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CONTENTS

	Page	Page
Agenda item 76:		
Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly (<i>concluded</i>):		pendence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
(d) Investments Committee: confirmation of the appointments made by the Secretary-General		(b) Report of the United Nations Council for South West Africa;
Report of the Fifth Committee		(c) Appointment of the United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa. 4
Agenda item 78:		Agenda item 23:
Audit reports relating to expenditure by specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency:		Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (<i>continued</i>) 5
(a) Earmarkings and contingency authorizations from the Technical Assistance Account of the United Nations Development Programme;	1	
(b) Allocations from the Special Fund Account of the United Nations Development Programme		President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).
Report of the Fifth Committee		
Agenda item 79:		In the absence of the President, Mr. Shaw (Australia), Vice-President, took the Chair.
Administrative and budgetary co-ordination of the United Nations with the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency: report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions		
Report of the Fifth Committee		AGENDA ITEM 76
Agenda item 12:		Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly (<i>concluded</i>);*
Report of the Economic and Social Council [chapters XIV (section VI) and XV to XVII]		(d) Investments Committee: confirmation of the appointments made by the Secretary-General
Report of the Fifth Committee	2	REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6894)
Agenda item 12:		AGENDA ITEM 78
Report of the Economic and Social Council [chapters I to X, XIII, XIV, (sections II and VIII to X), XV and XVII]		Audit reports relating to expenditure by specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency:
Report of the Second Committee	2	(a) Earmarkings and contingency authorizations from the Technical Assistance Account of the United Nations Development Programme;
Agenda item 40:		(b) Allocations from the Special Fund Account of the United Nations Development Programme
United Nations Capital Development Fund: confirmation of the appointment of the Managing Director		REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6973)
Report of the Second Committee		AGENDA ITEM 79
Agenda item 18:		Administrative and budgetary co-ordination of the United Nations with the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency: report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions
Election of the members of the Executive Board of the United Nations Capital Development Fund	3	REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6981)
Agenda item 64:		
Question of South West Africa (<i>continued</i>):		
(a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Inde-		

*Resumed from the 1629th meeting.

AGENDA ITEM 12

Report of the Economic and Social Council
[chapters XIV (section VI) and XV to XVII]

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6963)

Mr. Lynch (New Zealand), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the reports of that Committee and then spoke as follows:

1. Mr. LYNCH (New Zealand), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: In its report on item 76 (d), the Committee has recommended that the Assembly confirm the appointments made by the Secretary-General of six members of the Investments Committee [A/6894, para. 4].

2. In the report concerning item 78, the Committee has recommended for adoption by the Assembly a draft resolution that would take note of audit reports relating to expenditure of funds from the component accounts of the United Nations Development Programme [A/6973, para. 3].

3. In its report on item 79, the Committee has recommended for approval a draft resolution that would request the Secretary-General to refer to the executive heads of the other organizations the observations on their administrative budgets and general co-ordination matters in the related reports of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions [A/6981, para. 7].

4. The Fifth Committee's report on its consideration of the report of the Economic and Social Council is contained in document A/6963.

5. The Fifth Committee trusts that those reports and the relevant draft resolutions will meet with the Assembly's approval.

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

6. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will first consider agenda item 76 (d), on which the Fifth Committee has submitted a draft resolution [A/6894, para. 4].

7. May I take it that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee without objection.

The draft resolution was adopted without objection [resolution 2314 (XXII)].

8. The PRESIDENT: I invite the Assembly to consider next agenda item 78, on which the Fifth Committee has submitted a draft resolution [A/6973, para. 3].

9. If there is no objection, may I take it that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted without objection [resolution 2315 (XXII)].

10. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will consider next the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 79, on which the Committee has submitted a draft resolution [A/6981, para. 7].

11. If there is no objection, may I take it that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted without objection [resolution 2316 (XXII)].

12. The PRESIDENT: I invite the Assembly to turn now to the report of the Fifth Committee [A/6963], relating to chapters XIV (section VI) and XV to XVII of the report of the Economic and Social Council.

13. May I take it that the Assembly decides to take note of the report of the Fifth Committee.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 12

Report of the Economic and Social Council [chapters I to X, XIII, XIV (sections II and VIII to X), XV and XVII]

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/6977)

AGENDA ITEM 40

United Nations Capital Development Fund: confirmation of the appointment of the Managing Director

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/6987)

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

14. Mr. CHADHA (India), Rapporteur of the Second Committee: In its report on agenda item 12, the Committee approved four draft resolutions [A/6977, para. 23] on topics ranging from the problem of the so-called brain drain to the production and use of edible protein. Draft resolution I concerns the role of the Economic Commission for Europe in the development of international economic co-operation. Draft resolution II seeks to endorse the objectives set forth by the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development in its third report. In draft resolution III, the policy objectives and the technical aspects of the proposals of the Advisory Committee for international action to avert the impending protein crisis are welcomed. Draft resolution IV calls for assistance to developing countries at their request in adopting the necessary measures to identify and assess the obstacles in the way of the optimum employment and utilization of their technical and professional personnel.

15. The second report of the Second Committee to be considered this morning is on agenda item 40 and concerns the newly established Capital Development Fund. The Committee has recommended the adoption of a draft resolution [A/6987, para. 10] whereby the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme would be invited to administer the Capital Development Fund by performing the functions of its Managing Director, while the Governing Council of the United Nations Development Programme would perform the functions envisaged for the Executive Board of the Fund. These measures have been recommended on a provisional basis, subject to review at the next session of the General Assembly.

16. I hereby submit the recommendations of the Second Committee for the consideration of the Assembly.

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

17. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will first consider agenda item 12, on which the Second Committee has submitted four draft resolutions [A/6977, para. 23].

18. The Assembly will first take a decision on draft resolution I. Since that draft resolution was adopted unanimously by the Second Committee, may I take it that the Assembly also adopts it unanimously.

Draft resolution I was adopted unanimously [resolution 2317 (XXII)].

19. The PRESIDENT: Since draft resolution II was adopted unanimously by the Second Committee, may I take it that the Assembly also adopts it unanimously.

Draft resolution II was adopted unanimously [resolution 2318 (XXII)].

20. The PRESIDENT: Since draft resolution III was also adopted unanimously by the Second Committee, may I take it that the Assembly also adopts it unanimously.

Draft resolution III was adopted unanimously [resolution 2319 (XXII)].

21. The PRESIDENT: The report of the Fifth Committee on the financial implications that will result from the adoption of draft resolution IV is contained in document A/6986. Since that draft resolution was adopted unanimously by the Second Committee, may I take it that the Assembly also adopts it unanimously.

Draft resolution IV was adopted unanimously [resolution 2320 (XXII)].

22. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of France on a point of order.

23. Mr. VIAUD (France) (translated from French): My delegation participated in the voting on the four draft resolutions that have just been put to the vote, just as we did in the Second Committee. It did not wish to hold up the work of the Assembly, but I feel in duty bound to point out that we have adopted resolutions the text of which was not available in French. I am surprised that the Secretariat did not draw the President's attention to the fact that these documents were not available; he might then have changed the order of discussion of items so that everyone would know exactly what he was voting on. I inquired at the Assembly documents distribution section half a minute ago, and was told that the text was not available in French. I wish, therefore, after having shown my willingness to co-operate by voting on the texts, to protest most strongly against this manner of proceeding.

24. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on the Under-Secretary for General Assembly Affairs who wishes to make a statement on the subject.

25. Mr. NARASIMHAN (Under-Secretary for General Assembly Affairs): I apologize to the representative of France and to all the French-speaking delegations for the fact that the document in question was

not available in the French language before the President proceeded to deal with this item. It was an error on the part of the Secretariat. We had been assured that the document would be available in the French language. In fact, it has just arrived. As the representative of France pointed out, there would have been no difficulty about taking up this item after the document had been distributed.

26. I shall make every effort to see that such oversight does not occur again.

27. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will next consider agenda item 40, on which the Second Committee has submitted a draft resolution [A/6987, para. 10]. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

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

In favour: Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia.

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Belgium, Canada, France, Japan, Luxembourg, New Zealand.

Abstaining: Sweden, Australia, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Maldives Islands, Malta, Norway, Portugal.

The draft resolution was adopted by 75 votes to 8, with 12 abstentions [resolution 2321 (XXII)].

AGENDA ITEM 18

Election of the members of the Executive Board of the United Nations Capital Development Fund

28. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to agenda item 18: "Election of the members of the Executive Board of the United Nations Capital Development Fund".

29. By the resolution which the General Assembly has just adopted, under agenda item 40, the Assembly has decided on a "provisional basis" that the "Governing Council of the United Nations Development Programme shall perform the functions of the Executive Board of the United Nations Capital Development Fund, as set forth in article VIII of resolution 2186 (XXI)".

30. Since the General Assembly has taken this decision subject to review at its twenty-second session of the institutional arrangements for the United

Nations Capital Development Fund, no action is required under this agenda item.

31. This concludes our consideration of agenda item 18.

AGENDA ITEM 64

Question of South West Africa (continued):

- (a) 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;
- (b) Report of the United Nations Council for South West Africa;
- (c) Appointment of the United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa

32. The PRESIDENT: Before turning to the next item on our agenda for this morning, I should like to inform the Assembly that the representative of Somalia has requested the floor in order to introduce an additional draft resolution under agenda item 64, the question of South West Africa. This draft resolution has been circulated in document A/L.540. This item is not on our agenda for this morning, but if there is no objection, I shall call on the representative of Somalia.

33. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): On behalf of forty-five Member States of the United Nations, I have the honour to submit for the consideration of the General Assembly draft resolution A/L.540. I am glad to say that, in addition to the sponsors listed in the document, the delegations of Chad and Mali have added their names.

34. This draft resolution has resulted from the refusal of the Government of South Africa to comply with the terms of resolutions 2145 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V), and the continued presence of the South African authorities in South West Africa in defiance of those resolutions and in violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Territory for which the United Nations is directly responsible.

35. We are all familiar with the sad history of the question of South Africa before this august Assembly and with the repeated appeals on the question which have been either rejected or ignored by the Government of South Africa. Today, however, the issue before us is a very different one. It is no longer a question of a dispute concerning the interpretation of the former Mandate for South West Africa or of South Africa's duty as mandatory power. These questions were, in principle, resolved at the last regular session of the General Assembly when, by an almost unanimous vote, resolution 2145 (XXI) was adopted, whereby the Mandate was terminated on the grounds that South Africa had failed to live up to its international obligations.

36. What we are confronted with today is the outright defiance by South Africa of the authority of this Organization. Allow me to recall the salient features of resolution 2145 (XXI) which the Assembly adopted on 27 October 1966. They are as follows:

"the people of South West Africa have the inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and inde-

pendence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations...

"that South West Africa is a Territory having international status and that it shall maintain this status until it achieves independence...

"that the mandate...is therefore terminated and that South Africa has no other right to administer the Territory and that henceforth South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations...

"in these circumstances the United Nations must discharge those responsibilities with respect to South West Africa."

37. Let me repeat that there was no opposition to this resolution. It was adopted by an overwhelming majority, by an almost unanimous vote. Later, in order to implement this decision, the General Assembly at its fifth special session adopted resolution 2248 (S-V), whereby it agreed that the United Nations Council for South West Africa should take over the administration of the Territory and administer it until it achieved independence. The Member States which earlier had supported resolution 2145 (XXI) failed to support the second resolution, not because they had discovered any basic differences about the objectives and principles of resolution 2145 (XXI), but because they had different views as to the most practical measures to be taken to implement it.

38. Nearly all the Member States were agreed that the first step which must be taken was to establish contact with the de facto South African authorities and to consult with the representatives of South West Africa. The Western countries especially maintained that this was necessary because there had been no dialogue with the South African authorities for the purpose of implementing resolution 2145 (XXI).

39. Accordingly the first act of the newly formed Council was to address a letter to the Government of South Africa for this very purpose [A/6897, annex I]. The reaction of the South African Government is known to all of us. It not only ignored the letter addressed to it by the Council, but in a communication to the Secretary-General, dated 27 December 1967 [*ibid.*, annex II], it repudiated the validity of both resolutions; denied the right of the United Nations to terminate its Mandate, and declared that it had no intention of giving up its control over the Territory.

40. South Africa's defiant attitude constituted in the words of the United Nations Council for South West Africa "an outright defiance of its [General Assembly] resolutions 2145 and 2248" [A/6897, para. 15]. Not only that, but during the time which has elapsed since the termination of the Mandate the Government of South Africa has proceeded apace with its efforts to dismember South West Africa and to incorporate it within its own apartheid régime, and has enacted and applied increasingly oppressive legislation, of which the notorious Terrorism Act is but one example.

41. Faced with this open defiance of the collective will of the international community the Assembly

has, in our opinion, no alternative but to declare that the continued presence of South African authorities in South West Africa is a flagrant violation of its territorial integrity and sovereignty, as well as of the decisions of the General Assembly. It has no alternative but to call on the Security Council to take effective steps to enable the United Nations to fulfil the responsibilities which it has assumed in respect of South West Africa, and to appeal to all Member States, especially those which have the closest economic ties with South Africa, to co-operate to this end. Failure to do this would be to bow in the face of open defiance and would seriously weaken the authority of the United Nations in all fields.

42. We trust that other delegations which have not yet co-sponsored the draft resolution will not hesitate to support it at the time of voting, for by doing so they will demonstrate the determination of this Assembly to respect their own decisions on the question and to provide the means by which those decisions can be realized.

AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (continued)*

43. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania who wishes to introduce the draft resolution which has been circulated in document A/L.541.

44. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania): Before I proceed to the introduction of draft resolution A/L.541, I wish to inform the Assembly that Yugoslavia should be considered as one of the original co-sponsors.

45. My delegation had the opportunity of opening the debate on the question of decolonization. Indeed, during my statement I started by saying how little had been achieved in the field of decolonization and how much was left to be done in that field in decolonizing the remaining colonial territories. In my statement I tried to outline why the question of decolonization is not meeting with the success that it ought to, and indeed I outlined some of the impediments which prevent a solution of that question.

