent the right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

43. Because Venezuela whole-heartedly supports the just aspirations of the people under colonial rule it cannot share the views of Portuguese colonial policy and deplores the stubborn and indefensible position taken by the Portuguese Government, which denies the inalienable right of the peoples in its colonies to self-determination, freedom and independence.

44. It has been a traditional practice for administering Powers to resort to violence to put down rebellions of peoples under colonial rule. Venezuela has consistently criticized the use of force to frustrate the people's right to freedom and for that reason cannot approve the colonial war now being waged by the Government of Portugal at the cost of thousands of innocent lives.

45. The delegation of Venezuela would have supported—as we have done in the past—any anti-colonialist action to put an end to the abnormal, anachronistic situation existing in the Territories administered by Portugal, provided that action was within the Special Committee's terms of reference, which empower



it to recommend to the General Assembly appropriate measures and procedures to bring about the full and prompt application of resolution 1514 (XV) to the Portuguese Territories.

46. In my delegation's view, respect for the division of functions among the various organs of the United Nations is a fundamental principle. Observance of this principle is, we believe, the only way to ensure the validity and moral force of a resolution. This was well explained during the discussion and approval of General Assembly resolution 2107 (XX) at the 1407th plenary meeting of the General Assembly held on 21 December 1965.

47. The situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration has not improved; it is getting worse day by day. The deterioration is attributable to the actions of the Government of Portugal aimed at frustrating the principle of the self-determination of peoples. My delegation cannot accept a situation in which a sociological fiction is allowed to circumvent principles governing the freedom of peoples.

48. Having clearly and unambiguously stated our position on the Territories under Portuguese administration, I should like now to comment on the draft resolution reproduced in paragraph 14 of the Fourth Committee's report [A/6554].

49. In general, we are in agreement with the preamble. However, we have a reservation regarding the sixth preambular paragraph which specifically describes the situation in the Territories as a threat to peace and security, a matter which is, in my delegation's opinion, placed by the Charter within the jurisdiction of the Security Council.

50. In the operative part, paragraph 3 is drafted in a way that my delegation finds difficult to accept without reservation. In the first place, the wording suggests that immigration is a crime against humanity. We believe that immigration from various parts of the world has substantially contributed to the development of many countries, including my own. It should have been made clear that the reference is to immigration intended to impair the legitimate rights of self-determination of the indigenous population. In the second place, although we have condemned any type of relations with the racist Government of South Africa, the Portuguese colonies are not the only source of exports of manpower; if such exports are also described as a crime against humanity, the resolution will be making an indiscriminate charge that will apply particularly to a number of States that are forced by dire economic necessity to export manpower.

51. As regards operative paragraph 7, although we recognize that the General Assembly can, in specific cases listed in the Charter, make recommendations to the Security Council, the fact remains that the General Assembly cannot directly influence the Council's decisions in regard to measures under Chapter VII, as are those enumerated in paragraph 7 of General Assembly resolution 2107 (XX). Paragraphs 7, 8 and 9 in essence call for measures which are, in our opinion, within the jurisdiction of the Security Council.

52. With regard to paragraphs 9 and 10, which are complementary, my delegation feels that in the light of the constitutions of the specialized agencies, it would be a precedent that would impair the rights of all States members of the agencies if political factors were to prevail over other essential factors in determining the economic, financial and technical assistance to be given by the agencies. We refer, of course, to factors of an economic nature.

53. Because we consider that a situation of this kind could be detrimental to a principle of basic importance to the developing world, my delegation believes it to be a sound practice to keep political and economic questions separate.

54. Venezuela defends, and has always defended, with votes as well as words, the struggle of peoples against colonial rule. We cannot, however, vote for the draft resolution [A/6554, para. 14] because of the reservations I have mentioned.

55. However, we would like to place on record Venezuela's support for the inalienable right of the people of the Territories under Portuguese administration to self-determination and independence. Our abstention on the draft resolution should not be construed as reflecting a change in our unwavering anti-colonial position, which is well known to the General Assembly.

56. Mr. DIALLO (Guinea) (translated from French): The delegation of Guinea will vote in favour of the draft resolution [A/6554, para. 14] as a whole, in substance and in form.

57. Our vote is based on considerations which are grounded in history. We think that the United Nations recognizes in this draft the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples for their independence. That is the first point which induces the delegation of Guinea to accept the draft resolution. I stress—recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for their independence, that is to say, the armed struggle which our brethren in Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea are waging today.

58. The second consideration which we should explain before the vote is as follows: the Portuguese Government is condemned in this draft resolution for its systematic refusal to implement resolution 1514 (XV); that induces my delegation to vote for this draft and to support it energetically.

59. The third consideration is the almost complete unanimity with which the Members of the United Nations in this draft resolution consider that the NATO Powers are responsible for the continuance of the struggle in the Portuguese-ruled Territories. They are the parties principally responsible and the principal beneficiaries. Our draft mentions these three elements with vigour and conviction.

60. The fourth element refers to the prospects envisaged in our draft resolution, which clearly show that all the Member States should make their contribution to those who are struggling for their freedom.

61. My delegation is, therefore, happy to find these elements incorporated, elements which are the strength of the United Nations, which define the world-wide responsibilities on both sides, and which also open up for the peoples who are struggling, the

best prospects of achieving their freedom, which is being denied them by the retrograde and stubborn colonialism of Portugal, the only country, along with South Africa, which is unable to understand the trend and rhythm of history and which, like all the impenitent colonialists, will find itself punished when the struggle of the peoples ends.

62. Mr. President, the delegation of Guinea respects what you said at the outset: it has no desire at all to open a long discussion on this problem, which is already well known. I should like to hope that in the light of this protracted, patient, often humanitarian, and at times retrograde, discussion, the General Assembly will accept its responsibilities and vote in favour of the draft resolution. Guinea, for its part, supports it for the reasons I have stated.

63. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee [A/6554, para. 14]. A roll-call vote has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

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

*In favour:* Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan.

*Against:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Italy, Malawi, Mexico, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Sweden, Turkey, Uruguay, Venezuela.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 70 votes to 13, with 22 abstentions.*

64. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote after the vote.

65. Mr. YAMANAKA (Japan): The Japanese delegation made its position clear with regard to the resolution just adopted when it was discussed in the Fourth Committee on 5 December [1654th meeting]. We voted in favour of the draft resolution as a whole included in the Committee's report to the Assembly concerning the Territories under Portuguese administration. At the same time, we expressed reservations concerning

operative paragraphs 6, 7 and 8 and, in particular, strong reservations concerning operative paragraph 7.

66. At the twentieth session of the Assembly, my delegation abstained on resolution 2107 (XX) mainly because we could not agree with operative paragraph 7 and certain other paragraphs. I draw the attention of the Assembly to the fact that this position of my Government has not changed in this respect.

67. My delegation voted for the resolution just adopted, as we explained in the Fourth Committee, in view of our full sympathy with the spirit motivating the presentation of the draft resolution by the co-sponsors.

68. Mr. MIRANDA (Portugal): In regard to the resolution which has just been adopted, my delegation explained its position in the Fourth Committee, and I ask that our brief remarks made at the 1654th meeting of that Committee be considered as reiterated here.

