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President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

Address by Mr. Josef Klaus, Federal Chancellor of Austria

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We have the pleasure to have with us today H.E. Mr. Josef Klaus, Federal Chancellor of Austria, and I should like to welcome him on behalf of the Assembly. I have great pleasure in inviting Mr. Josef Klaus to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. KLAUS: In our age, the maintenance of world peace and of international security has become the central preoccupation of mankind. That a solution to this problem would be found was the greatest of all the hopes that surrounded the cradle of the United Nations. Today, after twenty years, we still cherish this hope with undiminished ardour. And yet the founders of the United Nations had more in mind than just the construction of a soulless machinery for enforcing peace. Thus we have been privileged to witness a magnificent effort to organize efficiently the co-operation of all nations in the fields of economics, technology, social welfare, culture, science, law and, last but not least, humanitarian work. These aims have remained unchanged throughout these twenty years.

3. But let me first express my gratitude to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, for the kind invitation he has extended to me to address this distinguished gathering. We appreciate and admire the dynamic approach, the energy and the realism with which U Thant acquits himself of the responsibilities that are the burden of the high office with which the Members of this Organization have entrusted him. Permit me, Mr. Secretary-General, to extend to you my best wishes for your further work in the service of peace.

4. Furthermore, I want to pay my respects to the President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Amintore Fanfani, my old friend,

companion in the fight for Christian Democracy, and neighbour, whom I congratulate on his election to the high office of President of the General Assembly and to whom I extend my best wishes for the successful completion of his term of office.

5. As I said at the beginning, today the maintenance of world peace is the central problem of mankind. We all remember the millions of victims of two world wars; we have not forgotten the dreary ruins which were the inheritance of those conflicts. The lessons of history, of the history of mankind's recent sufferings, and the determination to spare future generations a repetition of the old mistakes inspired the fifty-one founding nations which gathered on 26 June 1945 in San Francisco for the signing of the United Nations Charter. However, the world has changed since that time. The face of war has become even more threatening and horrible. Hence the problem of how to secure peace effectively has become even more urgent and important. Nuclear weapons and nuclear strategy have forged the human family into one large community with one common destiny. Peace, we all feel, has become indivisible. Every event, wherever it may happen, affects us all. Advancing into the vastness of space, man is becoming fully aware of the smallness of his planet. We are confronted with a new fact: the interdependency of nations and continents.

6. Nowadays, every single nation is responsible for peace, though the forms of this responsibility may vary. From this rostrum on 20 September 1963, the late President Kennedy pointed out that the nuclear Powers have a special responsibility. He said:

"It is... a threefold responsibility—a responsibility to our own citizens, a responsibility to the people of the whole world who are affected by our decisions, and a responsibility to the next generation of humanity." [1209th meeting, para. 43.]

7. Even twenty years ago, the Charter of the United Nations did not fail to recognize this fact. That was why it accorded a special role in the maintenance of peace to five Powers by conferring on them a privileged position in the Security Council. In these twenty years, the permanent members of the Security Council have used their power of veto more than a hundred times—too often to permit us to forget recalling it today. If, as is often advocated these days, the importance accorded to it in the Charter is to be restored to the Security Council, then the Powers which enjoy these privileges must manifest their awareness of their higher responsibility by using their rights sparingly. The disposal of enormous military power, which enables a minority to push mankind to the brink of self-destruction, calls for a policy imbued with high ethical principles and a

truly humane sense of responsibility. This must not be a policy enforced at the expense of the medium and small nations; it must not be a policy for which the "third world"—the small countries—are merely the objects of attempts by the big Powers to safeguard their own interests.

8. True peace is the common achievement of many nations, the fruit of the sincere co-operation of all Members of this community. I have just mentioned the responsibility of the great Powers; I must not omit the fact that the small nations have their responsibility, too. The startled and anxious reactions to the events in the world's foci of unrest indicate how deeply the idea has taken root that in a world of nuclear armaments all wars are dangerous, even limited wars, even so-called local wars. Finally, it is to be wished that all nations would agree on one fundamental principle: that war is not inevitable, that peace is something which can be achieved. This is the spirit in which we should enter the third decade of this Organization.

9. In a world which is becoming smaller, the feeling of interdependency is growing not only because of the danger threatening all; but also in view of the common feeling that a better world, a world free from terror and fear, cannot be built in the future unless all nations unite in an irresistible impetus of solidarity. The rich nations should help the poor, the "haves" should help the "have-nots"; those enjoying an abundance of goods should help the inhabitants of developing areas. This is for us not merely a wise economic premise, a device for solving the problem of over-production and for avoiding an inadequate distribution of goods; it is above all a humane responsibility. All the peoples of our world should enjoy freedom, welfare and progress.