46. When one looks at the complex state of the situation, and indeed at the number of territories with which we have to deal, and many of the problems we have to face up to, one can definitely appreciate why this draft resolution is perhaps one of the longest that this Assembly may adopt. I say this simply because this draft has twenty-two operative paragraphs.

47. Therefore, on behalf of the co-sponsors, my delegation has the honour to introduce this draft resolution. I will not bore the Assembly by trying to read through the preambular paragraphs, nor do I intend to repeat all the operative paragraphs of the draft resolution, simply because all of them are in fact the same operative paragraphs that we

have adopted with regard to some other resolutions concerning decolonization. However, I should like to stress a few paragraphs which I consider to be of the utmost importance. First of all, I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to operative paragraph 6 of the draft which states:

"Reaffirms its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the colonial peoples to exercise their right to self-determination and independence and notes with satisfaction the progress made in the colonial Territories by the national liberation movements, both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes and urges all States to provide moral and material assistance to them;".

48. I have pointed out the importance of that paragraph because most of the co-sponsors feel the necessity for the international community to play its useful role on the question of decolonization. Of course, when it comes to the question of the recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the freedom fighters, I know that we have done this in past Assemblies. Nevertheless, this being a cardinal principle in the field of decolonization, the co-sponsors of the draft resolution felt it should be repeated. Of course, here I should like to stress very strongly the last part of that operative paragraph, and that is the request to all States to provide moral and material assistance to the freedom fighters. Indeed they would be empty words if the members of this international community, as represented by the United Nations, were only to continue to issue statements that they support the freedom movement. If we were to continue to say that we support democracy in the world—indeed what we have said is what many of the delegations here believe—then certainly it is of the utmost importance that the international community should come to the aid of those who are struggling against the oppressive régimes in the world and those who are struggling against the racist régimes, in particular in southern Africa—in short, those who are struggling against oppression. Therefore those of us who are on the side of freedom and independence should definitely render some assistance to those freedom fighters.

49. The next paragraph to which I wish to draw the attention of Members is operative paragraph 8, which:

"Requests all States, directly and through action in the international institutions of which they are members, including the specialized agencies, to withhold assistance of any kind from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and from the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia until they renounce their policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination;".

50. I need not stress the factors underlying this paragraph, but the fact remains that the more assistance those three régimes get from the international community, the more they are able to carry out their hated system, which has been condemned by this international community. Indeed, the United Nations would be failing in its duty if it were to condemn apartheid, if it were to condemn Portuguese colonialism, and if the same people who condemned those systems from this rostrum continued to give

*Resumed from the 1631st meeting.

economic and other assistance to those régimes. Therefore this paragraph calls directly on the international community. In this particular case I should like to say very frankly that the appeal concerning the halting of economic aid to those régimes is addressed particularly to the Western countries. I am sorry to say that, because a few days ago I said that the colonial system was born out of the Western imperialist system, and we hope that out of shame the Western imperialists will see to it that that colonialism does not continue for long. The people in Africa and other parts of the world who are fighting against colonialism are determined that it must be liquidated. Therefore they have the right to expect that the international community, or at least those members of it which are on the side of freedom, will not help the very enemies who are suppressing human rights and freedom in the southern part of Africa, and indeed in other parts of the world.

51. Again, I should like to draw the attention of representatives to operative paragraph 10, which:

"Requests the colonial Powers to dismantle their military bases and installations in colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones and from using those that still exist to interfere with the liberation of the peoples in colonial Territories in the exercise of their legitimate rights to freedom and independence;"

52. I know that on several occasions we have been told in this Assembly that the question of military bases is something different. Sometimes it has been suggested that perhaps it is a disarmament question. Sometimes it has been suggested that perhaps it is the right of an independent State to negotiate on the question of military bases. I want to dismiss those arguments as invalid. First of all, we cannot regard the installation of a military base in a colonial country as a question of global strategy. After all, if it is a question of global strategy we can only say that when a country agrees to have a military base on its own Territory there will always be the risk that, if that base is attacked, the lives of its nationals will be in jeopardy. But with regard to people under the colonial yoke, I am afraid they do not have the responsibility of that decision because they are suppressed; they do not have the freedom to decide that that military base which endangers their own lives should exist on their Territory. Therefore the argument that the question of military bases is actually a disarmament question is definitely not correct and is only put forward by those who have military bases in colonial Territories, in any case.

53. I want to point out to this Assembly the dangers that these military bases present. For instance on several occasions the Security Council has had to meet in order to consider the aggressive designs of Portugal, especially against the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Many of those evil designs are manufactured in the military bases in Angola. Therefore this paragraph is of the utmost importance since it calls upon the colonial Powers to dismantle their military bases in colonial Territories, and those bases not only represent a danger to the colonial

peoples but also constitute something that is used against the freedom struggle of the peoples.

54. I now wish to draw the attention of the Assembly to operative paragraph 16, which:

"Requests the Special Committee to examine the compliance of Member States with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization, particularly those relating to the Territories under Portuguese domination, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa, and to report thereon to the twenty-third session of the General Assembly;"

55. I am sure that Members of the Assembly will agree with me that we have adopted a number of resolutions on this question. In fact, if we adopt the draft resolution on South West Africa which has been introduced we shall have adopted at least seventy-five resolutions on the question of South West Africa alone. I need not recount the resolutions we have adopted on the Portuguese colonies, nor do I need to remind the Assembly of the many resolutions adopted on the question of Southern Rhodesia. The question arises as to why it is that those resolutions have not been implemented. Why is it that some Member States which have sat in this Assembly and adopted those resolutions are also the Member States which in fact defy those same resolutions? Therefore in this paragraph we ask the Special Committee to try and find out what it is that is preventing the implementation of those resolutions; what it is that is preventing Member States of the United Nations from implementing resolutions which have been adopted by an overwhelming majority of the Members of this Assembly.

56. Next, I would draw the attention of the Assembly to operative paragraph 19, which:

"Requests the Special Committee to consider and submit recommendation to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session regarding the holding early in 1969 of a special conference of representatives of colonial peoples for the purpose, inter alia, of considering the most effective means by which the international community can intensify its assistance to them in their efforts to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence;"

57. Of course, there is no need for me to elaborate as regards the intentions of this paragraph. All I need say is that we expect two stages of action. The first stage would be the study by the Special Committee of the implications of such a conference — what would be needed in terms of organization before the conference took place. Then, after covering all those facts, the Committee would present them to the twenty-third session of the General Assembly in the hope that, after the approval of the report, the conference would actually take place some time early in 1969.

58. Finally, I wish to draw attention to operative paragraph 20 of the draft resolution, which reads:

"Requests the Secretary-General to take concrete measures through all the media at his disposal, including publications, radio and television, to give

effect to the provisions of its resolutions 2105 (XX), 2189 (XXI), 2262 (XXII), 2270 (XXII) and 2288 (XXII), concerning the widespread and continuous publicizing of the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, of the situation in the colonial Territories and of the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by the colonial peoples;".