69. My delegation voted against this recommendation because it is contrary to the Charter, contrary to the proven facts, contrary to the indisputable rights and the dignity of the Portuguese nation, and contrary to the wishes and real interests of the populations in question. My delegation objects to the resolution as a whole, but it particularly objects to, and rejects, the sixth, seventh and eighth preambular paragraphs and operative paragraphs 3, 4, 7 and 8.

70. It is indeed a pity that, in this Organization originally dedicated to international harmony on the basis of respect for the sovereignty of each Member State, such resolutions should be adopted. The loser, however, will not be Portugal, but this Organization, for it cannot be otherwise than that the false methods adopted here to deal with Portugal will recoil on this Organization itself, with increasingly adverse impact on its moral authority which is already seriously impaired.

71. This resolution shows how far the Charter has been superseded by the arbitrary politics of a group of Member States. Portugal did not join this Organization in order to become a submissive instrument of such politics. My delegation therefore expresses its most formal and firm reservations in regard to this resolution.

72. The PRESIDENT: This concludes our consideration of agenda item 67.

73. The last item before the Assembly today is agenda item 69, concerning the question of Fiji. The Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee [A/6572, para. 13]. The financial implications of the adoption of the draft resolution are included in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/6562] in connexion with the 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.

74. I now put to the vote the draft resolution on the question of Fiji.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 78 votes to 6, with 17 abstentions.*

## AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples  
(continued)

75. Mr. MENDELEVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The liberation of colonial peoples represents one of the greatest progressive historical processes of our era. One after another the colonial régimes are collapsing in Africa, Asia, America, Oceania, and in their place are emerging independent States which are taking their places as equal members of international society.

76. In 1945, 36.9 million square kilometres were occupied by colonial Powers and at that time their population exceeded 660 million people. Some 8 million square kilometres, with a population of 37 million people, now constitute the territorial and demographic limits of the colonial system. The territory over which the colonialists still hold rule has been reduced to one fourth of its original size and one eighteenth the number of people are now under the colonial yoke.

*Mr. Tinoco (Costa Rica), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

77. Millions of people have become involved in the struggle to eliminate the colonial system. Its principal front lines are located directly in the colonial territories themselves. The freedom of the peoples, large and small, which have thrown off the fetters of colonialism—from the 400 million people of India to the one quarter million people of Barbados—has been wrenched from the colonialists in battle; it was not presented to them as a gift.

78. It is a well-known fact that in the difficult struggle for freedom and independence the peoples of the colonies have a powerful enemy. The colonialists have at their disposal armies equipped with the latest improvements in technology and with vast economic and financial resources, and they are joined together in the military blocs of NATO, SEATO and ANZUS they help one another with deliveries of arms, with loans and all kinds of political machinations in the international arena. Behind them they have centuries of experience in the suppression of peoples and the strategy of "divide and rule", elaborated by several generations of colonial administrators—a strategy which is applied both on the scale of whole continents and also inside individual colonial countries, especially in cases where the peoples do not exercise sufficient vigilance.

79. The peoples of the colonies, however, do not possess modern weapons; they do not have the necessary financial or economic bases nor, at times, even historical experience. They do have the readiness to fight for freedom and the determination to succeed. And they have friends.

80. In support of the colonial peoples seeking to gain their freedom we consistently find the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries which are giving, and will continue to give, the struggling peoples moral and material support. Many countries of Asia and Africa which have won their freedom and independence by hard fighting come out firmly on the side of their

struggling brothers. Their fight is meeting with an ever growing response from the countries of Latin America which, as a result of historical circumstance, succeeded in escaping from the colonial yoke one and a half centuries ago, and whose peoples hand down from father to son stories of their heroic struggle for independence.

81. This is the distribution of the world forces in the struggle for the abolition of the colonial system and the destruction of the last colonial régimes. A special and important place in this distribution of forces belongs to the United Nations. Born at the conclusion of the war against Fascism, the United Nations inscribed in its Charter, as one of the major principles, the equality of rights of great and small nations and came out firmly in favour of the liberation of all colonial peoples.

82. The United Nations has to its credit useful decisions and practical steps taken to support peoples endeavouring to throw off the colonial yoke. Even a very brief enumeration is rather impressive.

83. The United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the recognition by the United Nations of the legitimacy and justice of the national-liberation struggle and United Nations appeals for moral and material assistance and support to the struggling peoples have strengthened the international—political and international—legal basis for anti-colonial action on a world scale.

84. The regular discussion at sessions of the General Assembly in the Security Council, in the United Nations Special Committee on decolonization and in other United Nations organs, on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial countries and Peoples—both in general and as applied to individual colonial territories—has considerably widened the possibilities for political action in favour of peoples which have not yet achieved independence, and has made it possible to organize more and more demonstrations of world public opinion in support of their struggle.

85. The visiting sessions of the United Nations Special Committee on decolonization held in African countries, its work in the immediate vicinity of colonial Territories, and also the dispatch to certain colonial Territories of United Nations visiting missions and groups have created favourable conditions for the United Nations to establish direct contacts with national-liberation movements and to become better acquainted with, and give more assistance to, colonial peoples in their just cause.

86. The repeated representations made by the United Nations to the specialized agencies—UNESCO, FAO, WHO and others—have helped to draw the attention of the specialized agencies to the necessity of ceasing all financial or other aid to the colonialists and to consider the question of assisting the peoples that are fighting for their freedom. Only one specialized agency, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, has so far not needed the voice of the United Nations and, in spite of the latter's clearly expressed wish, is continuing to extend assistance to Portugal which is waging colonialist wars against

three African peoples. It is continuing to give assistance to the Republic of South Africa which, by its policy of apartheid has thrown down a challenge to civilized mankind.

87. A substantial contribution by the United Nations to the anti-colonialist struggle in recent years has been made in the well-prepared and documented reports of the United Nations Special Committee on decolonization about the part played by capitalist monopolies in the Portuguese colonies, in South West Africa and in Southern Rhodesia. These reports have revealed the anatomy and physiology of contemporary colonialism; in the sparse language of facts they have shown how the blood and sweat of the colonial peoples are being processed in the monopolist mill into profits to be divided among the very large capitalist groups of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, West Germany, South Africa and certain other countries.

88. One hundred years ago the prominent English economist, Dunning, wrote: "Capital eschews no profit, or very small profit, just as Nature was formerly said to abhor a vacuum. With adequate profit, capital is very bold. A certain 10 per cent will ensure its employment anywhere; 20 per cent certainly will produce eagerness; 50 per cent, positive audacity; 100 per cent will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 300 per cent, and there is not a crime at which it will scruple nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged". My quotation is from a book by the English economist Dunning, published in 1860—one hundred years ago.

89. The report of the United Nations Special Committee on decolonization [A/6300/Rev.1] on the activities of foreign monopolies in colonial Territories bears witness to the fact that, in the past century, capital has become still greedier, still more ruthless and still more ready to commit crimes.

90. The anti-colonialist decisions of the United Nations are favourably received by the struggling peoples. The leaders of the nationalist organizations of Angola and Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Aden, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia come here to the General Assembly, or apply to the United Nations Special Committee on decolonization in order to describe the situation in their respective Territories and to ask the United Nations for support and co-operation in their struggle.

