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President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).

AGENDA ITEM 76

Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly:

(a) Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/8111)

1. Mr. EL BARADEI (United Arab Republic), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the Fifth Committee of agenda item 76 (a) [A/8111]. The Fifth Committee has submitted a draft resolution, in paragraph 5 of its report, which it hopes will be adopted by the Assembly unanimously.

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

2. The PRESIDENT: In the absence of any objection, I shall take it that the Assembly approves the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 5 of its report [ibid.].

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 2620 (XXV)).

AGENDA ITEM 24

Special programme of activities in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

3. Mr. CHADHA (India), Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly 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 concerning the special programme of activities in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration [A/8086].

4. The nature of the mandate given to the Special Committee by the General Assembly is explained in the introduction to the report which is now before the Members of the General Assembly, and a factual account of the course of the consideration of the item by the Special Committee is also contained therein.

5. An *Ad Hoc* Group of representatives from the Committee of Twenty-Four visited Africa in May and June this year to make contact with leaders of liberation movements from colonial Territories in Africa in connexion with the mandate of the Special Committee. It was the feeling of members that, as the most important colonial problems exist in that continent, such contact would be invaluable as it would help to ascertain the views of the leaders of national liberation movements in regard to courses of action by the United Nations on colonial matters. The *Ad Hoc* Group had a most fruitful visit inasmuch as it was able to contact representatives of all national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity pertaining to Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the colonies under Portuguese domination. The sole exception was the revolutionary government of Angola in exile.

6. A number of useful ideas emerged from these contacts as is evident from the report of the *Ad Hoc* Group which is annexed to the present report. Discussions of the *Ad Hoc* Group with the leaders of liberation movements were as much an eye-opener for members of the Group as they were depressing: depressing because they highlighted the overpowering sense of frustration prevailing amongst these eminent leaders with the United Nations in regard to colonial questions. The feeling was all-pervasive that the United Nations as a whole was slowing down in its efforts to eradicate the continuing colonial cancer and that comparative indifference, expressed through mountains of paper comprising speeches and resolutions, had replaced effective action.

7. It was the general feeling that those who were intent on sabotaging the efforts against colonialism in

Africa were proceeding with impunity, largely unchecked by this world Organization. The representatives of the national liberation movements who met with the *Ad Hoc* Group were bitter about the operation of foreign economic and financial interests in those Territories. Without exception these were denounced as instrumental in providing the colonial Powers with the means to perpetuate their hold on the colonies, thereby prolonging the struggle of the colonial peoples. It was pointed out that the cessation of even a few of the most important of those foreign interests would bring about the downfall of colonial régimes in several Territories.

8. While many examples were cited of the operation of outside economic and financial interests the Cabora Bassa dam and the Cunene River Basin scheme were singled out as "crimes" against the people of Africa, and the collaboration of outside Powers in these schemes was strongly condemned. Similarly, the supply of arms to Portugal and South Africa which were used for the suppression of the colonial peoples in southern Africa was condemned. In this connexion the continued defiance by certain countries of the United Nations embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa was highlighted, and the view was expressed that countries supplying arms should be responsible for ensuring strict compliance of the conditions in which such arms are supplied. It was not sufficient, in the view of the leaders of liberation movements, for supplier countries to exonerate themselves for the use of weapons by Portugal and South Africa in colonial Territories on the grounds that those weapons were not supplied for such use.

9. It is a manifestation of the general mood of frustration with the United Nations of the peoples of colonial Territories in southern Africa that they have all but lost faith in achieving their legitimate aspirations of freedom and independence by peaceful means. It is not surprising then that many of the suggestions that emerged from the distinguished leaders of the liberation movements pertain to assistance in their armed struggle against colonial domination, including direct material aid by the United Nations and by countries individually. The adoption of these suggestions by the United Nations was, they felt, a logical concomitant of its recognition of the legitimacy of their struggle for freedom.

10. The Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, His Excellency Mr. Diallo Telli, with whom the *Ad Hoc* Group met in Addis Ababa, also proposed the creation of a special fund for decolonization. An identical view was expressed by leaders of liberation movements with whom the *Ad Hoc* Group met during its stay in Africa.

11. I have deliberately dwelt at some length on the work of the *Ad Hoc* Group of the Special Committee as that has a direct bearing on the suggested programme of action. In the field of colonialism it is the avowed policy of the United Nations to give effect to the will of colonial peoples in regard to their political future. It cannot therefore ignore their views in regard to the

steps that it should take to secure for them their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence. It remains its prerogative to decide and act independently but it is only fitting that it should give the most careful, most sympathetic and most detailed consideration to their views. It was this spirit, this sense of responsibility to colonial peoples, that motivated the large majority of members of the Special Committee in the preparation of the suggested programme of action by the General Assembly [*ibid.*, para. 40].

12. In accordance with the wishes of the colonial peoples, therefore, the draft programme of action, as finally adopted by the Special Committee, includes, *inter alia*, important references to the legitimacy of their struggle for freedom, to the supply of arms to South Africa and Portugal, to the activities of foreign economic interests operating in colonial Territories, to the desirability of extending sanctions imposed against Southern Rhodesia to South Africa and Portugal, to the importance of the role of the specialized agencies, to the moral and material assistance to peoples in colonial Territories, to increased educational facilities for colonial peoples through Member States and through the United Nations, to the intensification of the efforts in the field of public information on the question of decolonization, and to the importance of sending visiting missions of the United Nations to colonial Territories.

13. If one of the guiding principles of the substance of the suggested programme of action has been the expressed wishes of the representatives of the colonial peoples, an important ingredient of the course of its consideration by the Special Committee has been the process of consultation. This does not, of course, preclude continued dissension by some delegations concerning the draft—indeed, that is their prerogative—but it is pertinent to point out that extensive informal consultations preceded the formal consideration of the programme of action by the Special Committee.

14. In the Working Group, as has been reported in the document now before Members of the General Assembly, members of the Special Committee—other than those belonging to the Working Group—were at liberty to take part in its deliberations on the question. With the emergence of the draft from the Working Group to the plenary of the Special Committee, amendments were submitted by certain delegations, including some which were members of the Working Group. The amendments submitted by Iraq on behalf of a group of delegations—which find a place on paragraph 19 of the document—were really compromises arrived at after consultations with other groups of delegations and with a view to accommodating some of the suggestions of those groups. The flow of the report right up to the adoption of the suggested programme of action, therefore, is but a chronology of the consultative process which characterized the adoption of the text.

15. The Special Committee has paid great attention to the evolution and adoption of this draft in keeping

with its significance. It is unfortunate that despite its best efforts the Special Committee was unable to achieve unanimity on the text, but it cannot be said that it did not try.

16. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] was a historic Declaration and I shall be reflecting the view of a majority of members of the Special Committee when I express the hope that on this, the tenth anniversary of its adoption, the programme of action will constitute a worthy follow-up to that Declaration, a landmark to guide us in the decade of decolonization.

17. The report of the Preparatory Committee for the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was endorsed by the General Assembly last year,¹ recommended, *inter alia*, that representatives of dependent peoples and of national liberation movements should be invited as observers to or participants in the commemorative meeting for the tenth anniversary of the Declaration. Representatives of national liberation movements have already expressed themselves in favour of such participation and the Special Committee has decided to draw the attention of the General Assembly to this recommendation of the Preparatory Committee. I should also like to express the hope, therefore, that their participation will be possible.

18. The PRESIDENT: As representatives are aware, in resolution 2499 A (XXIV), which established a Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, the General Assembly decided in operative paragraph 7 that

“the same period of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should provide an opportunity for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which should conclude with the adoption of an appropriate document by the General Assembly during the commemorative session”.

19. However, the Special Committee indicated in paragraph 31 (c) of its report that “consideration of that programme and its adoption by the General Assembly could take place at plenary meetings prior to the commemorative session”.