10. I agree with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who pointed out some time ago that praise of democracy, human dignity and the rights of man does not help the two-thirds of the world's population that lacks food, clothing and housing fit for human beings. "The true enemies", said U Thant, "which we have to fight in the first place are illiteracy, ignorance, poverty and disease. Only this fight can bring about a more stable world."

11. Austria can look back over a long history on the European continent. Today, thanks to the efforts of its citizens, the country enjoys economic welfare and prosperity. Yet Austria's resources are limited, so that the amount of aid it can offer does not weigh very heavily in a world which needs assistance on an enormous scale. But this world of poverty and need will always find my country and its people ready to give as much economic and financial assistance as they can and, moreover, willing to share Austria's cultural, scientific and technical experience and know-how with other countries, just as Austria itself is interested in learning from the experience of others. Since the establishment of the various specialized agencies we have made efforts within the framework of the United Nations to contribute to this great task of mankind in proportion to the size of our country. We shall continue to fulfil this obligation of international solidarity in the future. We shall help because we realize that mankind is one great family.

Never before in the course of history has mankind been confronted with such gigantic tasks in the fight against poverty, disease and ignorance. But neither have men ever before had at their disposal such a vast arsenal of technical instruments for resolving these problems.

12. Because it is our profound conviction that this is a truly great idea, we support the appeal made by wise authorities to restrict expenditures for armaments in order to free resources for this humane battle. Thus, by helping to diminish the dangers inherent in the hoarding of weapons which may well go off one day, we can make available new resources for the benefit of many nations all over the world whose elementary needs are unfilled.

13. In the annual General Assembly, which this year is in session for the twentieth time, the world's nations have created for themselves an unparalleled forum for the dialogue among nations, among groups of nations and among individuals. More and more, mankind is discovering how peace is furthered when people can speak freely one to another. Deeply troubled by the experience of the world war, Martin Buber, the great philosopher, said in 1952 in a lecture which he gave at Carnegie Hall in New York:

"The direct, uninhibited dialogue is becoming ever more difficult to attain and ever more rare; in an increasingly cruel way the chasms between man and man are threatening to become unbridgeable. That is the really fateful question for mankind. The future of the humanity of man depends on the renaissance of the dialogue."

14. Here, in this unique Assembly, all nations enjoy the privilege of equality; there is no racial segregation; there is no discrimination among Members on the ground of the size of their territories or their populations; a glorious past assures no privilege to any nation. Under the Charter of the United Nations all countries have an equal right to be heard. This makes one realize the enormous importance of the United Nations as a mediating power.

15. Undoubtedly there are conflicts splitting the peoples in spite of the existence of the United Nations. Certainly the Organization cannot claim to solve all political problems within its institutional framework. But we can safely leave to future historians the task of discovering and describing the many potential conflicts which did not break out because this forum existed; of finding out how often opposing interests were reconciled because the opponents successfully used the machinery provided by the Charter; of showing how many conflagrations were prevented because the moral authority of the voice of the United Nations extinguished the very spark of conflict.

16. In our time, conflicts between nations should be settled only by the peaceful means indicated in the United Nations Charter. We Austrians will always be prepared to apply this principle. In this context, may I underscore the fact that Austria is absolutely determined to resolve the dispute between Italy and Austria concerning the implementation of the Paris Agreement of 5 September 1946^{1/} through negotiations in the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

^{1/} See United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 49 (1950), No. 747.

17. When, on 26 June 1945, the United Nations Charter was signed in San Francisco, the founders of the Organization were guided by the spirit of universality because they recognized the indivisibility of peace. His Holiness Pope Paul VI said here only a few weeks ago, during his memorable visit to the United Nations:

"Nothing higher can be imagined on the natural level, in the ideological structure of mankind. Your vocation is to bring not only some of the peoples, but all of the peoples, to fraternize." [1347th meeting, para. 30.]

18. I am convinced that the moral weight of the authority from which these words come will cause statesmen and Governments to revise their attitude towards the universality of the United Nations. This is not merely a question of power politics, but also a question of political philosophy. I personally respect the honourable motives which in the past have caused some Governments to oppose this principle of universality.