91. On the whole, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the United Nations has made a definite political contribution, in that, since the adoption in 1960 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, twenty-six colonial Territories, with a total area of more than 5 million square kilometres and a population of nearly 50 million, have cast off the colonial fetters and have founded more than a score of new independent States.

92. The Soviet delegation would like once again from this lofty rostrum to greet, on behalf of the Soviet people, the young independent States of Asia, Africa, America and Oceania, which are represented now in such large numbers in the United Nations.

93. However considerable the successes achieved, still, the struggle for the elimination of the colonialist

régimes is far from finished. It is continuing in the jungles of Angola, on the plains of Mozambique, on the streets of Aden, on the veldt of South West Africa and on the islands of the Indian, Pacific and Atlantic Oceans.

94. If the United Nations wishes to remain in future fully equal to its tasks of granting assistance to the just, anti-colonialist struggle of the peoples, it will need to do very much more than it has done so far.

95. This is because if the specific peculiarities of the present stage of the struggle to abolish the vestiges of the colonial system of imperialism. After all, there are still 37 million people still not liberated and, if to them we add the Africans of South Africa, who, as is universally acknowledged, are placed on the level of a colonial people, it will be seen that the colonial system of imperialism still holds in slavery 54 million people.

96. This, of course, is a far smaller figure than ten or, even more so, twenty years ago, but it is still 54 million people, i.e. 12-15 million families, men, women, children and old people each of whom has from birth the same legitimate right to freedom and human dignity as the citizens of any country represented in the United Nations, except that they are deprived of the opportunities of enjoying that right.

97. However, the point is not merely that decolonization has not yet affected a substantial part of the colonial Territories. The point is, further, that the colonialists are holding on with particular stubbornness to what is still left to them.

98. Let us take a more attentive look at which Territories are still under colonial rule and why the colonialists are clinging to them so firmly.

99. The basic region of colonialism in our times is still the great mass of Territories in Africa—a whole subcontinent, including the Portuguese colonies, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and, practically, South Africa. In addition, there are dozens of colonial possessions of relatively small size scattered over almost all the continents and oceans.

100. The colonial subcontinent in Africa is a huge area of the ruthless, and extremely profitable, exploitation by American, British, West German, South African, French, Belgian and Italian monopolies of several dozens of millions of Africans, an exploitation which the monopolies are trying to extend also over the peoples of the neighbouring independent African States, more especially, Malawi, Botswana and Lesotho. This is one of the principal regions from which the major capitalist States obtain gold, diamonds, platinum, uranium, chrome and many other very valuable materials.

101. From here, from the last major colonial beach-head, the counter-attack of imperialism against free Africa is being prepared. The representatives of the African States are entirely right when they state that not a single African country can feel that it is finally free so long as the peoples of the southern part of the continent have not been liberated.

102. The systematic provocations committed by the Portuguese colonialists against Tanzania, Zambia, Senegal and the Congo are only a reconnaissance exer-



cise in feeling out the stoutness of the defences of the independent African States, in order to discover their possible weak points and then strike a stronger blow. The challenge which is flung at the whole of Africa by the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia is also merely a fighting reconnaissance, the purpose of which is to verify whether conditions are ripe for attempting once again to impose the law of the colonial whip on the liberated African peoples.

103. It would be unrealistic to think that the colonialists will be prepared to retire peacefully from their last major beachhead in Africa. No, they are holding on, and will hold on to it with all their strength; they are waging colonial wars there, they are intensifying repression and strengthening the machinery of violence. A hand-to-hand struggle is going on here between the forces of progress and freedom and the forces of reaction and enslavement. On the outcome of this clash much depends for both sides.

104. The colonialists will not peacefully quit the numerous small Territories also on the different continents and oceans of the world, where they still fly their flag. Aden and Puerto Rico, Chagos and Guam, Okinawa and the Canary Islands constitute the geographical infrastructure of the system of military bases directed against the peace-loving States and peoples. The military bases located in those enclaves and islands are at this moment being used for aggressive purposes more actively than ever before and their network is palpably expanding. The island of Guam has become one of the principal strongpoints of United States aggression in Viet-Nam. United States nuclear bases on the island of Puerto Rico loom over Latin America. More and more military bases are being built and planned in the Indian Ocean with the object of threatening the security of the countries of southern Asia and East Africa. The British colonialists, who were thrown out of Suez ten years ago, have been operating for a long time on military bases in Aden and threatening from there the independent Arab States; now they are unable to hold on in Aden either, but, before leaving there, they are creating new military bases in Oman and the islands of Bahrein. Here, on the so-called small colonial Territories, a struggle is also boiling up for freedom and for the elimination of colonial régimes and military bases. The peoples of those Territories also need support and help.

105. What can the United Nations do in the present circumstances? What should it do in the present phase of the struggle to complete the liquidation of the colonial régimes when the resistance of the colonialists has become especially stubborn, when they are endeavouring, now here, now there, to move to the counter-attack and sparing no means to this end?

106. First of all, in the opinion of the Soviet delegation, the evolution of events requires the United Nations now to categorize more accurately and more thoroughly the maintenance of colonial régimes. We support the idea voiced from this rostrum by the Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on decolonization, the Sierra Leone representative Ambassador Gershon Collier, to the effect that the General Assembly should declare the maintenance of colonial régimes to be a crime against humanity [1485th meeting].

107. Yes; the maintenance of colonial régimes represents a crime against humanity, since the colonial peoples are subjected to oppression, enslavement and racial discrimination for the sake of extracting the super-profits earned by capitalist monopolies.

108. Yes; the maintenance of colonial régimes is a crime against humanity because the colonialists, in their efforts to hold on to their domination, are committing mass murders, exterminating whole groups of the population, waging colonial warfare, and practising repression and torture against the freedom fighters.

109. The maintenance of colonial régimes is a crime against humanity also because it is connected with the systematic deportation of the indigenous inhabitants, their ejection from the most fertile land and the settlement there of white settlers.

110. The maintenance of colonial régimes, moreover, represents a crime against humanity for the further reason that military bases are being established on the colonial Territories, and squads of mercenaries are being trained for interference in the domestic affairs of independent States which are engaged in building their own national life.

111. The maintenance of colonial régimes is a crime against humanity in the same sense in which this crime was defined in the Charter and in the Judgement of the International Military Tribunal for the prosecution of the major Nazi war criminals.

112. If the maintenance of colonial régimes has in our time because, in general, a crime against humanity, then the actions of the Portuguese colonialists and the South African and Southern Rhodesian racists are even more criminal actions that call for the most severe punishment.

113. The Soviet delegation advocates that the twenty-first session of the General Assembly should state the whole of this in its decision on the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

114. And that is not all. It is not enough to categorize a crime or to declare a wish to put an end to it. Thought must be given to effective means of fighting the crime. And here we want to say that, precisely because the colonialists are exhibiting such stubbornness and by their actions threatening international peace and security, for that very reason the time has come to involve the Security Council more actively in solving the problem of decolonization, since the Council is the United Nations organ which, under the United Nations Charter, has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of universal peace and which, according to Article 25 of the Charter, is empowered to adopt decisions that are binding on all States Members of the United Nations.