59. We regard that paragraph as important because we find that sometimes some democratic Governments say that their decisions emanate from the wishes of the people. It goes without saying that if we hope for some Governments to change their policies then certainly their people must be made aware of the evils of colonialism. Therefore this paragraph requests the Secretary-General to ensure the widespread and continuous publicizing of what is happening in the colonial Territories.

60. I express the hope that this Assembly will adopt this draft resolution as it has adopted previous resolutions by a large majority. I say a large majority because on many occasions we have heard statements, from practically all delegations in this Assembly, condemning colonialism. We have heard in this Assembly almost all the delegations condemning racism. Therefore this draft resolution does nothing less than reflect the exact desire of the majority of Members of the Assembly to speed up the process of decolonization. It is the hope of the co-sponsors that the draft resolution will receive as wide support as possible.

61. Mr. EL-BOURI (Libya) (translated from French): It is almost seven years now since the General Assembly, acting in accordance with one of the fundamental aims of the Charter, adopted resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Despite the lapse of time, there are still peoples living under the colonial and racist yoke in misery and humiliation.

62. In Africa alone, where tens of thousands are still without the benefits of freedom or the consolation of equality, we are far from having achieved the purpose of the United Nations, which is to eliminate colonialism and to establish justice in the world on the basis of human brotherhood. The rear-guard of colonialism and racism has converged upon the southern part of the African continent, the richest area, in order to make its last stand, believing that it will be able to check the course of history and hold man back in his untiring pursuit of happiness and progress.

63. The situation in Southern Rhodesia is one of the most glaring manifestations of the rear-guard action being fought by desperate colonialists and racists against the forces of freedom, progress and justice. A tiny minority of 220,000 emigrants believes that it can indefinitely oppress 4 million Africans and exploit the human and material resources of the country at its own pleasure and convenience. This emigrant minority has succeeded in occupying the richest land in the country and has concentrated in its own hands all the reins of public power, all the sources of wealth and all the forces of education, and has reduced the Zimbabwe people who, within living memory, have always been the undisputed rulers of their own land, to the condition of outcasts.

64. Despite Security Council resolution 232 (1966), which stated that the continuance of the Smith régime was a threat to international peace and security, that minority régime has continued to profit both politically and economically from the unjustified confidence which some people place in the effectiveness of the United Nations sanctions. It is no longer any secret that the effects of sanctions on the economy of Southern Rhodesia are not sufficient to bring about the downfall of the Smith régime. The sanctions could have had an effect on the Rhodesian economy only if they had been conscientiously applied by all countries, including South Africa and Portugal.

65. The Smith régime continues to defy us and seek to neutralize the effects of the sanctions. It is trying to create a Rhodesian republic and thus confront the world with a fait accompli. On 17 February 1967, Mr. Smith said that it was becoming increasingly difficult to resist the arguments in favour of founding a Rhodesian republic.

66. If we take a look at the state of the indigenous population of South Africa we see the same tragedy unfolding there. The South African Government, which enjoys all the advantages of membership in the United Nations, manifests complete contempt both for the principles of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and for the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. It has turned a deaf ear to the many appeals addressed to it to seek a just solution to the explosive situation created by its apartheid policy. There is no sign as yet that the Pretoria authorities are willing to comply with the unanimous request of the international community.

67. I shall not dwell on the nature of the South West African problem. Under a League of Nations mandate South Africa, because of its proximity, was entrusted with guiding the population of South West Africa towards independence. Like all mandates of the League of Nations, that mandate was transformed into trusteeship under the United Nations Charter. All the Administering Authorities under the trusteeship system have done their duty and have helped the peoples entrusted to their care to attain freedom and independence. Only the unhappy people of South West Africa have had their desire for freedom disregarded by the Pretoria Government and are still groaning under colonialist and racist oppression. By a unilateral decision, the mandate and the trusteeship have been replaced by outright annexation. South West Africa has the misfortune to be one of the richest countries on earth.

68. In its painstaking report [A/6897], the United Nations Council for South West Africa has given us detailed information on South Africa's defiant attitude with regard to our Organization and on its obvious unwillingness to respect its international obligations. If we wish to retain the confidence of the oppressed peoples and safeguard the prestige of the international community, we must act.

69. My delegation is prepared to support any resolutions in this Assembly endorsing the recommendations of the United Nations Council for South West Africa that would enable that body to discharge its functions and responsibilities.

70. We have the same tragic situation in Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea, with the difference that there has never been such large-scale emigration to those territories as there has been to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Here, however, it is not a case of a minority seeking to oppress the indigenous majority, but of a former colonial Power desperately clinging to the vestiges of former splendour, to the point of imagining, by an incredible mental aberration, that these prosperous bits of Africa, although thousands of miles from Portugal, are an extension of its European metropolitan territory. This same tactic was adopted by other colonial Powers in the belief that they could perpetuate their domination over certain colonies, but they were eventually forced to abandon it.

71. For nearly five centuries, Portugal has dominated these unfortunate lands, draining them mercilessly of all their resources in order to offset its own economic indigence. And what has it given them in return? Nothing. These countries are in a state of complete under-development, they have perhaps the highest rate of illiteracy in the world, their per capita income is one of the lowest, they have no infra-structure whatever and no political freedom. In addition, their inhabitants suffer the daily humiliation of being regarded as sub-human in their own country and they have no rights, no standing, and no claim, unless, of course, they are lucky enough to be classified as assimilados.

72. In the southern part of Africa, therefore, in the richest part of the continent, we find a concentration of the forces of colonialism, racism and exploitation which are attempting, in one last desperate effort, to flout world opinion, to stem the tide of history and to ignore the resolutions of the United Nations in order to preserve a situation which is nevertheless bound to move with the course of time.

73. Now is the time for us to act, as Members of the United Nations and loyal spokesmen for the millions of oppressed human beings who have placed their trust in our primary mission, which is to work for justice and the rehabilitation of man. What has our Organization done during the twenty years of its existence to rekindle the almost extinguished hopes of these demoralized peoples? It has adopted resolution after resolution, each one as ineffective as the last, and they have served only to embolden the settlers in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Mozambique, Angola and the other Territories, and to heighten their ill will. We believe that the time has come for our Organization to take the really vigorous measures provided in the Charter, so that our erring brothers who, through their stubbornness and lack of understanding, may end by drawing the human race into a most disastrous misadventure, may willy-nilly be led back to the path of enlightenment followed by the great majority of the world's peoples.

74. Although my comments on this item deal mainly with those colonial territories which have the largest population and are the subject of international political controversy, I should nevertheless wish to see all other colonial territories, whether small or large, enjoy their inalienable right to self-determination.

75. While I am on the subject, I cannot help but mention the heroic struggle of the people of South Arabia, which has finally triumphed, thanks to its indomitable courage. This heroic people has for many years been carrying on a fierce struggle to win its right to freedom and now at last, by dint of sacrifice and suffering, it has succeeded in liberating its national territory and in establishing itself as an independent and sovereign nation under the name of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen. We offer our warmest congratulations to our new sister republic, its heroic people and its valiant leaders, and wish them success, prosperity and progress. We owe a special tribute to the Committee of Twenty-Four for the work it did to make possible the independence of this territory.