19. We are living in a world where the idea of the rule of law is gaining ground only gradually. For this very reason we should work to make the day approach on which the principle of the rule of law will be regarded as a categorical imperative in international relations by all peoples, without exception and irrespective of the social system under which they live.

20. Before I end my declaration of faith in the lofty aims of the United Nations, let me tell you how deeply rooted the idea of the United Nations has become in the minds of the Austrian people. In 1945 Austria was unable to take part in the establishment of the United Nations, because it was deprived of part of its freedom of action. It was only ten years later, after Austria had regained its full independence and sovereignty, that it was able to become a Member of the United Nations. Although a neutral country, Austria considered it compatible with its international status to apply for membership in this important community. The unanimous acceptance with which Austria's application met at that time gave us confidence that the Governments of the States which had to decide on our application would be willing to accept the limitations and reservations resulting from our special international obligation, the declaration of "permanent neutrality".

21. Austria's neutrality, which stemmed from the political balance-of-power of the post-war era, is for us an adequate means of maintaining the independence of our country and of securing the integrity of our territory in the present world situation. Our entry into the United Nations and the United Nations approval of this step underline what we have emphasized time and again in these ten years: that Austria's neutrality must not be seen as a flight into isolation. Austria notes this constructive attitude of the international community of States with gratitude and satisfaction and its response to it is Austria's constant readiness to serve peace and the United Nations.

22. Thus we responded to the Secretary-General's request for co-operation in the United Nations peace-keeping operations in the Congo and in Cyprus by sending medical and police contingents. It is the

constant policy of Austria to continue to be at the disposal of the United Nations within the limits of its resources, whenever our help is wanted by the United Nations for the maintenance of peace and international security.

23. Before ending my speech, let me thank you for your kind attention and permit me to make one final remark: in a lecture given in 1964, the late Permanent Representative of the United States, Mr. Stevenson, stated that we are approaching "a world in which fundamental issues of human rights—which have been hidden in closets down the long corridor of history—are out in the open and high on the agenda of human affairs".

24. Until recently it looked as if the race for military supremacy would never stop and as if no system of international co-operation, however well devised, could succeed in overcoming the rivalries that spring from bids for power and conflicting interests. If I see the situation correctly, mankind is now approaching a point in its development where the doubtful outcome of any military action makes the use of the military power futile.

25. This will be the point where people will find that it is urgent and of vital importance to achieve a world-wide consensus among all countries on the generally recognized standards of order which are to serve to contain and overcome the conflicting interests. This will be the hour when might and right, hitherto so often opposed, will unite under one all-embracing principle, the principle of the absolute rule of law, which has its ethical roots in the freedom and dignity of the human individual. That will be the moment when new perspectives will open transcending the national boundaries of the peoples and pointing to the unity of mankind as one great family. In this sense we Austrians now and for ever profess to be cosmopolites, citizens of this one, free and indivisible world.

26. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank Mr. Klaus, Federal Chancellor of Austria, for the noble and inspiring statement which he has just made and which was obviously much appreciated by the members of the Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: reports 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)

27. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before calling on the first speaker on my list, I should like to inform members that the list of speakers will be closed at 6 p.m. today.

28. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): As we approach the end of this year's debate on the subject of colonialism, perhaps it is opportune to reflect on how near we have come to the end of colonialism itself. We all rejoice that we have already come so far, and that the end of colonialism is now in sight. There are those who are sufficiently objective to say that the era of

colonialism had some compensations and brought some benefits. There were compensations and benefits in the maintenance of order, in economic development, in experience of democratic methods and in education. But we all recognize that such compensations and such benefits—real as they were—should never be made the pretext for perpetuation of domination by one country or one people or one race over another.

29. It has long been commonplace to say that even good government is not a substitute for self-government, and it is universally acknowledged that every nation should be free to shape its own destiny. Yes, every nation should be free to do so, even if the road of independence is hard and painful. And, lest some of the older nations are tempted to be superior as they look at the early endeavours of the new nations, it may be well to remind ourselves that few, if any, of the older nations achieved national advance and national unity without severe hardships and long struggles and bitter conflicts.

30. But, although the era of colonialism is now happily almost over, there is another evil which partly arises from it and which is not ended. It may be just beginning. That is the danger of race conflict. We see that danger in many parts of the world, chiefly in southern Africa. Surely one of the greatest challenges of our generation is the challenge of whether we can in time make a supreme effort to achieve just solutions in southern Africa which will avoid and prevent racial conflict.