20. If there is no objection we shall proceed as suggested by the Special Committee with the view to adopting the suggested programme of action today.

It was so decided.

21. Mr. ISSRAELIAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Ten years ago, the United Nations adopted a historic document—the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That document was

adopted during a period of tremendous upsurge in the struggle of the colonial peoples for freedom and independence.

22. As everyone knows, the initiative in bringing before the fifteenth session of the General Assembly the question of the elimination of colonialism—the initiative which led to the adoption of the above-mentioned Declaration—came from the Soviet Union. And that, gentlemen, is quite natural. True to the behests of the founder of the Soviet State—Vladimir Ilich Lenin—the Soviet Socialist State, having itself thrown off the yoke of foreign capital and put an end to the plundering of its country by foreign monopolies, has from the very first days of its existence provided every possible kind of assistance to peoples struggling against imperialism and colonialism for the exercise of their right to self-determination and independent development.

23. On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Soviet delegation would like to draw attention to the great contribution made towards the formulation of that document by many other States Members of the United Nations and above all, of course, by the co-sponsors of the draft Declaration.

24. The adoption in 1960 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was a major achievement by the socialist countries, the independent countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and all progressive forces in their common struggle against colonialism and imperialism. It marked an important stage in United Nations action for the elimination of colonialism, and—it would be no exaggeration to say—in the history of the United Nations in general. During the years which have elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the peoples have made great progress in the national liberation struggle, which has been crowned by remarkable achievements. In Africa, Asia and other continents, young sovereign States have emerged in place of the former colonies. This important and historic event of our times is clear evidence of the irresistible urge of the peoples for freedom, national independence and the complete eradication of the age-old and shameful system of colonialism and imperialism.

25. The successes achieved in the fight against the colonial system of imperialism are great indeed, but colonialism has not yet been finally eliminated. In recent years, in fact, the pace of the decolonization process has actually slackened. The imperialist forces are making considerable efforts to impede the process of the liberation of the colonial peoples, and to retain the colonial and dependent territories under their domination with a view to exploiting them economically and using them as military and strategic springboards.

26. Millions of people in southern Africa, on islands in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans, in the Caribbean and in other parts of the world are still living in the grip of colonial slavery.

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 24, document A/7684.

27. International imperialism is placing all kinds of obstacles in the way of the final abolition of colonialism both in southern Africa and in other parts of the world. The experience of history shows that colonialists have never voluntarily renounced the domination of their colonies, and that to maintain their domination they have at all times been prepared to wage, and indeed have waged, bloody colonial wars which have caused immeasurable losses to the peoples. Even in cases where the liberation of individual colonial territories has been accomplished by relatively peaceful means, this has been due not to the compliance of the colonialists or to any "goodwill" on their part, but to the upsurge of the national liberation movement, its high degree of organization and its unyielding determination in the struggle. And today, also, the imperialist forces are stubbornly defending the residua of colonialism. The members of the NATO military-political bloc and the capitalist monopolies are giving all possible help and support to the colonial racist régimes in southern Africa. Without that support, colonialism could not exist in southern Africa.

28. Thus the reason for the delay in eliminating colonialism lies not in the "unrealistic" resolutions of the United Nations—as the champions of colonialism try to make out—but in their stubborn refusal to comply with those resolutions.

29. The United Nations—particularly the Security Council—has taken measures aimed at eliminating the racist Smith régime in Rhodesia, and also measures against the inhuman and criminal policy of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa and against the Portuguese colonialists. But because of the obstructionist line pursued by the Western Powers, these measures have not led to the desired results.

30. However, the United Nations cannot and must not slacken the struggle against colonialism and racism. Further efforts are essential in order to stop barbarous colonial wars, repressive acts, and the oppression of colonial peoples and the plundering of their natural resources. In this connexion, the delegation of the Soviet Union believes that the adoption by the General Assembly of the programme of action [A/8086, para. 40] for the full implementation, as soon as possible, of the Declaration on decolonization will be an important milestone in United Nations action in matters relating to the elimination of colonialism. This programme, which has been drafted by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, is designed to orient United Nations organs and international organizations towards the formulation and implementation of concrete measures likely to contribute to the elimination of the remnants of colonialism without delay. The adoption of this programme of action would be the best way for the United Nations to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Declaration.

31. The delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics supports this programme. The experience of the past decade has shown that the mere expression

by the United Nations of general demands for the elimination of colonialism is not enough. The implementation of the concrete measures proposed in the programme of action can contribute to the attainment of the noble objective proclaimed in the Declaration—namely, the elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

32. The Soviet Union fully shares the hopes and aspirations of the colonial peoples fighting for their freedom and national independence.

33. The delegation of the USSR is convinced that colonialism and racism are doomed, and that the forces of the national liberation movement are invincible and will ultimately triumph. It is the duty of the United Nations to give them all the necessary assistance to the maximum possible extent. The adoption by the General Assembly of the suggested programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on decolonization will be one step forward by the United Nations in this direction.

34. Mr. NAVA CARRILLO (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Venezuela has always attached the greatest importance to the work of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four as a centre, perhaps the most dynamic one of the United Nations efforts for the prompt and final elimination of colonialism. This year, in particular, we have endeavoured to contribute to the preparatory work connected with the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In 1969 we were members of the Preparatory Committee for this important event, and in 1970 we have maintained preferential attention and participated actively in all the stages of the preparation of the recommendations which the Special Committee of Twenty-Four has submitted to the plenary Assembly in document A/8086, which is now before us.

35. The programme of action could not but focus special attention on something other than the obvious fact that the swiftness of the process of decolonization depends on the will of States, particularly of those States which have special responsibilities in this field, to comply fully with the principles, purposes and provisions of the United Nations Charter and the decisions of its competent organs.

36. We have repeatedly pointed out that the attitude of certain States has jeopardized the effectiveness of the principles, purposes, provisions, procedures and modalities agreed upon to govern the process of decolonization. We therefore support the key element in the programme of action recommended to this General Assembly—namely, the request to Member States to do everything possible to promote and ensure the speediest elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

37. At a time when Members of the United Nations are considering measures for the strengthening of international security, we must keep in mind that one of

the most significant and virulent factors of international tension rests in the failure to respect human rights and in the persistence of colonialism. The General Assembly not only has recognized this link but, what is more, has evinced its profound concern about the subject. A very significant majority of States represented here have also, by means of the adoption of resolutions, very clearly expressed their views on the course of action which should be followed for the prompt elimination of these two factors.

38. The most relevant problems of colonialism are also within the competence of the Security Council, because of the obvious link between their effects on international peace and security, and safeguarding maintenance of the latter is the responsibility which is incumbent upon that Council. All United Nations Members recognize that the Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and for ensuring, as was agreed in the Charter, swift and effective action by the United Nations. But the members of the Security Council must likewise bear in mind that they are acting on behalf of the Members of the United Nations—that too was agreed to in the Charter—in the discharge of functions imposed by the primary responsibility assigned to them. It is in the practical manifestation of this relationship between the fact of having perhaps received a primary responsibility and the exercise of that responsibility on behalf of all Members who granted it, where efforts may be required to make the United Nations more effective in eliminating colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

39. The Organization has not lacked significant successes in its efforts to guarantee the exercise of the right of self-determination by peoples subject to colonial domination, but even today there remain more than 25 million people still waiting to exercise that right. The United Nations has acquired a special significance in this field. But recent years have perhaps shown that this value is beginning to be seriously eroded, among other reasons because of the divergence between the manifestation of wishes and practical achievements, between what is expected of the possible functioning of its organs for action, and the measures which the United Nations are prepared to take, as a consequence of the political will of its Members, who still adhere to individual goals or motives in regard to the problem of decolonization.