115. In order to put an end to the crimes of the colonialists—and primarily of the Portuguese and South African colonialists—the time has come to put into operation Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, i.e., Article 41, providing for enforcement measures of a non-military character, and, if that proves insufficient, then Article 42, concerning the use of force by the United Nations against those who violate

international peace and security. The application of Articles 41 and 42 of the United Nations Charter—that is the province of the Security Council. It is, therefore, natural that a more active involvement of the Security Council in solving the problems of decolonization will lay a special responsibility upon the permanent members of the Security Council, since the effectiveness of the actions of the Security Council depends on their unanimity.

116. The Soviet Union, as a permanent member of the Security Council, is prepared, as the Soviet Government has repeatedly stated, to display all the requisite consistency and to co-operate in the adoption by the Security Council of effective decisions to eliminate the threat to peace and security arising in connexion with the resistance shown by the colonialists to the liberation of the colonial peoples. It is for the other permanent members of the Security Council—the United States of America, the United Kingdom and France—to say the word. Knowing from many years' experience of the consideration of colonial problems in the United Nations how little inclination some of them have—not in words but in deeds—to promote the elimination of colonialism, we would regard it as logical if here, in the General Assembly, they were presented with a clear demand not to prevent the adoption by the Security Council of decisions which would really help the peoples of the colonies in their struggle. The General Assembly should give warning that, if any States Members of the United Nations which are members of the Security Council, should, nevertheless, try to hinder the adoption by the Council of effective decisions on these questions, then the whole world will regard them as accomplices in the crime against humanity.

117. Such a warning to certain Powers, which are allies of Portugal in NATO, is especially necessary now when their military co-operation with Portugal is being still further stepped up.

118. If evidence to this effect were required, one need only cite a very recent fact. Only a week has elapsed since the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, by an enormous majority of votes, approved a resolution on the question of the Portuguese colonies—we confirmed it today in plenary session—which contains an appeal to the NATO countries to cease all supplies of arms and war materials to Portugal.

119. Barely a week has gone by—and the United States of America and the United Kingdom have concluded in NATO a new military agreement with Portugal on the creation of a joint American-British-Portuguese Command for the region of the Iberian peninsula, which is, incidentally, located in the immediate vicinity of Africa. That is the attitude taken to United Nations decisions by those to whom an alliance with Portugal is more valuable and dearer than the freedom of the African peoples. As we see it, the General Assembly should speak its piece on this subject. It cannot be passed over in silence.

120. But that is still not enough and, as it seems to us, this still does not exhaust the tasks that face the United Nations at the present stage of the struggle for the abolition of colonial régimes. In our opinion, the General Assembly must demand, more resolutely

than ever before, the extension of moral and material support to the peoples of the colonies who are trying to attain their liberation. That appeal must be specially addressed to all the United Nations specialized agencies dealing with questions of economic development, financial assistance, co-operation in the fields of culture, public education, public health, etc. They can do a great deal of useful work for those who are self-sacrificingly fighting for freedom.

121. There is still one further point which should be brought up by the General Assembly in its decision on the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: the time has come to give a serious warning to the colonialists that the United Nations regards as a contravention of the United Nations Charter, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, not only such actions as the waging of colonial wars, the commission of acts of repression against freedom-fighters, but also the employment of all kinds of neo-colonialist methods such as installing puppet régimes in colonial Territories, the expansion there of the activities of foreign financial and economic monopolies, the location there of military bases, the dismemberment of national territory and any kind of manoeuvres aimed at disguising colonialism and thereby misleading public opinion and impeding the attainment by colonial peoples of self-determination and independence.

122. Two years ago the Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned States spoke out firmly against neo-colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. We consider that, in the interests of all peoples, in the interest of future generations this must now be done by the United Nations General Assembly also. This would be especially timely as the colonialists have recently been resorting more and more frequently to the use of neo-colonialist methods and placing more and more reliance on them. One need only recall the policy of the United Kingdom in Aden and Southern Rhodesia.

123. Those are the main lines to be followed in the decisions which, in the Soviet delegation's opinion, must be taken by the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. The adoption of these decisions would mean making a new political contribution—matching the requirements of the times—to the struggle of peoples for the abolition of colonialism, doing what can and should be done by the United Nations, so as to ensure that 1967 becomes the year of the complete and final elimination of colonial régimes.

124. In our opinion, the further intensification of all forms of support for peoples in their hard fight to complete the elimination of colonial régimes is the bounden duty of each State Member of the United Nations and a point of honour for the United Nations as a whole.

125. Mr. KATENGA (Malawi): My delegation has read with great care the 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 [A/6300/Rev.1].

126. My country, like many other countries of Africa and Asia, had a long colonial history before attaining

independence and sovereign status. Our leaders, including my President, saw the insides of prisons during the colonial régimes. It is in this respect that my Government and the people of Malawi are opposed to any colonial rule which invariably is rule imposed by a minority or alien government on the indigenous peoples of the regions of Africa, Asia and islands dotted throughout the globe. My Government believes in the right of peoples to be masters of their own destiny.

127. It is in this respect that I want to make it categorically clear that Malawi has always opposed, and will always continue to oppose, any imposition of a system of government by one country upon another or by one group of peoples upon another.

128. I should like to remind the Assembly that Malawi is signatory to the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. This charter, *inter alia*, exhorts all its members to work for the liquidation of colonialism and imperialism on the African continent. I should like it to be known that, as far as my Government is concerned, our opposition to colonialism is blanket—we are opposed to colonialism irrespective of where it comes from. To us freedom and independence are such sacred phenomena that we seek not to point our finger in one direction in search of the evil of colonialism, but in all those directions where we see its manifestations.

129. We support those peoples in Africa which are still under the shackles of colonial rule in their struggles for independence. We are placed in a position where we form the dividing line between independent Africa and Africa still under colonial domination or minority governments. This, as can be seen, is not the most comfortable position for a nation whose major effort is directed towards national building with the aim of improving the living standards of its peoples. Despite all these adverse conditions, Malawi has continued to register new achievements in its programmes, both economic and social.

130. The concern for our well-being has not, however, diminished our concern for those of our brothers and sisters who have not yet attained the status of independence but are striving hard to do so. They can expect full sympathy from us and our most sincere moral support.

131. The investigations of the Committee of Twenty-four have brought to light aspects of the situation existing in colonial countries that my Government was not quite aware of. It is our hope that such fact-finding groups will continue to furnish this Organization with necessary information without which no just or constructive decisions can be reached. In this connexion, my delegation wishes to bring to the attention of the Organization the point that efforts must be made by the Organization, in the interest of finding a just and equitable settlement to colonial questions, to hear and take note of points of view of petitioners representing as wide a range of viewpoints as possible. It is the accommodation of all these viewpoints that will set the colonial countries on the path to stability upon their attainment of independence.

132. I must stress that on political stability depends much of the future achievements of new nations.

We are all aware that one of the major factors for disturbance of stability of young nations has been the neglect on the part of the colonizing countries to equip the indigenous peoples with the necessary skills for managing their own affairs.