76. The Committee of Twenty-Four has also met a number of times in countries bordering on those African territories which are still struggling for their independence. It did so in order to study the situation at closer range and enable petitioners to inform it of the latest developments in those territories.

77. The report which the Committee has submitted to us [A/6700/Rev.1] is packed with information on the tragic conditions under which the indigenous peoples of southern Africa and the other colonial territories are now living, as well as on their struggles, their sacrifices and their determination to set themselves free.

78. It appears from an examination of this report that Portugal's economic interests and membership in NATO are of great significance and explain the ability of these minority colonialist régimes to go on defying the United Nations and the international community.

79. The Libyan delegation wishes that those Powers which still have trade relations and economic interests in the part of Africa which is under foreign rule would become aware of the danger which they are helping to create in that part of the world by the economic support they are giving to minority colonialist régimes, and that they would, at long last, respect the United Nations Charter, of which they are signatories.

80. It is certainly in the interest of these Powers to discontinue their economic relations with those régimes. It is likewise in the interest even of the administering Powers of the Territory of South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese Territories to consider a solution which would be in keeping both with their own economic interests and with the principle of freedom and self-determination. They should learn from the experience of the many independent African States which continue to enjoy the best possible relations with the former colonial Powers and in which sincere co-operation and collaboration rebound to the benefit of both parties. It is inconceivable that, in the era of the atomic bomb and of great scientific progress for the good of mankind, we should still be deploring the paradoxical fact that millions of human beings still have to live in misery and oppression and are denied the right to decide their own fate.

81. After having struggled for so long to snatch back, bit by bit, what the colonialist and imperialist had seized in previous centuries, and after having obtained the participation of the great imperial Powers of yesterday in the liberation of their former colonies and the transformation of the institutions of a bygone world, it is peculiar, to say the least, that our Organization should allow itself to be frustrated by a few die-hard colonialists and imperialists in the final stages of its work of rectification. We cannot stand helplessly by in the face of this underhand revival of something which mankind thought it had disposed of once and for all at Nuremberg, namely the avid desire for territorial expansion in defiance of the rules of the international community, racial arrogance and hatred, and the euphoria resulting from a few chance military successes.

82. If we do not act with purpose, firmness and courage, and in accordance with the purposes of the Charter, the whole thing will have to be done all over again. There is a danger that the old imperialism will be replaced by a new kind of imperialism which cannot be justified either by the number of inhabitants involved, economic resources, or military power thirsting for expansion and drunk with hatred. New forms of colonialism characterized by an intensified racism will continue to oppress the unhappy indigenous inhabitants of southern Africa and the other territories which have been victims of violence and territorial ambitions.

83. Our national experience and that of other valiant and glorious peoples, as well as our knowledge of history, give us the comforting conviction that freedom and independence cannot be indefinitely denied to those who want them. Freedom and independence can always be won by those who are willing to pay the price, in human lives and in sacrifice, of these precious benefits.

84. No enduring peace can be established in the world while there are still parts of it where ethnic or racial minorities seek to persecute and oppress millions of other human beings.

85. Draft resolution A/L.541, which has just been introduced by the Tanzanian representative, reflects our concern and points out the direction in which the General Assembly should move if it truly wishes to bring about the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and the liberation of the colonized countries from the colonial yoke.

86. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): Every time the General Assembly examines one of the important questions which have been on its agenda for many years, such as the questions relating to colonialism, peace-loving Member States are at once forced to acknowledge, to their great regret, that the United Nations has made no progress in solving them, or rather, has been unable to contribute to a solution. This is a deplorable state of affairs. The impasse in which the United Nations has been for many years now is, as everyone knows, the result of the aggressive policy of world domination pursued by the United States of America, of the support which that imperialist Power gives to other colonial Powers

and of the pernicious stranglehold which it maintains over this Organization, a situation which is further aggravated by the collusion between United States imperialism and Soviet revisionism. In each case, in each of the questions examined, the Member States which constitute the majority are confronted with the same need—the need to free the United Nations from that stranglehold, to set it once again on its feet and to direct it along the path indicated by the legitimate aspirations of the world's peoples and the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter. That need has become all the more imperative because the Organization is sinking deeper and deeper into decline, and unless we act in time it will be totally destroyed.

87. In this connexion, I cannot fail to mention that the scandalous failure of this Organization in the face of Israel's imperialist aggression of this past summer against the Arab countries and, later on, the attitude of the United Nations from the beginning of that aggression until the adoption by the Security Council on 22 November of resolution 242 (1967) has compromised its authority and lowered its prestige still further. This is strikingly demonstrated, in particular, at this session of the General Assembly, which has been marked by a deplorable paralysis, by a complete and utter failure in every sphere of the Assembly's activity and with regard to all the important items on its agenda, as well as by a deep feeling of frustration at this state of affairs on the part of the representatives of many peace—and freedom-loving countries. The fact that important questions such as those relating to colonialism and racial discrimination are set aside—not unintentionally on the part of the two great Powers which are in command here—to be examined in haste during the very last days of the session, is very telling.

88. Of course the United States and its allies, the Soviet revisionists who are mainly responsible for all this, will, as in the past, resort to every trick they can think of in order to camouflage the sad reality and to present black as white. It is with this demagogic intent to mislead that they have submitted such items as the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and the definition of aggression, as if the peoples needed endless debates on such a definition at this time, rather than protection against the imperialist aggressors, who are well known to all without any definition.

89. A no less significant fact is their unseemly haste to have this session adopt an agreement on assistance to astronauts and space vehicles, which is of particular interest to them and which they can make capital of by representing it as an important part of United Nations activity, especially in the flamboyant statements they will probably make on 19 December at the close of this part of the present session which, it seems, is to be followed by a second part, they having so decided between them.

90. But all these manoeuvres and machinations on the part of the two great Powers are in vain. The peace-loving peoples and countries can no longer be led astray. The sad truth concerning the United Nations leaps to the eye. The peoples of the world

are fully conscious of the fact that the Organization cannot, in the present circumstances, fulfil their desires or serve their vital interests, and that it has become a tool in the hands of United States imperialism and a market place in which the two great Powers haggle over practical details of their policy of dividing the world into spheres of influence and establishing their hegemony over them.

91. Over the centuries the imperialist and colonialist Powers have waged barbarous wars against the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, intent on enslaving them and exploiting their wealth. They have always endeavoured, by every means at their command, to maintain their domination over foreign territories and to augment their colonial possessions. This has always been the law governing their imperialist policy of subjugation and exploitation. The imperialists and colonialists have never withdrawn of their own free will from occupied foreign territories. This is a fact of which the peoples of the whole world are now fully aware. They know very well that these oppressors and exploiters will not release their prey unless forced to do so. They believe that the only way in which they can free themselves from the chains of colonial slavery is by armed struggle. That is why they now firmly reject compromises with and concessions to imperialism and colonialism, although such conduct is advocated by the Soviet revisionists and the other traitors to the peoples' cause as a "peaceful transition" to freedom and independence.