40. We trust that the appeal for co-operation contained in the special programme of action, which we shall support, will be complied with vigorously by all Member States, bearing in mind the urgency of the need to eliminate colonialism and recognizing, as our own and single purpose, the desire of all peoples subject to colonial domination to exercise fully the right to self-determination and to enjoy the blessings of human equality and dignity.

41. Mr. SZARKA (Hungary): The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted ten years ago on the initiative of the delegations of countries fighting against colonialism,

marked an important stage in the 25-year history of the United Nations. With the adoption of the Declaration our Organization became a more active international factor in the struggle waged for the freedom of peoples. So the Hungarian delegation is satisfied to see this tenth anniversary of the Declaration suitably observed at this commemorative session. The forces of progress represented in the United Nations view the Declaration as an important result of the strengthening of their union and mutual solidarity. And with the discussion and adoption of the programme of action that is suggested by the Committee of Twenty-Four and is now before us we shall reaffirm our resolve to contribute to the creation of favourable international conditions for bringing closer the victory of the peoples fighting for the termination of colonial rule.

42. The experience of the past 10 years shows that the colonialists have not reformed, that they do not willingly give up their domination over colonies, and, being unable to maintain it alone, enter into alliances with each other and with those Powers which are closely related to them by dint of their social systems and political goals. That is the reason why in the second half of the 1960s the forces struggling for the liquidation of the colonial system could attain only partial results.

43. The *Ad Hoc* Group dispatched to Africa this year by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four summed up the relevant opinion of representatives of the African national liberation movements as follows:

“NATO was bitterly criticized by most of the representatives who felt that the relations of NATO with Portugal . . . and South Africa constituted one of the most serious impediments in the way of decolonization in Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique, Angola, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. It was felt that Portugal, the poorest country in Western Europe, had for a number of years been able to conduct an expensive colonial war against the people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) thanks largely to the support, both military and political, given to the Portuguese Government by its NATO allies. It was also stated that Portugal, in return, had given its allies licence to plunder the riches and exploit the human resources of these Territories.”
[A/8086, annex II, para. 15.]

44. This quotation pertinently points out which Member States should, in accordance with the programme of action, change their policies with regard to Portugal, the unlawful régime of Southern Rhodesia and the racist Government of the Republic of South Africa. The fact is that the socialist countries, the Hungarian People's Republic among them, have complied with the demands laid down in the programme of action. They endorse the new norms of international law formulated in it with a view to protecting the fighters of the national liberation movements and they lend effective help to the anti-colonialist struggle.

45. Following the optimism of the early 1960s we have often encountered pessimistic views regarding the situation of the liberation movements. Such views are

unjustified since in the late 1960s those movements were farther ahead than they had been in the early 1960s, even though their progress was not unbroken. This past decade has witnessed, first of all, a continuous intensification of the armed struggle which the colonialists have forced upon the peoples fighting for liberation. The fact that the movements took up arms under very difficult conditions is indicative of their maturing and their growing efficiency.

46. During the past decade the liberated areas have been extended, resulting in the liberation of considerable masses of the African population, and these may reinforce the liberation movements. These movements testify to many features of success of the wars of independence. Victorious battles have been fought and heroes brought forward to whose memory we pay a tribute of respect.

47. The peoples still living under colonial domination know full well that they have to fight it out by themselves but they draw great strength from the international solidarity and support of the progressive forces and of our Organization. International credit should be given to those Member States which, in possession of their lately won independence, like fortresses erected to contain the forces of colonialism, give direct support to the national liberation movements and enable also other countries, including the socialist countries, to support them.

48. The Committee of Twenty-Four also met in their territory with representatives of the national liberation movements whose opinion I have already quoted. We look forward with great interest to what the Head of State of Zambia will report—as has been stated here by the Chairman of the Zambian delegation to the United Nations—on the decisions of the Lusaka Conference of the Heads of State of the Government of Non-Aligned countries,² chiefly on those concerning colonial questions.

49. The Hungarian People's Republic welcomed and supported the Security Council resolutions which condemned the colonial Powers and those backing them. We consider paragraph 3 (d) of the programme [A/8086, para. 40] a very important provision which calls for action against the monopoly interests of Western countries continuing to back up the colonial system surviving in the southern part of Africa.

50. In conclusion I state again that my delegation accepts the suggested programme of action of the Committee of Twenty-Four and deems it worthy of being adopted on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration. At the same time I should like to express to the Committee my delegation's appreciation of the good work done as a valuable contribution towards the complete and definite liquidation of the colonial system.

51. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): The text we have before us [*ibid.*] is one to which we have to give particular attention because it lays down a prog-

ramme of action that purports to draw its justification and its whole purpose from the experience of the United Nations over the 10 years since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Let me first remind this Assembly that successive Australian delegations have taken a constant and I believe an enlightened interest in the affairs of dependent Territories ever since the Australian delegation played a leading part in the writing of Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter at San Francisco in 1945. I mention this because these things sometimes tend to be forgotten.

52. It is very proper that the General Assembly in this twenty-fifth year of the United Nations should be reviewing colonial situations as they exist today, recording the progress that has been made since 1945 and particularly since the passage of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) 10 years ago and formulating recommendations for the future. But my delegation would have hoped that all this could have been done on the basis of a critical, factual and dispassionate comparison of conditions in all dependent Territories today with what they were 10 or even 25 years ago. There is after all an enormous volume of factual material to be drawn on. Ten years ago, in explaining our attitude to resolution 1514 (XV), my delegation drew attention to the obvious difficulty of drawing up a declaration which itself was clearly going beyond the treaty obligations of the Charter and which purported to embrace the entire range of dependent Territories and colonial administrations throughout the world. We pointed out then the difficulty, indeed the virtual impossibility, of formulating a declaration that could be applied strictly to a range of dependent areas in which conditions varied greatly.

53. We would have hoped that the experience 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 over the past 10 years would have brought a greater understanding of the particular problems of individual colonial Territories, especially the problems of smaller and more isolated Territories. As things are my delegation is compelled to conclude with regret that the programme of action that has been produced by the Special Committee takes even less account of differing conditions in dependent Territories than did resolution 1514 (XV) and is all the less realistic and thus all the less helpful to the solution of colonial problems. Many speakers in this Assembly and in the Special Committee over the past 10 years have tended to take it for granted that the problems of the remaining dependent Territories of Africa, and particularly southern Africa, are the same as those of dependent Territories everywhere else in the world. My delegation has continued to point out, and indeed to insist, that the situation and the problems of dependent Territories in the Caribbean area and in the Indian and Pacific Oceans are very different in numerous respects from those of the remaining African dependencies and that these differences must be taken into account by the General Assembly.

² Held from 8 to 10 September 1970.

54. If the Special Committee continues automatically to apply the same indiscriminate yardstick everywhere it is failing to discharge properly its obligation towards the peoples of dependent Territories, and especially the peoples of smaller Territories.

55. Coming back to this text, I need scarcely go beyond operative paragraph 1 to illustrate what I have been saying. It states that "the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations" is a "crime which constitutes a violation of the Charter", resolution 1514 (XV) "and the principles of international law". This is an assertion to which my delegation representing the Administering Authority of a large Trust Territory is bound to take strong exception.

56. When Australia signed the Charter it accepted solemn and binding obligations towards the dependent Territories under its administration. It accepted further obligations when it entered formally into the Trusteeship Agreement with the General Assembly in respect of the former Mandated Territory of New Guinea. It is therefore an absurdity to allege that a Government which is engaged in the strict discharge of its obligations under the Charter and under the Trusteeship Agreement is at the same time somehow violating the Charter and also violating some unstated principles of international law.

57. I should like to speak briefly, with the Assembly's indulgence, about the very real problems facing dependent Territories in the Pacific Ocean area. Those Territories have made remarkable advances in recent years. The former Trust Territories of Western Samoa and Nauru have become independent; a few days ago Fiji became independent and is, we hope, about to be received as a Member of the United Nations. It is an undoubted fact that rapid political development is taking place throughout the scattered island communities of the Pacific Ocean and that there is a growing and forceful awareness of common problems and of an identity of interests. This surely in the sort of thing which should be given more attention by the Special Committee and by this Assembly.