133. It is our hope that those territories still under colonial rule are being prepared with the utmost goodwill for the autonomy which my country feels should be conferred as soon as the political situation allows. To this end, it will be necessary to make constitutional changes in the territories under foreign rule so as to allow the participation in the governing machinery of the indigenous people, in order to facilitate a smooth transference of power and of authority in the shortest possible time. We are encouraged in this respect by the constitutional developments in territories which have recently joined the United Nations.

134. We are equally concerned about the imbalance between revenue collected on exports and the amounts spent on imports. The wide, adverse export-import margin, unless drastically redressed, will impose a heavy burden of balance of payments on the territories as they enter the family of sovereign nations.

135. If I may be allowed, I should now like to read two short paragraphs from the report:

"The situation of refugees in Malawi was desperate. For more than a year, since the arrival there of the first group of refugees, the problem had been increasing. FRELIMO [Frente de Libertação de Moçambique] had done everything it could to make the plight of the refugees known to the Government of Malawi, and although that Government was doing what it could, no clearly defined plans had been made to relieve the situation. Most of the refugees had gone to the islands in the Lake of Malawi, the waters of which were officially considered to belong to Mozambique, although the islands themselves were Malawi territory. There were now over 8,000 refugees, most of them still on the two islands, with a few also in the border area of south Malawi.

"With regard to possible further help from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Special Committee itself should ask the High Commissioner what approach the Malawi Government had made to him, what relationship, if any, had developed, and what problems had prevented the refugees in Malawi from being given the same assistance as those, for example, in Tanzania. Religious and other humanitarian bodies were not being given the same facilities to help refugees in Malawi as they were in other countries. The petitioners appealed to the Special Committee to see that such facilities were made available." [A/6300/Rev.1, chap. V (part I) paras. 397-398.]

136. The first paragraph refers to the situation of the refugees from Mozambique to my country. The two islands referred to in this paragraph, the islands of Likoma and Chisumulu, are indeed part of Malawi and have, in the past few months, received a fairly large exodus of refugees from Mozambique. Some of these refugees have entered my country by crossing the common border we share with Mozambique on our south-eastern side. But I should like to point out an

inaccuracy appearing in this report. I do this so that the representatives here may have a correct picture of this most unfortunate situation where entire families, including women and children, had to flee their homes in Mozambique.

137. On the island of Likoma alone we have about 2,000 refugees, including men, women and children, all of whom crossed our eastern border with Mozambique. The number 8,000 which appears in the report is therefore an exaggeration. Moreover, the island's size is such that it could not accommodate the 8,000 people alleged to be on the island. The population of Likoma itself is no larger than 5,000 people at the most.

138. As is the case in such circumstances, these people came completely unprovided for as far as food, shelter and other basic necessities of life are concerned. A part from the camp set up by my Government on the island for the relief of the refugees, the people of Likoma flung their doors wide open to their less fortunate friends and treated them as their own kind, which they are.

139. My Government sent teams of medical personnel with equipment, food, clothing and other materials to Likoma island, resulting in a total cost of more than £11,000 in less than eleven months, to help resettle and rehabilitate the unfortunate victims of the political crisis in Mozambique. As will be seen, this represents a substantial sum of money drawn upon our slender resources.

140. Furthermore, my Government has taken measures to accommodate some of the children of the refugees in the existing local schools run both by missionaries on the island and by the Government of Malawi.

141. As for those other refugees who have crossed the border into Malawi on our south-eastern side, their number is more difficult to determine because the imaginary line drawn by the colonial Powers between Malawi and Mozambique fails to take into account the fact that the families on both sides of the line are related and speak the same languages, and that, in the difficult situation facing those in Mozambique, they simply fled across and took refuge with their relatives in Malawi.

142. My President, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, made it abundantly clear, in the Malawi National Parliament on 18 May 1966, that those Africans from Mozambique who voluntarily came to Malawi and wanted to settle down would not go through the ridiculous process of naturalization to become citizens of Malawi, but might, by simply registering, attain full citizenship with all the rights and responsibilities that go with it. Nor will they be enticed to stay should they want to change their minds later. To be specific, my President on that day said, *inter alia*:

"From now onward, all the Africans in Mozambique... are entitled, if they live in this country, or they are a part of the same family on the other side of the border, to become citizens of Malawi by registration, without naturalization."

143. We, on our part, consider it our responsibility to do the best we can for the people fleeing from

Mozambique, and so far our record can be matched with any that is available on this problem. We will continue to do this on our own as long as we find it within our ability to do so, which so far has been the case. Should this case acquire such dimensions that we cannot handle it ourselves, we shall, of course, consider appealing for assistance.

144. I should like to end by saying that my delegation agrees with and supports the major part of this report, but I want it to be emphasized and properly recorded that the figure quoted in the report in relation to the number of refugees from Mozambique on the island of Likoma, which is Malawi territory, is incorrect. I wanted also to enlighten this Assembly on the valuable service my Government has rendered to alleviate the plight of the refugees from Mozambique. In this respect I want to deplore the negative attitude that is implied in the paragraphs of the report to which I have already referred. My Government expected to be complimented for its efforts to accommodate the refugees despite its slender resources.

145. As for the draft resolution before the Assembly [A/L.506], my delegation supports the general principle this draft resolution embodies. There are a few sentences on which my delegation has reservations, apart from the portion of the report I just referred to which my delegation does not support. In view of the fact that operative paragraph 3 of this draft resolution approves the report of the Special Committee, my delegation will have no other choice but to abstain on the draft for the reasons I have outlined above.

146. Mr. KULAGA (Poland): In many respects 1965 may have marked the transition from a most significant stage in the struggle against colonialism into what we should like to consider as the final act in this tragic chapter of history which is called colonialism.

147. The period we passed through began on the wave of an unprecedented surge in the national liberation struggle. Its landmarks were the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and, since 1960, the accession to independent statehood of thirty-nine States, all former colonial territories.

148. Looking back at these few years one cannot fail to see the progress achieved. It is evident first of all in the number of peoples, in the areas, freed from colonialism. It is evident in the extensive work in what I would call the codification of the principles of decolonization: the reaffirmation of its unconditionality, the recognition of its legitimacy, the formulation of the right of colonial peoples to seek and receive moral, political and material support in their struggle. This progress is tangible in the efforts at narrowing the field of arbitrary authority assumed by the colonial Powers in using dependent Territories in their selfish interest: politically, in combating not only colonialism but also neo-colonialist methods; economically, by reaching to the roots of colonialism, to the interests of the monopolies of colonial Powers; and militarily, by condemning the increasing use of dependent Territories to further the military and strategic aggressive plans of the colonial Powers.

149. For this progress recognition must be given to the untiring efforts and the dynamism of the Special



Committee in the implementation of its mandate. We for our part strongly commend the Committee on its work.

150. Simultaneously, however, new problems have emerged; old problems have assumed new proportions. A new stage has begun, marked by the increased aggressiveness of colonialist forces, by the generalized use of neo-colonialist methods, and even by attempts at colonial reconquest. That, in turn, has inevitably led to increased tension. The agenda of this year's session of the Assembly, as well as that of the Security Council, is eloquent proof to this effect.