31. But today I do not propose to discuss the problems and dangers of southern Africa. We have had and shall have other opportunities to do so. Those problems, I submit, are not primarily colonial questions. They are something much more serious and more dangerous. They are race problems, and we shall make a grave mistake if we do not recognize and deal with them as such.

32. I am concerned today to discuss strictly colonial question—questions of how some fifty remaining colonial territories, scattered round the world, can end their colonial status and make a new start, and how this can be rapidly achieved in peace and in order and in hope for the future.

33. My own country is mainly concerned in this effort. For, leaving aside for the purpose of our present debate the territories of southern Africa and leaving aside, too, those countries which are dominated by others but not yet recognized here as colonies, there are now only fifty colonial territories in the world. Of these, my country has responsibility for thirty-one. We plan that this figure shall be reduced by at least four next year, when Bechuanaland, Basutoland, British Guiana and Mauritius are due to become independent—with Swaziland and South Arabia to follow soon afterwards to that declared destination.

34. Let me suggest to you that there are three main facts about these thirty-one territories.

35. First, most of them are small in area and population. The total population of all the remaining British territories is only 9 million, half of those 9 million people living in twenty-nine territories. We have indeed already come most of the way along the

road we set ourselves, and we in the Commonwealth can take satisfaction and pride, too, in the fact that out of the total population of the Commonwealth, amounting to 750 million people, little more than 1 per cent now live in non-self-governing and dependent countries.

36. The second fact about these thirty-one remaining territories is that all are different. From the Cayman Islands in the Caribbean to the Solomon Islands in the Pacific, and from Aden to Basutoland, they present the widest conceivable variety in geography, in resources or the lack of them—and in need. They each have their own different character and different requirements, but equal claims on our understanding and our concern. They cannot be limped together and dismissed with a single sweeping generalization.

37. The third fact about these territories is that, in moving to a new and freely chosen status, each of them has some special and distinctive and unique problem. The problem may be one of size. Many of them are too small to fend for themselves in the world. It may be a problem of remoteness from markets and lines of communication. It may be one of lack of resources sufficient to enable them to survive alone. It may be a problem of bringing together, within one united community, people of different origin, religion or race. The problems are peculiar in every case. They have no easy solution. Were it otherwise, all these scattered territories would certainly have emerged from colonial status already.

38. I have said that, with the variety of conditions and problems which these thirty-one territories present, it is impossible to dismiss them with some sweeping generalization. There is no single solution. There is no single shibboleth, no single pass-word which will open the way to solutions of their different and separate problems. It is no use hoping that, if we blow hard enough on the trumpets of immediate independence, the practical obstacles will all come tumbling down. But nevertheless there are certain basic principles to be applied, on which I think that all of us could agree. What are they?

39. They are, first, that the wishes and the interests of the people should prevail. That should be our guiding and overriding rule. The voice of the people should be heard and respected. Where there is disagreement amongst the people themselves, there should be patient and persistent negotiation by conciliation and conference. The principle of consultation is to us all-important. We must not seek to impose anything—not even the imposition of the will of the majority on the minority. Minorities must also be consulted. We have obligations to them too, special obligations to do all we can to protect their just claims and their best interests.

40. In sincerely applying these principles and these methods, I know that we have sometimes been criticized, and our intentions and motives have sometimes been misunderstood. There are those who impatiently call for immediate independence irrespective of the special difficulties and differences and disagreements which persist. There are those who say that all these peoples must walk the plank at once into the

sea of independence whether they like it or not, and whatever the consequences. Pass a sweeping resolution, cut the ties, abandon obligations, ignore minority rights, forget economic needs. Let them sink or swim; let them be sacrificed to satisfy a theory and to prove a case.

41. I hope that no such heartless and arrogant attitude will continue. And I trust that it will be increasingly realized that the residue of colonial problems must be settled not by dictation and imposition but by reference to the needs and wishes of the people themselves. Their interests must be paramount. The policy and the method—this I earnestly submit to this Assembly—must be based on two vital principles, the two principles of consultation and consent.

42. These are the twin purposes to which we are committed and which we shall pursue. To consult with the people. To act with their consent. These obligations are paramount. We shall not be deflected from them. To do otherwise would be to abandon our trust and our obligation.

43. I say again that we are proud of our record of converting a dependent Empire into a free Commonwealth. We are not prepared to end that era by shamefully surrendering the interests and overriding the wishes of peoples however small and remote they may be. By applying the principles of consultation and consent we have, in less than twenty years, brought twenty-six nations to independence, with a population of more than a fifth of the population of the world. We are determined that we shall finish this task as we began, that we shall continue the process of consultation and consent till the end.