58. The Special Committee has established sub-committees whose duties are to examine particular conditions in the dependent Territories in the Caribbean area and in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. And yet the programme of action presented to us does not deal in any meaningful way with the problems of those Territories. Many of them are small in size and small in population and poor in natural resources and are thus not well equipped to prepare themselves for full participation in the modern world. But, like people everywhere, their inhabitants have aims and ambitions to advance economically and politically and they, like the rest of the developing world, need outside assistance in order to do this. They need economic help and they need particularly some investment of capital and skills from abroad to help them develop and realize their own potential.

59. Yet this programme of action before us says very little about their economic problems. It appears to con-

centrate on a call to Member States to wage a vigorous and sustained campaign against the activities and the practices of foreign economic, financial and other interests which are operating in colonial Territories. In the voting during the past three years on resolutions of this Assembly concerned with the activities of foreign economic interests in dependent Territories, my delegation has been depressed by a tendency to take it for granted that any economic interest from outside is necessarily acting against the interest of the indigenous inhabitants. The wording of operative paragraph 3 (d) of the programme of action is in line with this same tendency. It fails to provide any criterion by which a foreign economic activity in a dependent Territory may be assessed or judged.

60. Operative paragraph 3 (e) of the text calls for a sustained and vigorous campaign against all military activities and arrangements in dependent Territories. Speaking for Australia I have to say that the assertion made in this sub-paragraph is quite invalid. Administering Powers which are complying with their Charter obligations clearly have an obligation to make reasonable provision for the defence and protection of the Territories they are administering. This is fully recognized in the Charter.

61. Australia maintains a small defence establishment in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea for the twofold purpose of providing for the present defence of the Territory against external threat and of serving as a nucleus for a national defence force when the Territory has exercised its right of self-determination.

62. My delegation has followed closely the debates on the programme of action in the Special Committee. A large number of amendments were proposed by the representative of the United States [*ibid.*, para. 20] which, in our opinion, would greatly have improved the text; but all those amendments were rejected. An alternative draft text [*ibid.*, annex I] submitted to the Committee similarly received scant attention. It is clear, therefore, that the programme is not the embodiment of a unanimous view of the Special Committee; and, in the view of my delegation, it cannot be accepted as a true reflection of the experience of the United Nations in the field of decolonization nor as a helpful and practical guide to administering Powers or to the peoples of all dependent Territories.

63. What I have said constitutes a serious criticism of this programme of action and my delegation will vote against its adoption.

64. Let me conclude by saying something about what can be and is being done in a positive and meaningful way to give effect to the objectives and principles of the Charter as they relate to Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories. In respect of the largest remaining dependent Territory outside southern Africa, that is the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, I should like to repeat what was said in the general debate on 23 September by the Australian Minister for External Affairs:

“The proclaimed policy is to ensure the exercise by the people of the Territory of their inalienable right to self-determination. We are now doing, and will continue to do, all we can to prepare the people of the Territory for the termination of dependent status and their accession to full self-government and independence” [1846th meeting, para. 134].

65. The Australian Government is working with all reasonable speed to assist the people of Papua and New Guinea towards the stage at which they will exercise their right of self-determination. Australia is committed to a five-year programme of economic development for the Territory—now in its second year—which will cost approximately \$1,000 million.

66. The national legislature of the Territory, elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage, is at present considering further steps in the progressive constitutional development of the Territory, including what form of government might be best suited to an independent Papua and New Guinea. We shall continue on this course; we shall continue to honour our Charter obligation to regard the wishes of the people of the Territory as paramount; we shall continue to keep this Organization fully informed of what is happening in the Territory; and we shall continue to be grateful for balanced and reasonable criticisms and suggestions. In doing this we shall be respecting and giving effect to all that is best in resolution 1514 (XV).

67. Mr. KUŁAGA (Poland): For the last two years the United Nations has been engaged in preparing for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Poland took an active part in this preparatory work. We were amongst those who stressed the need to elaborate on that occasion a United Nations programme for the speedy and final elimination of colonialism. Like most of those who worked with us, we have all along thought that the adoption of such a programme by the General Assembly should be the most important moment of the celebration and, indeed, there can be no better commemoration of the historic Declaration than to translate the steadfast commitment of the United Nations to its ideals into an international strategy aimed at the realization of those ideals.

68. We are therefore happy to see the suggested programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration prepared by the Special Committee, presented to the Assembly in paragraph 40 of document A/8086 and so ably introduced by the Rapporteur of the Committee. This is a document corresponding to the requirements of this burning problem of our times. It takes into account the progress of the anti-colonial struggle during the last 10 years; but it principally deals with the hard reality of the continued existence of colonialism in many areas of the world. Its description of present-day colonialism as a crime, a violation of the Charter and of international law is an adequate reflection of contemporary progressive human thought and of the feeling of the vast masses of people all over the world. Its reaffirmation of the legitimacy of the oppressed peoples' struggle against colonial Powers

in all its forms is based on the reality of the growing armed resistance and the liberation movement of the peoples of colonial countries in Africa.

69. The freedom fighters of Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe are today at the forefront of the anticolonial struggle. They are the hope of Africa and have the support of all progressive mankind. They are fighting for the realization of the ideals and principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter. They are entitled in this fight to all possible support from the United Nations and its Members, and it is only just that the suggested programme of action should provide for such support in many ways.

70. Having participated earlier this year as a member of the *Ad Hoc* Group of the Committee of Twenty-Four in the discussions with leaders of African liberation movements, the Polish delegation is particularly satisfied that the draft programme gives consideration to the views, problems and needs of those movements. The attitude towards the liberation struggle of colonial peoples has become today the yardstick by which we measure anti-colonialism. We consider it most regrettable that, in the present circumstances, ten years after the almost unanimous adoption of the anti-colonial Declaration, it is not the struggling colonial peoples of Africa but their oppressors who receive substantial aid from some Members of our Organization, notably some NATO Powers—aid in many forms, including military assistance used to suppress the freedom movements, aid that tilts the balance of the struggle in favour of colonialists and racists.

71. Then let no one express surprise at the wording of the programme of action. Let not one of those who have a hand in supporting the system of colonialist oppression and the shady profits from it try to pose here as opponents of violence and advocates of the peaceful solution of colonial problems; instead let those Powers address themselves to the questions concerning which they can really influence the developments in colonies as the draft programme of action calls on them to do, to stop aiding the colonial and racist régimes, to curb the activities of economic, financial and other interests in colonial countries, to oppose military activities and arrangements of colonial Powers and to participate in measures aimed at making those régimes comply with the will of the United Nations.

72. Of great importance in the programme, as the Polish delegation sees it, are its provisions concerning the mobilization of public opinion and of the international community towards the full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). Once the awareness of the necessity finally to liquidate colonialism pervades public opinion throughout the world, through various political and social organizations, it is bound to bring material results; it is bound to generate widespread support for the cause of colonial peoples and undermine and stop the protection and assistance now extended by some States to the colonialists; it is bound to help to change the balance in favour of the oppressed.

73. By virtue of its history, of its tradition of fighting for freedom—ours and yours—by virtue of its socialist ideology, which bars any exploitations of man by man or people by people, Poland stands committed, as it always has, to action aimed at the speedy and final eradication of colonialism, and to co-operation towards that end with all anti-colonial and anti-imperialist forces. Indeed, the document we are about to adopt is a product of such co-operation. We give our support to the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and we shall do our best to contribute to its implementation.

74. Mr. DUGONJIC (Yugoslavia) (*interpretation from French*): As we consider the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [A/8086, para. 40], may I briefly state the opinion of my delegation on this document which is of particular importance for the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations?