151. It seems, therefore, that the yearly assessment of the situation as regards decolonization which we traditionally undertake under the item on the implementation of the 1960 Declaration must this year yield to a general reassessment of the situation, as well as of our methods to deal with it further.

152. The seriousness of the situation requires such a reassessment. The growing revolt at the continued existence of colonialism makes it a problem of top priority. The principles we have established during these past years and the knowledge we have gained make that possible.

153. I shall not attempt to deal with all the problems which we face in the field of decolonization. Many speakers who have preceded me have made extremely interesting statements and points which I shall not repeat. I would limit myself to a few facts.

154. Fact—or, rather, challenge—number one is the situation in the southern part of Africa: South Africa, South West Africa, the Portuguese colonies and Southern Rhodesia. We have—and rightly, in the opinion of my delegation—come to consider the situation in that part of Africa as an entity. Each development that reinforces any of the components of that colonialist and racist entity reinforces all of them, reinforces the entity. Each development that weakens any of the components weakens the whole. But for us the problem stands in terms not of weakening but of completely eliminating the system of racial domination and exploitation which constitutes its essence.

155. It is by now evident that the colonialist and racist structure which has entrenched itself in power there is a determined, ruthless one. In many respects that ruthlessness bears the marks of desperation, for no intelligent human being can, in the second half of the twentieth century, expect that a system which is a total and aggressive negation of each and every value for which progressive humanity now stands can be indefinitely enforced.

156. But that ruthlessness is not only a result of blind race hatred. It is also, it seems, a result of cold calculation, of an analysis of all elements political, economic and strategic, dictating the attitudes of many countries towards southern Africa. The emotional appeal—devoid of any social and political contents—to "kith and kin" is being used in many cases, as was so well recalled in the speech of the Foreign Minister of Zambia on the question of Southern Rhodesia.

157. In very large part, these calculations rest on the professed fear of some countries of a "power

vacuum" in that part of Africa, an arrogant doctrine indeed since it negates the central fact that there can be no vacuum where there are peoples whom we recognize as sovereign in their countries. They rest on a community of interest in global strategy, as well as in African strategy. "Anti-communism" and opposition to liberation movements are the twin bases of that strategy.

158. From all the many statements of South African leaders and Press, one may recall this declaration of faith by Die Burger, a pro-government newspaper, that

"... the vital interests of Britain and South Africa are interwoven in too many ways to be torn apart by order of South Africa's persecutors." <sup>3/</sup>

159. One can note a similar undertone in the statement of Portugal's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Nogueira, when discussing the attitude of the Western Powers towards colonialist countries:

"the world balance will shift against the West and the main international issues, which have nothing to do with colonialism, will be settled by the arbitration and dictation of the nations of the grey area." <sup>4/</sup>

160. If we compare these declarations with the facts, is it not the military and economic assistance from several Western countries, members of NATO, which enable Portugal to continue its colonial war on three fronts? One need only recall the resolution which the General Assembly has just adopted. Was it not Britain which surrendered the armed forces of the Central African Federation to the racist minority régime in Salisbury, thus giving it the military means of enforcing its doctrine and defying even the officially declared policy of the United Kingdom?

161. But the basic factor in those calculations is the economic one, with \$4,500 million of Western investment continually growing in South Africa with a rate of profit double that of investments in other countries [see A/AC.115/L.6/Rev.2]. Ninety-five per cent of the total mining industry in South West Africa is owned abroad, and ever new concessions are granted to Western monopolies, as has been described in the report of the Special Committee on decolonization on the activities of foreign monopolies in South West Africa and the Portuguese colonies. There has been an ever increasing trade by those interests, as we have seen so convincingly from the example of the so-called sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, sanctions based on the principle of communicating vessels.

162. As a result, a feeling of high satisfaction with these conditions prevails, as has been eloquently expressed, by, among others, Mr. Hermann J. Abs, a leading West German financier and at that time head of the Deutsche Bank, who said:

"South Africa is considered by West Germany as a country in the first line for safe investment. Not much encouragement is needed to persuade investors about it. One has, of course, to take into

<sup>3/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, agenda item 36, document A/5932, para. 88.

<sup>4/</sup> Franco Nogueira, The United Nations and Portugal (London, Sidgwick and Jackson, 1963), p. 51.

account the political aspect... I am inclined to believe, however, that one should continue to do business as usual." 5/

163. It is therefore understandable that racist leaders in southern Africa do not feel too much concern about United Nations action. It was Mr. Eric Louw who, in 1963, said that

"... it stood to reason that countries like the United Kingdom and the United States of America which had a profitable export trade with South Africa, shipping and air services to South Africa, and large investments in the country, would not be prepared to support proposals for sanctions. He added that the Republic's huge gold production also influenced their attitude." 6/

164. It was therefore completely justified for the Special Committee to state the evident conclusion that the activities of those monopolies constituted a major obstacle for the achievement by the peoples of the southern part of Africa of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

165. This is then the situation we face: a racist bloc, covering almost half a continent, objectively backed by the support of a number of Western countries, which constitutes an area of serious tension and a threat to peace and security.

166. This challenge must be met, and met with appropriate means. A first step was made with the revocation of South Africa's mandate over South West Africa. It must now be followed with measures aimed at the roots of the problems. Debates, appeals and recommendations by the General Assembly have achieved a political and psychological impact in awakening public opinion, in circumscribing the problem, in recommending the means to solve it. It is now for the Security Council to take action; it is now for the Western Powers in the Security Council to accept their responsibilities. Without even entering into the question of whether or not there is a threat to peace and security in the situation in southern Africa—and we for our part consider that such a threat does exist—it is by now abundantly clear that, as far as the United Nations is concerned, it is upon the attitude of Western Powers that any progress towards a solution of the question hinges. In Rhodesia, it is British willingness to use force against the Smith régime; in the Portuguese colonies, it is some Western countries' assistance to this mini-colonial Power; in South Africa, it is British, American, and West German economic interest. In the Security Council, it is the willingness of the Western Powers to use the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

167. A problem which, until 1965, received somewhat less attention in this Committee now comes high in our order of priorities. It is that of the small territories. Two main considerations militate in favour of an increase in attention to these territories. Firstly, independently of their size, their economic or geographical position, their inhabitants have a right to pronounce themselves, in all freedom, with full knowledge of their

rights, as to their future status. Secondly, these territories cannot be considered as mere pawns on the political and strategic chess-boards of the administering Powers, as pieces of land which can be carved, dismembered and rearranged according to the strategic needs of these Powers, and their inhabitants shuffled around like non-human beings. United Nations responsibility is not and cannot be smaller because of the smaller size of a given dependent territory. As a matter of fact, according to resolution 2105 (XX), the United Nations is to pay special attention to small territories, and this special attention is indeed needed.

168. All the information available to us shows that there is a definite trend towards using small territories as sites for a chain of military installations and bases of the administering Powers. From Ascension to Guam, going through the the new Indian Ocean colonial territory, and, by the way, fitting in with the northern boundaries of the racist bloc in southern Africa, a circle of bases is being developed.

169. In this way, the administering Powers are violating a number of principles and resolutions of the United Nations: from Chapter XI of the Charter to resolutions 1514 (XV), 2023 (XX), 2066 (XX) ending with resolution 2105 (XX), which condemned the installation of bases in dependent territories and asked the administering Powers to dismantle them and to refrain from establishing new ones.