44. Some of us will remember the remarkable speech made by Mr. Walter Lippman here in this Assembly Hall last year when he spoke of:

"... the modern and revolutionary principle that legitimate government rests on the consent of the governed and that this consent comes from their freedom to choose and from their capacity to make a choice".^{2/}

45. We accept that revolutionary principle. We are determined that all the peoples for whom we still have responsibility shall be given the freedom to choose, for where there is no choice there is no freedom. We are determined that the pattern and the direction of their future shall be based on their own choice and their own consent.

46. There may be those who question our sincerity. There may be those who believe that we still wish to dominate our remaining colonial territories. Our record belies such accusations. Our remaining colonial territories, believe me, are not a material asset. In terms of finance they are a heavy liability. If we were to consult only our narrow self-interest there would be advantage in cutting our ties with them tomorrow. But we are not prepared to break faith with them. We wish to see them free, and free to make their own choice. We shall not fail to consult their wishes and their interests.

47. We wish to see them make a start in freedom in accordance with their own declared consent—the consent not of a fraction or of a party or even of a majority, but the consent as far as humanly possible of all the people.

48. I cannot hope to deal today with all the questions raised in the reports of the Committee of Twenty-four, [A/5800/Rev.1^{3/} and A/6000/Rev.1], but let me now take a few examples to show how we translate these principles of consultation and consent into practical effect.

49. I refer first to Southern Arabia. Here we are engaged on the unique task of helping the people of Southern Arabia in the complex enterprise of welding a score of states into one unified and independent State. The aim is not in doubt. It has been declared and confirmed by representatives of all the states concerned. But its attainment has presented and still presents special difficulties. The main difficulty arises from the fact that Aden State, with a population of a quarter of a million, has an urban and commercial economy while the other states of South Arabia have a scattered population of a million people who are tribal, pastoral and agricultural. The task of unification of many diverse interests in one which can be carried out only by conciliation, co-operation and consultation; and these efforts have been delayed and temporarily frustrated, I am sorry to say, by violence instigated from outside Aden.

50. Nevertheless the process of consultation continues following on earlier conferences, visits to Aden by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and complicated constitutional negotiations. We have taken one initiative after another in these directions. And we have made clear throughout that the declared aim of representatives of all the states concerned to achieve complete independence by 1968 has our full support. There could be no better example of the fact that a settlement and a solution must be found not by force or violence but by working out a plan for independence in consultation and agreement.

51. The second example I take is that of British Guiana. Here the problem has been to create an independent State in a country with a population of 638,000 people, of whom about half are of Indian descent and a third of African descent with the remainder mixed European, Chinese and American Indian. The main difficulties and dangers have arisen from political and racial divisions which have several times in past years erupted into violence. Here again, by a series of conferences, efforts have been made in consultation with the elected representatives of the people to find an acceptable basis for early independence. And at the conference just concluded in London final decisions were taken not only on the form of constitution—to include special provision for protection of minorities and a Bill of Rights and a solemn declaration of intent to end communal divisions—but also on the date of independence for the new nation of Guyana, which is to be celebrated on 26 May next year.

52. The third example I would take is that of Fiji which has a population of just under half a million.

^{2/} Address entitled "The Great Revolution". For text, see United Nations Monthly Chronicle, vol. II, No. 4, pp. 66-72.

^{3/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8, part I.

Of that number half are Indians and just over 40 per cent Fijians. The special problems of Fiji arise from doubts and anxieties and suspicions between the two main communities, each wishing to ensure that it is not dominated by the other.

53. In the summer of this year a fully representative Fiji conference took place in London. All the representatives agreed that the first objective must be further progress towards internal self-government. A Bill of Rights including safeguards against unwarranted racial discrimination was agreed upon. Agreement was also reached on constitutional advance to include provision for an unofficial majority in the Legislative Council—a Ministerial system and some adjustment in the balance of representation of the communities in the Legislative Council. Indians pressed for an immediate common voters' roll. The Fijians and Europeans wished the present communal rolls to be maintained. Agreement could not be reached so the United Kingdom decided to introduce a new system under which, for the first time, cross-voting will be employed for the election of nine Legislative Councilors by votes of all three communal rolls.

54. Fiji provides another example of the necessity of consultation and consent, if peaceful and sound progress is to be achieved. To ride roughshod over the wishes of any of the different communities and to seek to impose a solution would destroy the hope of racial harmony and co-operation on which the future prosperity and unity of Fiji must so clearly depend.