75. During the quarter-century of its existence, the United Nations has greatly contributed to the successful struggle of peoples for their liberation from colonial domination and for the exercise of their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence. Over that period 60 countries have acceded to independence and become Members of the world Organization.

76. It is no exaggeration to say that the world anti-colonialist revolution represents one of the most important processes in the development of international relations since the war. Numerous peoples have stepped on to the stage of modern history as subjects of international life. Their considerable contribution has already had a significant effect. The great majority of the newly liberated countries, by adopting non-alignment as the basis of their policy, have taken an active part in the struggle to change relations among peoples and States throughout the world. The adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the tenth anniversary of which we shall commemorate in two days, represents one of the most important decisions of the United Nations. Not only did the Declaration reaffirm the principles of the Charter concerning the rights of peoples to equality and self-determination; it also helped to usher in decolonization in all its forms and manifestations, including positive changes in the hearts and minds of new generations.

77. In view of all these considerations, we are seriously concerned at the fact that in recent years there has been a considerable slowdown in the process of decolonization. Twenty-eight million human beings in 45 Territories still live under the colonial yoke. We consider this a shameful blot on the age in which we live. The stagnation of political progress always presents the danger of retrogression.

78. The alarming situation in southern Africa, where the most acute colonial problems are still concentrated, is a striking demonstration of this. The colonial and

racist régimes in power in that part of the world are not only denying the population its fundamental rights but also frantically trying to transform southern Africa into a hotbed of crisis. Through a more and more direct demonstration of military force they are seriously jeopardizing the independence of neighbouring African countries. Such a policy, whose protagonists are South Africa and Portugal—Members of our Organization—testifies to a flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter and of many other decisions of our Organization. It is an open challenge to the United Nations that we must take very seriously.

79. The elimination of the last bastions of colonialism and racism is an undisputed necessity in today's world. Everyone is in agreement on declarations of principle, but the elimination of colonialism calls for urgent and determined action on the part of our Organization. Against this background my delegation has believed from the outset of our discussion on this question that the best contribution the United Nations could make to the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration and of its own twenty-fifth anniversary would be the adoption of appropriate and effective measures to eliminate colonialism. The programme of action drafted by the Special Committee which is now before us contains, in our view, constructive and realistic recommendations. Effective implementation of this programme will bring us closer to the main objective, namely, the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The programme reaffirms the fundamental principles and the provisions of the Declaration, which we unfortunately have to keep on repeating, and at the same time adapts the nature of the activities to present-day circumstances and needs.

80. My delegation finds that in the present situation the provisions of the programme calling for a halt to all military, economic and political co-operation with the racist colonialist régimes are of exceptional importance. So are the provisions concerning the need for moral, political and material aid to the liberation movements. All the provisions of the programme correspond to the basic demands put forward by the non-aligned countries at the Lusaka Conference. For all those reasons my delegation supports the programme of action and expresses the hope that it will be approved and applied by all members of the international community.

81. Mr. NICOL (Sierra Leone): My delegation would like to thank the Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples for his lucid report, dated 5 October 1970 [A/8086], on the special programme of activities in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration. This Declaration owes a great deal to Mr. C. S. Jha of India who, 10 years ago, played a major part in its formulation. It is a happy coincidence that the country to which he belongs has provided the Rapporteur of the Special Committee this year.

82. The Special Committee this year has tried to follow the resolution of the General Assembly in producing a draft programme of action and an analytical study on decolonization for this commemorative session of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. It has done this in addition to its normal duties.

83. My delegation would like to commend the programme of action to the General Assembly for adoption since we believe that it follows and makes concrete many of the resolutions passed by this body—the General Assembly—during the past 10 years. These resolutions, which are aimed at removing the last vestiges of colonialism, have in mind the positive intention of freeing 28 million people or more from a system which, in some ways, can be compared to the institution of slavery.

84. This year my delegation was privileged to be included in an *Ad Hoc* Group which visited Africa. We were received with great hospitality by the Governments of Algeria, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Zambia. During this trip we met and interviewed many brave men of the liberation movements of Territories which are still occupied by Portugal and the illegal minority régime of Southern Rhodesia. We also met fugitives from the tyranny of South Africa and Namibia. It seemed to us that there was a great deal more that could be done for them by this Organization, by Member States and by specialized agencies and other international bodies. Peace-loving men that they are, they should by now be sitting in this Hall and in the Committees of this Organization, uniting with us in working towards our common goals. Instead, they find themselves forced to take up arms to fight against those who have enslaved them and those who have tried unsuccessfully to eliminate them from the face of the earth by genocide.

85. I mentioned that colonialism was a form of slavery. Listen to the voice of the African leaders in Portuguese Africa as recorded by the Office of Public Information of the United Nations:

“This [institution] goes back to the eighteenth century when our people were made slaves, and after the abolition of slavery the Portuguese decided to change the word ‘slavery’ into another name which is called *servico contratado*. This, of course, is part of slavery because up to now our people are obliged by force to work for the big industrialists and the government department establishments. Most of the African people who work there are badly paid or are not paid at all. So this, of course, is still part of slavery and it has been going on up to now. . . . With Portuguese bombing of villages and towns so many refugees ran away to the Congo and Zambia. It was the responsibility of our leadership of the Party to take care of the lives of women, old men and children, and for the Government to present our case to the United Nations . . .”.

86. Similar words are echoed for Namibia and Zimbabwe—Southern Rhodesia—by many of the African leaders, whether fighting in the field or working

towards the freedom of their peoples in countries like Algeria, Tanzania, Zambia, Congo (Kinshasa) and others that help them actively.

87. Those who have suffered so greatly and for so long are beginning to despair of any help from the United Nations. My delegation would suggest that this Organization and the specialized agencies should now move forward from resolutions and good intentions to more positive and concrete actions of decolonization. It is with that intention in mind that we have commended this draft programme of action to the Assembly, emphasizing that actions and deeds, and not words, are what will meet the essential requirements of the situation.

88. We recognize that some of the colonizing nations have produced men and women who have worked devotedly and at great sacrifice for the benefit and improvement of the lives of many inhabitants in colonial Territories and we pay a tribute to them. But they worked within a system which still remains degrading and humiliating and which cannot stand the march and progress of time. We recognize also that there are local inhabitants in these countries who benefit from the economic and military interests present in these colonies, but we feel strongly that they can benefit equally and with greater dignity when their peoples have been given the democratic right to choose that Government which they feel most suitable for them.

89. There were several other important points made during the visit of the *Ad Hoc* Group to Africa. There seemed to be disillusionment with the implementation of the resolutions of the Assembly and it was felt that these were being blocked by the NATO Powers. On the other hand, the decisions of the Government of Italy and—outside NATO—that of Sweden to withdraw support from the Cabora Bassa scheme were highly commended. Our delegation also has noted the leading part the United Kingdom has played in prosecuting the implementation of sanctions against Rhodesia and the resistance its Government is displaying against internal pressure towards removing them without an assurance of black majority rule in that country.

90. My delegation does not believe that Portugal, one of the most backward and one of the poorest of European countries, could possibly have continued to wage an expensive colonial war to the level of some \$200 million without the assistance of its NATO allies. We see no usefulness of the colonial policy of Portugal to its Western allies other than that of dishonouring them continuously before the forum of world opinion and providing them with dishonest gains from the exploitation of cheap labour in its colonial Territories.

91. The arms, ammunition and training provided for the Portuguese armed forces are said to be for its internal and external defence as a member of the NATO group. By a semantic somersault Portugal has included Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Angola as part of its metropolitan territory and has used napalm and other horrible weapons of war supplied by NATO

against defenceless African women and children in villages in accordance with that defence policy.

92. We ask that the conscience of Portugal's allies should be stirred and that their descent to the level of the moral bankruptcy of that country should be halted.