92. The peoples' national and social liberation movement has made unprecedented strides in our times. The victories won by the peoples which have already acquired their independence and by those still fighting to free themselves from foreign domination and the colonial yoke have dealt crushing blows to imperialism and colonialism, which are now disintegrating and are being further eroded by their internal and external contradictions.

93. Faced with the redoubled efforts of the imperialists and colonialists to cling to their colonial possessions, faced with the intensification of their policy of war and savage repression of the national liberation movements, the peoples of the world, in increasing irritation and indignation, are fighting back with increasing firmness and vigour, confident that their just cause will triumph.

94. Thus, the heroic people of Viet-Nam, the Arab peoples, the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Puerto Rico, and all the other peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America still living under imperialist, colonialist, neo-colonialist and racist oppression are waging a ceaseless and unrelenting struggle, deterred by no obstacle and shrinking from no sacrifice.

95. In the course of this year, the peoples' armed struggle for national and social liberation has acquired great momentum. Throughout the vast areas of Africa which are still under colonialist and imperialist domination, the peoples' armed struggle is spreading like wild-fire. The African peoples in many regions are learning the art of war by making war and are gaining strength in battle through experience. The

valiant fighters in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau have scored great victories. During the months of September and October, the Angolese patriots intensified their struggle against the Portuguese aggressors and killed or disabled hundreds of colonialist soldiers. A large part of Angola's territory has been liberated and is now under the control of the patriotic forces. The Mozambique guerrillas, having wrecked the "mop-up" operations of the Portuguese colonialist troops, have extended their field of action over almost half the country. They make constant raids on the enemy's military centres. The fighters in Guinea-Bissau are relentlessly attacking the Portuguese forces. They have recently destroyed a good many of their barracks and killed or wounded hundreds of Portuguese soldiers.

96. In Southern Rhodesia the Zimbabwe people, who are fully aware of the fraudulent delaying tactics of the British colonialists and their white henchmen in the territory, and know full well that the British imperialist forces will never be used to rescue them from the clique of white racists led by Ian Smith, who is their creature, have resolutely taken up arms for the national and social liberation of their country, thereby taking the destiny of the country into their own hands and relying primarily on their own resources. The Zimbabwe guerrillas have intensified their action against the military forces of the Ian Smith clique, inflicting major defeats on the enemy, a fact which the white colonial régime itself recognized when it referred to "fierce fighting" with the partisans since last August.

97. The patriotic forces in South West Africa have likewise continued to be active, killing and wounding dozens of Pretoria's racist soldiers.

98. Thus the gallant peoples of Africa which still suffer under the colonial yoke have resolutely embraced armed struggle, never withdrawing in the face of difficulties or sacrifices, until they have gained the certain victory and succeeded in ousting the colonialists and imperialists from their territories.

99. In the southern part of the Arab peninsula, the struggle for national liberation has been gaining in strength despite all the efforts and tricks of the United Kingdom colonialists and United States imperialists, and their terrorist measures and savage reprisals against the Arab population. The historic victory recently won by the valiant people of Southern Yemen in gaining its independence is, of course, the result of its long and heroic struggle. This victory has helped considerably to give the Arab people confidence in their own strength and to encourage revolutionary action by the peoples of Oman and the entire southern part of the Arab peninsula.

100. The independence of Southern Yemen is of especial importance for the people of Palestine and the other Arab peoples whose land is now occupied by Israel forces as a result of the imperialist Zionist aggression of last summer. The Palestinian people and all the Arab peoples which were the victims of the aggression of 5 June realize full well that the only way to liberate the occupied territory is by force of arms. Israel was set up and has been maintained by the imperialists, headed by the United

States, as a base for aggression against the Arab countries. This has been shown by the aggression of 5 June against the Arab countries and the subsequent attitude of the imperialists and their partners towards the consequences of that aggression.

101. The events of last summer and everything that has happened since then have amply proved to the Arab peoples and countries that their fiercest enemy is United States imperialism, and that its chief collaborators, the USSR revisionists, bear a heavy responsibility for all the plots they have hatched with the Yankee imperialists at the expense of the peace and freedom of the Arab peoples.

102. But despite imperialist aggression and the plotting between the United States imperialists and the USSR revisionists, the people of Palestine and the other Arab peoples are determined to fight to the last, until they have achieved the victory that is bound to be theirs, and until all Arab territories occupied by the imperialists and their lackeys have been set free.

103. The fiercest battle of the revolutionary forces against imperialism and colonialism is being fought today in Viet-Nam, whose heroic people are repelling Yankee aggression. The sinister plans of the United States imperialists to transform Viet-Nam into a colony and a base for aggression against the other freedom-loving countries of that region, notably against the People's Republic of China, that impregnable bastion of the world liberation movement, have been ignominiously wrecked because of the iron will of the glorious Viet-Nameese people who are fighting for the salvation of their country.

104. The continuous reversals and crushing defeats suffered by the United States aggressors in Viet-Nam have exacerbated the strains and stresses within and without the United States and resulted in that imperialist Power finding itself more isolated than ever before. The growing conflicts within government circles in the United States because of the setbacks suffered in Viet-Nam have recently led to the dismissal of the Secretary of State, who had so often been praised by United States leaders.

105. I would emphasize, however, that nothing can save the United States from total defeat in Viet-Nam: neither an intensification or extension of its war of aggression, nor the savage bombing of North Viet-Nam, nor this travesty of peace negotiations by bombardment which has been planned in collusion with the USSR revisionists, nor yet the illegal attempts of the United Nations to interfere in the internal affairs of the Viet-Nameese people. The armed forces and the people of Viet-Nam are determined to fight to the very end, until the last of the Yankee aggressors has left the sacred soil of their homeland.

106. The victories scored by the heroic Viet-Nameese fighters in the people's struggle against the United States imperialists and their global strategy constitute an immense contribution to the revolutionary movements of national and social liberation of the world's peoples and a great source of inspiration for those movements, since they provide the best possible proof that armed struggle is the only way in which peoples can win their freedom and independence.

107. Comrade Enver Hoxha, the leader of the Albanian people, declared:

"The major defeats which the United States of America is now experiencing and the inevitable collapse which will mark the end of its adventure in Viet-Nam are of colossal importance and fraught with incalculable consequences for the peoples' struggle against imperialism as well as for the international situation. They hasten the political and military discredit of the United States of America and mercilessly lay bare the treason of the USSR revisionists, they encourage the popular struggle and speed the progress of the revolution towards victory. Thus solidarity with the Viet-Nameese people and unconditional support for its heroic struggle are the bounden duty of all revolutionaries and all progressive and peace-loving forces everywhere which are fighting in the ranks of the great anti-imperialist movement."

108. Today, the great revolutionary ideas of freedom, independence and social progress are agitating the peoples of every continent, particularly the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and have thus become a universal invincible force. The unprecedented development of the world national and social liberation movement and the historic victories won by the peoples which have achieved independence have shaken the imperialist and colonialist system to its very foundations, shrunk its sphere of exploitation and influence in the international arena as well as its world market, and led to the disintegration of the entire odious system of enslavement.

109. All this has resulted in a worsening of the frictions and conflicts among the imperialist and colonialist Powers. The devaluation of the pound sterling and the shaky position of the dollar in the Western monetary and financial system are certainly consequences of this situation.