170. In this way, the administering Powers are creating new areas of tension, since such bases are not only staging areas for aggression, as has already been proved and is being proved every day in the case of Guam, Ascension Island and Aden, but bases of aggression directed at smaller countries struggling for the consolidation of their independence. One may ask: What may be the potential use of bases in the Seychelles and Mauritius islands?

171. What else do we know about small Territories? More, perhaps, from tourist prospectuses than from information received under Article 73 e of the Charter. What is being done to develop the economic possibilities of those Territories? What use is being made of the natural wealth and resources which, according to resolution 1514 (XV), are to be freely disposed of for their own needs by the peoples of those Territories?

172. All those questions must be asked, and must be answered. The means for getting an answer, in accordance with the special attention which is to be accorded to those Territories, are specified in resolution 2105 (XX)—they are visiting groups of the Special Committee to study the situation in those Territories. That clause should now be put into effect. In the meantime it is necessary that maximum conditions be created for the free development and choice of their future by the inhabitants of those Territories and that no engagements of any character limiting in any manner this freedom of choice be made on their behalf.

173. Only a short time ago we ended our debate on Aden. Our central preoccupation in that debate was to foil the attempts of the administering Power to dictate a neo-colonialist solution of the problem, to transfer power to a subservient régime, guaranteeing the administering Power's interests without its having to bear the increasingly difficult and onerous respon-

5/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, agenda item 36, document A/5932, para. 214.

6/ Ibid., Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex no. 12, document A/5825, para. 560.

sibility of direct rule and oppression. We have striven in this debate to ensure a solution in conformity with the wishes of the people, with the interests of peace and security in that region.

174. Altogether we have seen colonial strategy at work on three planes: concentration in areas considered important from the economic point of view—that is the case of southern Africa; selection in the case of Territories important from the strategic point of view—that applies particularly to the small Territories; projection of suzerainty into the future so far as political interests are concerned—that is the case of neo-colonialism, most recently exemplified by the question of Aden.

175. There is one common denominator to all the cases: oppression of colonial peoples, suppression of their aspirations leading to outright aggression and armed repression, to what has come to be rightly regarded and denounced as a crime against humanity.

176. That is why we thought it so necessary to make a reassessment of our action in the field of decolonization, adapting it to present conditions, using all the means at our disposal to further the aim which the majority of this Assembly has always so consistently sought: the final elimination of colonialism.

177. That is why, in debates on colonial matters at the present session, our delegation has tried to make its own modest contribution to this reassessment.

178. And it is in that spirit that we shall take a position on the draft resolution [A/L.506] now before us.

179. Mr. BOŽOVIĆ (Yugoslavia): The report of the Committee of Twenty-four and the consideration of the problem of colonialism during the present session show that the process of decolonization is evolving under extremely difficult conditions, particularly in central and southern Africa. In their struggle for the implementation of the principles and the provisions laid down by the Charter of the United Nations on the right of every people to self-determination and independence, the peoples living in areas still under colonial rule and the United Nations are facing the concerted resistance of powerful forces that have set for themselves the aim of retarding the process of political and economic emancipation of peoples and States and restricting their freedom to choose their way of life and the course of development that best suits their interests and aspirations. By using their material superiority as a means of blackmail, pressure and interference, by resorting even to the use of arms, those forces are directly engaged, through political, economic and military assistance, in armed and other repressive actions carried on by the Government of Portugal and the racists in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa in the Territories under their domination.

180. The facts brought out in the report of the Special Committee on decolonization leave no doubt that the same forces are supporting Salazar, Smith and Vorster, that weapons used against the population in that part of Africa are of the same origin and provided by the same sources, that colonial wars and repressive measures against the African population are part of a broader plan of colonial and neo-colonial

forces bent on preserving foreign political and economic interests and the strongholds which are being used to endanger the hard-won independence of the African States and to secure the privileged positions and influence of some Powers.

181. In that context there exists an undeniable link between all that is happening in Viet-Nam and the other parts of the world where a policy from the position of strength is being applied and the actions of the Portuguese colonizers and the white racists in Africa. Encouraged by the attitude of some other defenders of a system of social relationships in which the exploitation of human and material resources of other peoples is inherent, the Portuguese colonizers and racists in the southern part of Africa have come to the conclusion that they can also engage in their small but no less dangerous imperialist wars and deprive peoples of their inalienable rights. Relying on the strength of their allies, they are convinced that they can achieve their aims. They therefore reject as naive the contention that no power can prevent a people from becoming free if that people has resolved that it will no longer reconcile itself to having the status of a slave—a status that is being imposed upon it by foreign political and economic interests.

182. The history of the struggle of many peoples in the past, among whom are also the people of my country, has demonstrated how naive have been and still are those who do not believe in the strength of a people which is determined to become free. Temporary and apparent success scored in the struggle against people who are fighting for their freedom should not, therefore, mislead anyone nor should a wrong conclusion be drawn from it, a conclusion which, in a world seething with destructive weapons, could lead to catastrophic mistakes and unforeseeable consequences.

183. The forces backing the colonial Powers and racists in Africa do not restrict themselves to direct engagement in the struggle against colonial peoples. Aware of the fact that the full political and economic emancipation of the African States and their unity of action would render impossible the maintenance of foreign domination on African soil, foreign Powers are attempting, by taking recourse to measures of economic and other forms of pressure, to influence the orientation of the internal and external policies of the newly liberated African States. Countless obstacles are being placed in the way of the efforts exerted by these countries to develop at a more rapid pace, to create a material basis for preserving and strengthening their political independence and to become capable of rendering their full contribution to the struggle for the peace and equality of the peoples as soon as possible. The newly liberated countries only recently freed from classical colonial relationships, comprising today the majority of the international community, are encountering, especially in Africa, attempts at renewed subjugation to the interests and the policies of foreign Powers. The direct results of such actions of the colonial and neo-colonial Powers on African soil, facilitated by the existence of colonial strongholds in that part of the world, are crises experienced by the newly liberated countries—crises in their mutual relations as well as in their relations with countries outside Africa. All this has as a consequence the creation of a situation in which the se-

curity of these States and peace in Africa are constantly being threatened. In this way, countries which, by the logic of their development so far and the aspirations of their people, desire to be a factor for peace, progressive development and international co-operation based on equality are being transformed into an area of conflict of foreign interests, political and economic pressure and the exercise of force.

184. These profoundly anti-historic tendencies, dangerous both because of the disturbances they are causing and because of their negative impact upon international relations and the peace in the world, require broad political action by the international Organization. The General Assembly, in our opinion, could not fulfil its obligations towards the peoples still living in colonies or respond to the interest of peace in the world if it failed to face the facts and to muster sufficient strength to draw attention to the real causes of the alarming situation in the field of decolonization and in international relations in general and to recommend measures that would contribute towards the elimination of the dangers hovering above mankind today. It seems to us that it is necessary to consider the possibility of adopting a document which—taking as a departure point the negative developments in international relations and recognizing that the liquidation of colonial relationships constitutes a vital condition for the securing of relations of co-operation and peace in the world—would recommend concrete actions for the liberation of the remaining colonies and for supporting the efforts made by the newly liberated countries with a view to consolidating their independence and preserving their sovereignty.