93. We have before now joined with others in speaking repeatedly during the past seven years on the highly regrettable failure of the United Kingdom to take action of forceful significance against Rhodesia. The terrible mistake of fumbling inactivity during the first week of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Ian Smith is one which the history of events since then has demonstrated over and over again. It should have been foreseen that, surrounded by South Africa and by Territories held by Portugal, countries openly and traditionally hostile to African aspirations, it was hopeless to imagine that anything but military action could have forced the rebel régime to its knees.

94. In referring to the situation in South Africa and to that in Namibia my delegation is clear that although not constitutionally so the situation is in fact certainly a colonial one. It is in this context of removing the emasculating and vicious effects of colonialism that we lend our strong support to this suggested programme of action. We do not do so from any sense of a feeling of vindictiveness towards those who, through an accident of history, are now colonizers and are trying to move away from that status by preparing their Territories for independence. We see this programme, instead, as one which could help them in speeding up the removal of those impediments standing in the way of their fulfilling completely their obligations to the Charter, and we would remind the General Assembly that these insist on institutions of freedom, justice and progress which cannot be obtained when one nation is master of another.

95. The programme of action now presented to the Assembly was drawn up after wide consultations which included all political groups within the Committee. Our delegation may be wrong, but it seemed to us that where differences existed they were not fundamental and bitter but were rather ones of timing, phrasing and approach. It is evident to us that the experience of those who have been colonized or occupied by foreign States will differ markedly from that of those who have never tasted the humiliation and degradation of colonialism. It must surely be by an act of will and by an act of faith that nations from either side should be able to come together and unite in adopting the solemn declaration of this programme of action. It has before it as its goal the completion of the task of decolonization. I shall have the privilege, with your permission Mr. President, of enumerating what has been achieved so far when we meet at the solemn commemoration of the anniversary of that Declaration which gave birth to our Special Committee on decolonization. But much remains to be done and there is no room for complacency.

96. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): Ten years ago, when resolution 1514 (XV) was adopted, the General Assembly presented to the world a Declaration on the granting of independence that has dominated subsequent discussion of colonial questions at the United Nations. There were a number of features of resolution 1514 (XV) that the United Kingdom could not subscribe to, as indeed there were for a number of other countries, including some that voted in favour of its adoption. Nevertheless it reflected the general concern of the world community that the momentum of decolonization should be maintained and that all peoples of the world should be entitled freely to determine their own futures. No doubt because its basic purpose was to affirm these widely held convictions no Member State found it necessary to oppose its adoption.

97. Speaking in explanation of the United Kingdom vote, the then Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, as he then was, acknowledged that the objectives of the sponsors of resolution 1514 (XV) were to a large extent the same as those of the United Kingdom. With those broad objectives we have never found it necessary to quarrel in so far as they are related to the freely expressed wishes of the colonial peoples. Looking back to 1960, our own purposes at that time had already been established beyond a doubt. They were defined by Mr. Ormsby-Gore during the fifteenth session of the General Assembly in the following terms:

“... we believe that the peoples of dependent territories should advance to self-government and independence as fast as is ... possible. We believe that new nations should be strong and prosperous and at peace with themselves and their neighbours”
[925th meeting, para. 53].

98. Our commitment to those goals had already been demonstrated by our discharge of our obligations and our application of the principles we accepted under Chapters XI and XII of the Charter. We had given the world irrefutable proof of our intentions by the independence accorded to the 450 million people of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma in the immediate post-war years, and by the succession of countries formerly under British responsibility which attained independence in the years preceding 1960. Indeed, no fewer than 13 of the countries which as Member States of the United Nations sponsored resolution 1514 (XV) had themselves at one time been under United Kingdom administration.

99. Thus, as I have shown, the United Kingdom was already embarked on the process of granting independence to its dependent territories long before resolution 1514 (XV) was ever thought of. Indeed, that whole process was the logical outcome of our policies towards dependent territories going right back into the nineteenth century. By 1960 then, as far as the United Kingdom was concerned, the objectives of resolution 1514 (XV) had already been, or were in the process of being, carried out. Since then some 22 former United Kingdom territories—many of them in Africa, others in the Caribbean, in the Mediterranean, in the Far East,

and most recently in the Pacific—have become independent. And tomorrow a new one, Fiji, will join the United Nations.

100. Over the last decade not a single year has passed, with the solitary exception of 1969, in which one or more former United Kingdom dependent territories have not sought to be received, and have been received, into the expanding membership of this Organization. There could be no better proof of the United Kingdom's unswerving adherence to its consistent policy of decolonization and of its conformity with the goals described in resolution 1514 (XV).

101. The present position is that there remain 18 United Kingdom non-self-governing territories. Most of those territories are small island groups. With two exceptions, none of them has a population greater than 170,000, and most of them have a population well below 100,000. Their resources are limited. Their people have increasingly come to assume the management of their own affairs through free and democratic institutions. In this they have received and will continue to receive every encouragement and assistance from my Government. Nevertheless these peoples, although fully aware of the great surge of independent nationhood that has swept across the world in the last quarter of a century, are at the same time conscious of the limitations of their own size and situation. In every case they have pride in their own traditions and a desire to affirm their separate identity, but it is hardly surprising if in this troubled world some of those communities with a total population equal to that of a large village in my own country should shrink from the full trappings and responsibilities of sovereign nationhood. The policy of the United Kingdom concerning the future of those remaining territories is clear and has been stated many times. It is not the intention of the United Kingdom Government to delay independence for those who want it, nor is it their intention to impose it on those who do not. Our guiding principle must be the wishes of the peoples concerned. The choice is theirs. Indeed in one or two cases the goal of independence has already been declared even though the actual timing remains to be decided upon by the peoples of those territories and their elected leaders. Elsewhere there are peoples who freely prefer to retain their links and their familiar relationship with the United Kingdom. If at any time in the future they decide to change their views they are fully entitled to do so. But as long as their desire is to retain their present ties with the United Kingdom it is certainly not the intention of my Government to betray its trust or to reject people who see nothing unusual or abhorrent in the continuation of a modern relationship which falls short of total independence.

102. That is the background against which my Government has considered the document now before this Assembly, described as a programme of action for the full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). In the draft resolution before the General Assembly submitted by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four [A/8086, para. 40] we find proposals for a programme of action. This is preceded, in operative paragraph 1

of the draft resolution, by the declaration that the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations is a crime in violation of the Charter and the principles of international law. Such an accusation is unacceptable in every sense. I could use stronger language, and I would be justified in doing so, but too much strong language is already used in our Organization. On this paragraph alone we would be justified in rejecting the draft resolution.

103. But this paragraph is only the beginning of the draft resolution this Assembly is being asked to adopt as a major document of the twenty-fifth anniversary of this Organization. Operative paragraph 3 sets out at length the programme of action designed to secure the full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV).

104. It is not my purpose to discuss whether a programme of this character, based on earlier resolutions that failed to command anything like universal support and which by their extremism have become increasingly removed from any likelihood of implementation, is appropriate for a commemorative occasion marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations and the tenth anniversary of resolution 1514 (XV). Nor is it my intention to submit the text of the programme to a detailed examination. There are, however, prescriptions, notably in paragraphs 3 (d) and (e) that bear little relation to reality and are irrelevant to the process of advance to independence. Moreover, paragraph 3 (c) and 3 (f) (iii) in our view raise serious constitutional issues in relation to the Charter and in particular to those of its provisions which stipulate the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council, which recognize the inherent right of self-defence and which regulate the membership of this Assembly and other major organs. Beyond this there are specific lines of action proposed which in the view of the United Kingdom Government are wholly unacceptable in substance for reasons that have been frequently stated in the past and which in my Government's view remain fully valid today.