110. It is true that despite these frictions the imperialists and colonialists, headed by the United States of America, always join forces and work together when opposing the revolutionary popular movements. Hence they act in concert, straining every sinew, to quell the flames of the peoples' liberation struggle which are spreading to the four corners of the world, and to suppress with fire and sword the freedom-fighters in the countries which are still under their domination. I cannot fail to point out in this connexion that the United States of America is the principal bastion of colonial, neo-colonial and racist domination, that it is pursuing a barbarous policy of oppression and aggression against the peoples of the world and that it is resorting to every means at its command to safeguard the hated system of colonial domination throughout the world.

111. I do not think it is necessary to speak here of the savage methods which the imperialists and colonialist forces use to suppress the national liberation movements of the peoples under their domination. The report of the Special Committee on decolonization [A/6700/Rev.1] deals with this question at length. Many of the speakers who have preceded me have described the ferocious oppressive and repressive

methods the colonialists and racists use against the subjugated peoples, their racial discrimination, their policy of apartheid, the atrocities and the mass murders they have perpetrated, the tortures and the terror.

112. Neither do I intend to record here the barbarous methods—the poison gases, the napalm bombs and the criminal bombing of the civilian population, including women, children and old people—which are being used by the United States imperialists and their partners in their war of aggression against freedom-loving peoples and countries such as Viet-Nam and the countries of the Middle East. These facts are well known to all. They show, in particular, the savagery of these twentieth century barbarians, the United States imperialists—public enemy number one.

113. Faced with the unprecedented rise of the peoples' national liberation movement and the efforts of peaceful States to safeguard and consolidate their national sovereignty and independence, the imperialist and colonialist Powers, headed by the United States of America, are forced to resort to neo-colonialist forms of economic exploitation and political domination. In particular, they are doing their best to take advantage of the economic needs of the developing countries and are trying, through the granting of credit and "assistance" and through capital investments and the acquisition of concessions—either directly or through international organizations and the so-called specialized agencies—to ensure that their monopolies can exploit the wealth of those countries, to interfere in their domestic affairs and thus to establish political domination over them.

114. Neo-colonialism is becoming more dangerous from day to day. There is no doubt that the United States of America is the imperialist Power which is most actively implementing neo-colonialist policies, and doing so by the most diverse means, ranging from economic, political and military blackmail, bribery, the Peace Corps and subversion to the setting up of military bases in foreign territory, the formation of aggressive blocs and the perpetration of armed aggression against peaceful countries. The freedom-loving peoples and countries of the world are fully aware of this, which explains why they jointly fight against imperialist domination in any of its forms just as hard as they once fought against the classic form of colonialism.

115. There is no doubt that no matter what methods the imperialists and colonialists use to exploit and dominate the peoples of the world, they are bound to fail. The process of national and social liberation will continue, and no force in the world can arrest it. The imperialist and colonialist system is crumbling before our very eyes and the day of its final collapse is not far off.

116. But the question remains whether the United Nations will continue, as in the past, to allow itself to be used by the imperialist and colonialist Powers, and primarily the United States of America, whether it will continue to be a centre where the United States imperialists and the USSR revisionists can strike bargains at the expense of peaceful peoples

and nations, or whether, on the contrary, the Member States which adhere to the cause of the peoples and to the purposes and principles of the Charter will, by joint endeavour, transform the United Nations from a tool of imperialism and revisionism into an institution that will really serve the vital interests of the peoples, an organization that will be capable of contributing effectively to the national liberation struggle and to the safeguarding of the safeguarding of the sovereignty and independence of States. Everything depends on whether the peace-loving Member States, which are in the majority here, will have the courage and determination to reject the attempts of the two great Powers to establish a diktat and force those Powers to respect one of the cornerstone provisions of the Charter—the principle of the sovereign equality of Member States, large and small.

117. The Albanian delegation for its part will be sure to make its modest contribution to this end. We shall persevere in our struggle and remain always prepared to do our utmost to consolidate our collaboration with those Member States whose aims we share.

118. The Albanian people and its Government, guided by the revolutionary principles of our socialist State, will, as they have done in the past, give unconditional support to the peoples' struggle for national and social liberation and for the consolidation of their sovereignty and independence. We are convinced that the peoples' revolutionary struggle for freedom, peace and social progress will triumph in the end; that it will wreck all the plans of the imperialists and their chief collaborators and destroy the imperialist system itself once and for all.

119. Mr. ALARCON DE QUESADA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): The problem of the total eradication of colonialism and the consolidation of complete independence for all peoples continues to be a question of outstanding importance, whose effective solution is being called for by world public opinion with ever-increasing urgency.

120. Some progress has indeed been made in recent years, through the valiant struggle waged by oppressed peoples. This Organization itself has seen an increase in its membership as a result of the emergence of new States subjected for centuries to foreign domination. The adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) signified a valuable gain for the cause of the national independence of colonial peoples.

121. Nevertheless, the forces of imperialism and colonialism are persistent in their endeavours to keep the peoples under subjection. In Latin America, Africa and Asia there are still nations which are subjected to colonial domination, and millions of men and women are still fighting to free their homelands. Those States which have recently achieved independence find themselves threatened by the schemes of neo-colonialism, aimed at making their recently gained sovereignty a dead letter, keeping them in a state of backwardness and perpetuating the exploitation of their natural resources.

122. The peoples of so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique continue their heroic struggle to win their independence. As the studies carried

out by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four have made abundantly clear, Portugal obstinately persists in denying to those peoples their legitimate rights, thanks to the limitless military, economic and financial assistance which it receives from the United States Government and other members of NATO.

123. In Southern Rhodesia, the Zimbabwe nation has been deprived of its sovereign rights by the action of the colonialist minority, which has set up a spurious régime based on racism and discrimination against the great majority of the inhabitants. The Territory of South West Africa is still subjected to occupation by the Pretoria régime, which carries out in that Territory the same execrable policy of apartheid which it practises in South Africa. The people of Oman are still waging their struggle against foreign domination.

124. The General Assembly has expressed its opinion on all these problems on numerous occasions. This Organization has been studying these questions during lengthy debates for many years. Some of those problems have been under consideration here since the very beginning of the United Nations. Year after year, studies are completed or resolutions adopted which denounce the essence of colonial oppression over those peoples and confirm the latter's inalienable rights to complete freedom. Perhaps the greatest usefulness of this impressive pile of reports, resolutions and declarations has been that of revealing the profound contradictions which undermine this Organization, are preventing it from achieving the objectives for which it was created and are reducing it to a state of helplessness which disgusts the conscience of the peoples.