185. The report of the Committee on decolonization contains irrefutable facts about the negative impact of the activities of foreign economic interests in the Territories dominated by Portugal, in Southern Rhodesia and in South Africa.

186. The report has again pointed out that Portuguese armed forces are using in their colonies weapons received by virtue of their membership in NATO or under bilateral agreements concluded with some of their allies. It is also stressed in the report that foreign military bases in colonies constitute one of the basic obstacles to the liberation of colonial peoples and an instrument of pressure and interference in the affairs of neighbouring States. Furthermore, these bases are being used for aggressive actions against other States. Aware of the fact that such actions by foreign Powers and foreign economic interests represent the main—today, it can be said, the sole—obstacle standing in the way of the struggle for freedom of the people still under colonial domination, the Committee on decolonization recommends that the General Assembly invite all the States concerned to restrain the activities of companies whose countries of origin are such States and to discontinue actions representing violations of obligations undertaken under the Charter and, furthermore, participation in any way in the struggle waged by Portugal and racists in the southern part of Africa against the populations of territories under their rule.

187. In reference to the foregoing, I wish to say something about the attempts to have the essence and the real character of actions undertaken by some

countries and foreign economic interests in the central and southern parts of Africa clouded by arguments which ignore the specific positions of colonial peoples under the system created by the Charter of the United Nations. Frequently we hear arguments about the usefulness of foreign investments in other countries, and in this respect experiences by individual independent States are cited. It is sufficient, we believe, to mention that foreign economic interests operate in independent countries on the basis of negotiations in the course of which these countries have had an opportunity to decide about the conditions of inflow and the actions of foreign economic interests. The colonial peoples, however, have no possibility of exercising their influence upon the decision-making, and as a consequence they are in a way the object of trade between the colonial Powers and foreign interests. Therefore, the contention to the effect that under such conditions, especially under the conditions of colonial wars in the Territories under the rule of Portugal and of the repressive measures in Southern Rhodesia and in South Africa, the actions of foreign economic interests are actually serving to raise the standards of living of those peoples cannot stand the test of honest scrutiny. What is even more important, and what is often forgotten, not accidentally, is that through foreign investment in those Territories, particularly at this time, the conditions in which the populations of those Territories are subjected to oppression and plunder are being extended. Crumbs from the tables of the rich, who are becoming richer by the exploitation of the cheap labour and material wealth of those countries, cannot compensate for all the sufferings and deprivations to which those peoples are exposed daily. It is only under conditions of full and genuine freedom of those peoples that benefits from foreign economic activity—advantageous to all partners—could be expected.

188. As far as the military bases are concerned, it is legally indefensible and politically erroneous to compare them with foreign military bases located within the territories of independent States that have accepted such bases and possess the right to seek their withdrawal at their discretion. In the case of colonies, where the populations are deprived of any possibility of deciding on these matters, the United Nations, as the protector of the colonized peoples, has every right and the obligation, in the interest of the implementation of the provisions of the Charter and the safeguarding of peace, to demand the dismantling of such bases.

189. An objective analysis of the present situation shows that there exists a glaring contradiction between the words and deeds of individual States in respect of the process of decolonization in the central and southern part of Africa. It is high time to stop hiding behind verbal condemnations of the policies pursued by the Portuguese colonialists and white racists in Africa behind statements of disagreement with such policies, behind expressions of sympathy for the victims of repressive measures and punitive armed actions, the exercise of which is made possible only through extensive assistance in arms and other forms of help extended to Salazar, Smith and Vorster. The verbal support, consistent though it may be, for the struggle of colonial peoples for their



liberation cannot be an excuse for the part which some of the countries are playing today in the prolongation of the sufferings of those peoples. The policy of a country is judged today more by its deeds than by its words.

190. We are not idealists, of course, who expect that the countries which are supporting the retaining of relations of foreign domination and colonialism will help the struggle of colonial peoples for liberation. However, we have the right, in the interest of peace and security for all, to demand that these countries should stop extending assistance to colonialists and racialists, an assistance that is helping them to engage, behind the shield of their powerful allies, in armed action and punitive expeditions which are causing immense human and material losses to the peoples who are fighting for their freedom and independence.

191. The stability of peace in Africa and throughout the world today depends largely upon an undelayed liquidation of colonial and racial strongholds on that continent and elsewhere. It is our common duty, therefore, to turn decisively against the real causes which are giving rise to concern in that part of the world and to address our demands primarily to those upon whose actions, in the final analysis, depends the peaceful solution of the problems. These problems, if left without an immediate settlement, could lead to the shedding of blood of innocent people, the consequences of which could be extremely grave owing to the racial character of the conflict in that part of Africa.

192. Guided by these considerations and the desire to eliminate the hotbeds of conflict as soon as possible, the delegation of Yugoslavia has sponsored the draft resolution now under consideration by the Assembly.

193. I have concentrated on the problems which are generally considered today to be the most acute and the most dangerous and which, therefore, require the immediate attention of the General Assembly. There is also the problem of the so-called small territories which, due to special circumstances, require timely measures in order to find the most appropriate solutions.

194. In this respect I would venture only to suggest to the Committee of Twenty-four that it consider the possibility of convening, under the auspices of the United Nations, a conference of representatives of those small territories. Such a conference would enable the representatives of those peoples to bring out their problems and to state their desires, to propose pertinent solutions on the basis of which the

United Nations could work out a broad programme of action, with a view to helping to solve the problems posed by the existence of the so-called small territories, whose people also have the right to self-determination and independence.

195. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In exercise of the right of reply I call on the representative of the United States.

196. Mrs. ANDERSON (United States of America): I wish to exercise my right of reply in connexion with statements made earlier today regarding Puerto Rico.

197. The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is a fully self-governing and autonomous entity, as has been confirmed by the General Assembly of the United Nations. It was established following the approval by an overwhelming vote of the people of Puerto Rico in 1952. It was recognized as self-governing and autonomous by resolution 748 (VIII) adopted by the General Assembly on 27 November 1953, which stated that the people of Puerto Rico had "effectively exercised their right to self-determination" and that the territory was no longer non-self-governing.

198. In regular elections since Puerto Rico became a self-governing Commonwealth, the population has had ample opportunity to demonstrate its views on this subject. In the last election, held in November 1964, approximately 60 per cent of the people voted for the party which advocates continuing Commonwealth status, and 35 per cent voted for the party favouring statehood in the United States. Less than 3 per cent voted for the independence party.

199. To bring Puerto Rico up now for discussion as a non-self-governing territory is an entirely improper procedure, in view of the freedom with which Puerto Ricans have expressed themselves concerning their political status on numerous occasions. Votes such as those in the 1964 elections have evidenced unmistakably the lack of interest in Puerto Rico in independence from the United States. The option has repeatedly and clearly been put before the people of the island and has been resoundingly rejected. To raise the question here today is to question the continuing validity of a decision which the United Nations General Assembly itself had duly adopted—a precedent which, in the view of my delegation, could have extremely dangerous repercussions. The United States strongly opposes any such move.

*The meeting rose at 6 p.m.*