105. This brief survey by no means exhausts our objections to the draft resolution. It is, however, more than adequate to demonstrate why we find this extreme document wholly unacceptable and why we must request that it be put to the vote to enable us to demonstrate for the record our disagreement with it.

106. It is not agreeable on a commemorative occasion of this nature, and as we stand on the threshold of the twenty-fifth anniversary, to have to register this disagreement. It has, however, long been the firm conviction of successive British Governments that resolutions of this Assembly must command the widest possible support if they are to be accorded the moral authority due them and to have a reasonable prospect of implementation. It is only on the basis of compromise and understanding, and not of confrontation, that the United Nations will be able to achieve its goals. I need only refer to the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [A/8082, para. 8] which has already come before this

Assembly and is to be formally adopted on 24 October. What a contrast there is between the two documents.

107. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): It is hardly necessary for me to recall that the ideas and principles of the Charter regarding the Territories which are still under colonial domination were, in 1960, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, made specific and adjusted the better to meet the needs and aspirations of peoples to accede to political independence, in the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Declaration was further clarified by the African and Asian countries who had already at that time acquired political independence and had become Members of the United Nations, and it was adopted with the abstentions of a certain number of colonialist countries.

108. The declaration provided that immediate measures should be taken in all Territories under colonial domination for the transfer of power to the peoples who were still under the colonial yoke, without any conditions or reservations, and without any distinctions as to race, religion or colour.

109. A Special Committee was created [*resolution 1654 (XVI)*] and it was charged with studying the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples as it presented itself in each stage of its development.

110. The Declaration has no doubt played an important role because of its contribution to facilitating the efforts of peoples in their struggle for liberation from the colonial yoke. It is hardly necessary to emphasize the results which have been obtained during the time that has transpired in the field of decolonization, despite the fact that the expectations and hopes were far greater at the time of the adoption of that historic document.

111. Now that we are preparing to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the adoption of that Declaration, it is useful not only to recall the progress registered but also, and above all, the expectations which have not been fulfilled. There are still 30 million human beings suffering under the colonial yoke in the Territories under Portuguese administration, in Southern Rhodesia and in Namibia. They are still subjected to an inhuman régime of exploitation and degradation, and this despite the provisions of the Declaration, one of which states:

“Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories . . .”.

112. This is the situation which led the General Assembly to call on the Special Committee to prepare a programme of action which would take into account the existing obstacles and make specific proposals with

a view to eliminating the remnants of colonialist manifestations. The programme of action presented to the General Assembly is the result of energetic and devoted efforts by the members of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four and, in particular, of the efforts of the Working Group, of which my country was a member.

113. The document we now have before us [*A/8086, para. 40*] is not the work of a particular country, or even of a group of countries. It represents the fruit of the labour of all Members of the United Nations which, in one way or another, have participated in or influenced the work of the Working Group and of the Special Committee itself. This document, therefore, represents a compromise of different points of view. As such, it is far from satisfactory for the requirements and opinions of all countries, and of each and every one taken individually. The great majority of the members of the Special Committee, nevertheless, found it necessary to adopt it, so as to be able to respond to the most urgent needs of colonial peoples in their struggle for national liberation from the colonial yoke.

114. In operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution relating to the suggested programme of action, the General Assembly declares the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations a crime against humanity which constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Indeed, for a long time already the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has called on the colonialist countries to grant independence to the colonial peoples. Even though the programme of action which follows gives the general policy for the prompt liquidation of colonialism, it does not go so far as to recommend the measures which are necessary for the immediate liquidation of colonialism. As a result of the resistance which has been encountered and the influences which have been exercised it has not been possible to prepare a text more in accord with the observations made at the beginning of the document.

115. We would have wished it to be so, and the peoples who are under the colonial yoke in southern Africa would have wished, we are certain, that it might have been possible to propose and implement more immediate and far more effective measures, but, as we have explained, in the present circumstances we had to present an acceptable compromise which could nevertheless facilitate and assist the struggle of peoples for their liberation from the colonial yoke. The fact that some countries do not wish to accept this and intend to oppose it proves that they maintain the attitude of advocating the continuation of the colonial yoke.

116. Yet we believe that, in its present form, the programme of action could be an effective document to facilitate the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and we shall support it with all the means at our disposal.

117. Mr. AGA (India): This year is one of historic significance, not only because it is the twenty-fifth

anniversary of the United Nations, but also because it marks the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Special Committee on colonialism which was entrusted with the task of preparing a special programme of action for this occasion, has performed a useful task in presenting us with a draft for the consideration of the General Assembly.

118. It is sad that we have to consider a programme of action at all today. Such a document ought never to have been necessary. Fully 10 years have elapsed since the Declaration, but as many as 45 territories with a population of over 28 million still remain under colonial rule. While the Declaration has had a salutary effect in accelerating the pace of decolonization, it is a matter of regret that certain countries still cling to their colonial possessions. Some even refuse to acknowledge the colonial nature of those Territories.

119. The draft programme of action prepared by the Special Committee on colonialism [*A/8086, para. 40*] is the logical outcome of developments—and in some colonial Territories the lack of them—since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Apart from maintaining a steady pressure against colonial Powers through its Special Committee, the United Nations has over the years taken various steps in keeping with the changing colonial pattern. However, these steps have by and large fallen short of the hopes and fears which they evoked, and of the aspirations that were their motive force. The Security Council has consistently failed to take effective measures in regard to the all-important colonial problems in southern Africa. Efforts by interested countries to bring the incongruous situation in that part of the world to an end have met with defiant resistance on the part of South Africa, Portugal and the illegal racist minority régime of Mr. Ian Smith. But equally persistent and intransigent, if less spectacular, has been the attitude of certain other countries right here at the United Nations, which continue to claim at the same time that they stand for the elimination of colonialism. Lip service is, I am afraid, a poor substitute for action.

120. In the face of the frustration—indeed the provocation—facing the anti-colonial countries at the United Nations, the Committee of Twenty-Four has shown admirable restraint in its suggested programme of action. Under the chairmanship of His Excellency Ambassador Davidson Nicol of Sierra Leone, that Committee has conducted wide consultations and has made a sincere attempt to accommodate the views of as many countries as possible, including those of colonial Powers, in preparing the draft.

121. Colonialism continues to be a serious impediment to the maintenance of international peace and security. As long as colonial régimes continue to suppress the peoples of colonial Territories there can never be peace or security. The continuance of colonialism itself is an anachronism and is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations. In these circumstances it is only fitting that the draft programme of action should

reiterate an important principle that has already been recognized by the General Assembly, that the struggle of colonial peoples to achieve freedom and independence is legitimate and that colonial peoples have a right to struggle, if necessary by force of arms, against colonial Powers which suppress their inalienable rights to freedom and independence.

122. To facilitate the struggle of the colonial peoples and to assist them in casting off their shackles of colonialism, it is imperative that the specialized agencies as well as States individually and collectively should render them all possible moral and material assistance. The situation in the colonial Territories in southern Africa has been aggravated by the operation of foreign economic and financial interests, which serve to enrich the colonial Powers and thereby facilitate the suppression of the colonial peoples. It is imperative that all countries dissociate themselves from the operation of those interests.

123. The draft programme of action suggests the imposition of sanctions against South Africa and Portugal, whose Governments have blatantly refused to carry out the mandatory decisions of the Security Council. It also suggests the widening of the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia to include all measures set out in Article 41 of the Charter. These are but steps that a large number of delegations at the United Nations, including my own, have consistently advocated in the Security Council and elsewhere. Unfortunately, we have not so far met with success.

124. This session of the General Assembly is a momentous session, and this document will prove a momentous document, inasmuch as it sets out the thinking of the overwhelming majority of members of the United Nations in regard to colonial questions. It is a fitting follow-up of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We sincerely hope that in this august Assembly the programme of action will meet with the unanimous approval which it deserves.