125. It is quite evident that the vast majority of the States represented in this Organization condemn colonialism in all its forms, repudiate apartheid and racial discrimination and advocate immediate and full independence for peoples subjected to such conditions and for all those still under colonialist rule. This majority view of Member States has been recorded in resolutions so numerous that it would be pointless to quote examples. It is equally well known, however, that this Organization has been and is utterly incapable of securing compliance with its own resolutions and of responding to the interests and views of the majority of its Members. The explanation of this phenomenon also is to be found in many documents published by the United Nations and prepared by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four or the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

126. Obviously, it is not merely a matter of overcoming the resistance of South Africa or of Portugal. Behind them—just as at the back of any situation involving colonial or racist oppression—stand those powerful foreign economic interests which govern the policy of the main imperialist Powers, headed by the United States. That is why the struggle to eradicate the vestiges or legacies of the old colonialism will not succeed unless it is faced from a consistently anti-imperialist position and unless an accurate analysis is made of the present international situation. But for the existence of United

States imperialism and its stubborn determination to subjugate weaker peoples, colonialism would be a thing of the past. The machinations against those peoples are plotted in Washington. The denial of the rights of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Oman and other colonial Territories is part of the global strategy of United States colonialism. The exploitation of those peoples is one of the cornerstones of schemes of the United States monopolists to extract the riches of the Third World, to stifle the national liberation movements and to perpetuate their own hegemony in the international community. For this reason, the success of the peoples' struggle to overthrow colonialism, eradicate racism and ensure their fully independent development is not brought about by means of the parliamentary debates held in this Organization. Those peoples will obtain final victory—indeed, they are achieving it now—by means of the determined and direct armed struggle against their oppressors.

127. One can have no illusions about the terms which would be offered to oppressed peoples by those who at present are waging the most monstrous aggression against a people who, on account of their heroic decision to fight, have come to symbolize the purest and the loftiest expression of the aspiration of all peoples to independence and freedom: the people of Viet-Nam.

128. The enemy to be defeated in the territories under colonialist rule is the same one which is to be defeated, is being defeated and will be finally vanquished in Viet-Nam: United States imperialism. However, to achieve victory it is necessary to develop the same fighting spirit, indomitable resistance and ceaseless determination to fight shown by the people of Viet-Nam.

129. The clearest proof of the United States Government's obstinate opposition to decolonization is its attitude towards the colonial case of Puerto Rico. The report submitted to us this year by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four [A/6700/Rev.1, chapter 1, section G] covers the debate in the Special Committee on the question of the inclusion of Puerto Rico in the list of Territories to which General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) is applicable.

130. The representatives of the Puerto Rican National Liberation Movement were the first to request the Special Committee for a hearing of their case. They did so on the very day following that on which the Special Committee was established. In October 1965, the Cuban Revolutionary Government formally requested the Special Committee to include that question on its agenda. The Cuban proposal echoed not only the request made by all the patriotic organizations of the Territory concerned, but also the request made by forty-seven Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries during the conference held at Cairo in October 1964. Up to now, however, the Special Committee has been prevented from taking a decision on the substance of the question on account of the intense pressure brought to bear upon it by the United States delegation.

131. Whatever attitude the United Nations adopts on the question of Puerto Rico will be decisive

for measuring the extent to which this Organization is true to its own principles, and will be the basis of the judgement formed by the peoples regarding the Organization.

132. The United States opposes not only the independence of Puerto Rico but even the mere discussion of its case by the United Nations. It refers to the existence of resolution 748 (VIII), which the General Assembly adopted by a slight minority, but it ignores the fact that, years afterwards, this same Assembly adopted another resolution—1514 (XV)—which affirms the right of all peoples, without exception, to independence.

133. Resolution 1514 (XV) is explicit; it refers to Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories and all other peoples that have not yet attained independence. No one, not even the United States Government, has ever maintained that the people of Puerto Rico have attained independence. Nevertheless, the Washington Government is still trying to bar the door to a debate on this subject in the General Assembly.

134. Moreover, we must recall that General Assembly resolution 748 (VIII) was based on fraudulent reports submitted by the United States Government, which then stated that the people of Puerto Rico had freely decided their destiny by means of a plebiscite. However, we ask the representatives here: can we accept as legitimate a plebiscite in which no option for independence existed, and in which the number of people who voted against the colonial régime or abstained from voting amounted to sixty per cent of the electorate? Can it be imagined that a people can freely decide its destiny while under complete military occupation by a foreign Power in the midst of the most ferocious repression and with the prisons full of patriots?

135. The reason why the United States was successful in achieving the adoption, at that time, of resolution 748 (VIII) was that more than half of the Organization's present Members were not then represented here, precisely because they themselves were subjected to the colonial yoke.

136. My delegation wished to emphasize once again the inescapable duty of this Organization and of all States which profess anti-colonialism to ensure that the principles embodied in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) are carried out with regard to the people of Puerto Rico.

137. Despite all the Yankee Government's allegations, the facts cannot be denied. The United States has complete control over the Puerto Rican economy. Puerto Rico is subject to the legislative, judicial and executive control of the United States. The United States Government has sole jurisdiction in matters of citizenship, foreign relations, defence, immigration and emigration, foreign trade, currency, post, radio and television and air and sea transport. The territory of the island has been converted into an immense United States fortress containing dozens of military bases, including two equipped with nuclear

missiles. The area covered by United States military installations zones amounts to thirteen per cent of the country's best agricultural land. The inhabitants of Puerto Rico are obliged to serve in the ranks of the Yankee armies, and at the present time are forced to take part in the despicable aggression against the people of Viet-Nam. According to details released by the Pentagon, and reproduced in the daily paper El Mundo of San Juan, Puerto Rico, on 22 May 1967, Puerto Rican casualties in the Viet-Nam war were higher than those suffered by eighteen States and the District of Columbia of the United States.

138. During this year the United States Government imposed the holding of yet another farcial plebiscite, seeking thereby to damp down the growing worldwide denunciation with regard to the tragic situation of the Puerto Rican people. However, this manoeuvre failed completely because, in the first place, no one can be hoodwinked by the holding of a so-called plebiscite in such conditions of military occupation and complete foreign domination, in which the people did not have the slightest possibility of expressing their views. A considerable proportion of the electorate abstained from taking part in that tragi-comedy, thus complying with the directives issued by all the patriotic organizations. The clearest proof of the fiasco of that so-called plebiscite is the fact that, as a result of it, all the political parties which defend the colonial régime are now going through a serious crisis; they are all divided and fragmented, and faced with rebellion among their own supporters.

139. Next year we shall commemorate the centenary of the beginning of the war of independence which Cubans and Puerto Ricans fought together for emancipation from the Spanish empire. In 1868 Cuba and Puerto Rico began a heroic armed struggle which, for thirty years, entailed for our peoples a great number of sacrifices. That epic was frustrated by Yankee military intervention which subjected both nations to foreign domination. Since that time, Puerto Rico has been subjected to colonial oppression by the most powerful empire of this age. Nevertheless, the Puerto Rican people have preserved their national spirit, culture, beliefs, language and traditions. All the attempts of imperialism to destroy their nationality have failed. A people who have struggled so hard for their freedom, under such difficult conditions, will finally achieve victory; and that victory will be fundamentally a result of their own struggle. No matter who may be opposed, one day Puerto Rico will be free and independent.

140. For our part, however, we reaffirm that the United Nations has the duty to support the aspiration of that people to the free exercise of sovereignty. Until the case of Puerto Rico is considered and decided upon in the light of, and in compliance with, General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), it cannot be said that this Organization has lived up to the anti-colonialist ideals which it professes.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.