125. Mr. KHOSBAYAR (Mongolian People's Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic welcomes the programme of action submitted by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four for the full implementation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the tenth anniversary of which is being celebrated this year by all progressive mankind.

126. It is noteworthy that this important date coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, which has affirmed in its Charter the sacred principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. It is gratifying to note that during the quarter of a century since the victory of the peace-loving peoples over fascism, which greatly accelerated the process of the collapse of the colonial system, 60 former colonial and dependent Territories have gained their independence and have joined the family of sovereign nations. These young States which have achieved

national independence, and are for the most part pursuing a policy of peace and non-alignment, are—together with the socialist countries—actively opposing imperialism and colonialism in the international arena.

127. Our delegation duly appreciates the efforts of the United Nations aimed at the elimination of the colonial system; and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted on the initiative of the Government of the Soviet Union, is particularly important in this respect. This Declaration is playing an important role in eliminating colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, by arousing and inspiring peoples under colonial domination to fight for their freedom and independence.

128. Another welcome fact is that the United Nations has reaffirmed in its resolutions the legitimacy of all forms of struggle by colonial peoples for the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence, and has declared that the further continuation of colonialism, the inhuman policy of *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination are crimes against humanity.

129. Thanks to the joint efforts of the forces opposing imperialism and colonialism, the United Nations has also adopted many other important decisions whose implementation would help considerably in solving the question of the final elimination of the shameful system of colonialism. Nevertheless, one must note with regret that the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples have still not been complied with in regard to many Territories. As a result, about 28 million people in more than 40 Territories are still under brutal colonial oppression.

130. The continued existence of remnants of colonial slavery at a time when the world is undergoing a radical revolutionary transformation arouses the rightful indignation of the entire world public. The Lusaka Conference of non-aligned countries, held from 8 to 10 September 1970, the Conference of Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity held from 1 to 3 September 1970 at Addis Ababa, and the international conference held at Rome in support of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies have given further evidence of the aspirations of the peoples to have done with colonial slavery. These conferences have affirmed the need for further unrelenting efforts for the full implementation of the Declaration and of other United Nations decisions on decolonization.

131. Everyone knows that it is only with the support and assistance of all kinds provided by the NATO imperialist Powers, which are interested in maintaining the colonial system in southern Africa, for economic, military and strategic reasons, that the Portuguese colonizers and the racist and fascist régimes of the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia are openly defying the United Nations and the whole of world opinion.

132. One particularly significant point is that the collusion of the imperialist, colonialist and racist forces

against the freedom and independence of peoples has recently become increasingly overt and dangerous. This is clear, in particular, from the statement by the Conservative Government in the United Kingdom indicating that it intends to resume arms deliveries to the Pretoria régime.

133. The imperialist and colonial forces are stubbornly continuing to deny the peoples of dependent Territories their basic and inalienable right to self-determination, and are thereby not only violating the provisions of the Declaration but are also placing serious obstacles in the way of achieving universal peace and co-operation. This makes it urgently necessary for the United Nations to draw the appropriate conclusions from the past experience and practice of its own activities, and to envisage new and more effective ways and means of eliminating the remnants of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

134. It was precisely because of the need to take more effective measures in the field of decolonization that the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to prepare a suggested programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

135. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the Special Committee, having overcome the difficulties of which we are all aware, has been successful in the formulation of such a programme which is now before us for our consideration. In our view, the adoption of the programme of action by the General Assembly will be an important step in the direction of strengthening the activities of the United Nations in the elimination of colonialism.

136. In supporting this programme, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic expresses the hope that all Members of our Organization will make the maximum effort to ensure its full implementation.

137. In conclusion, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples our delegation would like once again to express the sincere sympathy and solidarity of the people and Government of the Mongolian People's Republic with the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa and with all other peoples which are waging a valiant struggle for their inalienable right to freedom and independence.

138. Mr. ISHCHENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): Over the past 10 years, the forces of peace and progress have won substantial victories. As a result of the strengthening of the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, dozens of countries have found freedom and independence. Thus the 1960s have brought considerable changes in the political map of Asia and Africa.

139. However, about 30 million people are still languishing under colonial domination. While duly appreciating the successes of the anti-colonial struggle

over the years that have passed since the adoption of the Declaration, we must nevertheless point out that during a period when the intellectual treasure-house of the free States has been enriched by new achievements of science, technology and culture, yet another generation of children has been born and has grown up in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and Namibia, and has not even once in 10 years seen the inside of a school. This generation still knows nothing of the twentieth century, with its space-age pace and social ideals. For this generation, reality still presents itself in the form of hideous affronts to human dignity.

140. The last session of the General Assembly was therefore quite right in deciding that the adoption of an effective programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples as soon as possible would be the most appropriate way of celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Declaration.

141. No one has any doubt today that the Declaration has proved its effectiveness. The only question now is how to speed up its full implementation.

142. My delegation represents a people of 47 million which actively supports the just struggle of the peoples for their independence. As everyone knows, the Ukrainian SSR, like the other socialist countries, joined forces with the developing countries in the United Nations in advocating approval of the Declaration.

143. It is gratifying that the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples coincides with the centenary of the birth of the great revolutionary and champion of the national liberation of peoples, Vladimir Ilich Lenin. And it is no accident that, in the Committee of Twenty-Four this year, representatives of the young independent States paid a tribute of deep respect to Lenin and his teaching.

144. The facts of historical development in our century have fully confirmed that the successes of socialism are dealing the colonial system a crushing blow and that the national liberation struggle, in its turn, is strengthening the forces of peace and social progress.

145. In pursuing a consistent anti-colonialist policy, the Soviet peoples have been, are and will continue to be staunch and implacable champions of national self-determination.

146. We believe that a fitting way of commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Declaration would be to take resolute international measures in support of the patriots of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe and Namibia, in support of all the oppressed peoples. May every corner of the earth resound, on this tenth anniversary of the Declaration, with the

demand of the age that our planet should be rid of colonialism as soon as possible, that the last stronghold of colonialism should be destroyed and that it should never be allowed to reappear, in any camouflaged form.

147. It is quite certain that the countries which voted for the adoption of the Declaration had no idea that the United Nations would face the tenth anniversary of the adoption of that historic document with so great a social indebtedness to the peoples fighting for their liberation.

148. Our delegation considers that the programme of action [A/8086, para. 40] submitted for approval by the General Assembly contains only the minimum of anti-colonial demands. In particular, it says nothing about setting specific time-limits for the granting of independence, nor is there any direct condemnation of the NATO countries which are providing the last of the colonialists with arms and finance.

149. Our position on the various proposals relating to colonial questions is governed by one simple but infallible criterion: to what extent will these proposals speed up the implementation of the Declaration?

150. Approaching the draft programme of action in this way, we find that it does basically answer the purpose of mobilizing the efforts of the United Nations and of States Members of the United Nations and the specialized agencies to bring about the final elimination of colonialism as soon as possible. Our delegation will vote for approval of this programme. As regards the reservations of the Western countries aimed at emasculating the content of this document and prolonging the colonial plundering of the peoples of southern Africa, we have of course always objected to such proposals, and will continue to do so.

151. In the course of the preparation of the draft now submitted for consideration by the Assembly, we have once again witnessed attempts by imperialist circles to transform the United Nations into a debating society. They are trying to divert the Organization, by the adoption of completely meaningless declarations, from the fulfilment of its immediate tasks.

152. Naturally, they give their unseemly intentions an attractive form. However—no matter how subtle the representatives of certain Powers may be within the walls of the United Nations—when they address expressions of sympathy to the oppressed peoples and at the same time give assurances to the colonizers concerning deliveries of arms, their imperialist deeds speak much louder than their soothing words.

153. It is the duty of the United Nations and the duty of all mankind to put an end once and for all, and as soon as possible, to the shameful system of colonial slavery and oppression.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.