55. Now let me speak about two subjects to which special reference has been made in the Committee of Twenty-four and in the Fourth Committee.

56. The first subject is that of territorial claims against a few of the Territories over which we exercise sovereignty—the Falkland Islands and Gibraltar, for instance. We are always ready to discuss these questions in a friendly and constructive spirit, but we must nevertheless apply the principles of consultation and consent. There can be no question of negotiating the issue of sovereignty and signing away the destinies of whole peoples over their heads. The people of these Territories are not to be betrayed or bartered. Their wishes and their interests are paramount, and we shall do our duty in protecting them.

57. The second question is that of bases. We no longer require bases anywhere in the world for the maintenance of imperial interests. We need bases only to carry out our obligations in peace-keeping and in coming to the aid of our friends and meeting our treaty commitments to them. Here again we apply the principle of consultation and consent. It is the expressed view of my Government that no base is militarily or morally defensible unless it has the support of the people of the territory in which it is situated. We shall put those principles into practice in South Arabia, for example, where we have already declared that the future of any British defence facilities should be a matter for negotiation between ourselves and the Government of the new State on independence.

58. I return to the proposition of which I have spoken. For more than thirty years I myself have been engaged

in working with colonial peoples on the basis of consultation and consent to advance towards full self-government and independence. In Arabia and Africa and in the West Indies I have spent my working life in that process. I can give my own personal testimony of the methods of consultation which we have followed, and I am proud to say that all the countries in which I have served are independent now.

59. My country, more than any other, is experienced in the processes of enfranchisement and liberation. Those who have worked with us in Asia and Africa and elsewhere in the world know that what I say is true. Our critics are mainly those who know little or nothing of such methods. Some of them advocate free elections and free association and free speech for others, but they do not seem anxious to introduce such radical practices in their own countries. Some of them are experts not in enfranchisement and liberation but in suppression and in totalitarian authority. We have no wish to quarrel with them, but we have not the slightest wish to imitate them. We can teach only what we know. We shall follow the methods in which we believe. We shall not abandon the people who rely on us. We shall continue to practise the principles of consultation and consent.

60. We shall no doubt make mistakes, as we have made mistakes in the past. We shall no doubt continue to face criticism, some of it genuine, but some of it merely mischievous and some even malicious. It is the motive and the practical achievement that matter. Our practical achievement is well known. Our motive is to deal with the 1 per cent that remains, as we have dealt with the 99 per cent who are already free—to deal with their problems fairly and fearlessly, always with respect for their wishes and their interests. We shall welcome discussion and public debate. We shall continue to explain and justify our actions and our policies. At the same time we shall act confidently; we shall go forward in the certainty that our motive is right and that our methods have been tried and tested and found acceptable and workable and beneficial by the people who matter—the people of the countries concerned.

61. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania): Anyone who listened to the statement made by the representative of the United Kingdom would have been tempted to think that it was made with sincerity. Nevertheless, I want to remind this Assembly that the United Kingdom Government is the same Government that handed over 13 million Africans to the racist minority in South Africa. I wonder whether that is what the representative of the United Kingdom calls "consultation". The same Government of the United Kingdom is now in the process of handing over 4 million of our African brothers to a handful of a racist minority. I wonder if that is what he calls their "method of consultation". I do not wish to get off the track of what I wished to say to this Assembly.

62. The fact that this Assembly is once again called upon to examine the question of colonialism throws a huge and deep shadow over our Organization. That is so because in 1960, when resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted, there

was optimism in some quarters that the shame of colonialism would soon be eliminated from our midst and that it would be just a part of our bitter history. That was the optimism that prevailed five years ago. But it is obvious that it was wishful thinking which indeed has turned out to be illusory.

63. I say it has turned out to be illusory because experience has bitterly taught us so. It is illusory because during the past several weeks in the debates in the Fourth Committee speaker after speaker, petitioners and documentation have all shown that colonialism is still an existent cancer plaguing countless millions who directly exist under it and threatening humanity as a whole, since civilized humanity has condemned it and is positively resolved to crush it by all means.

64. As I have just stated, colonialism, the system of the exploitation of man by man, is a threat to civilized humanity and a threat to international peace and security. My delegation and all African people are convinced of this fact, because it is in Africa that the forces of international imperialism have unleashed, and are collectively still continuing to unleash, all their aggressive fury to suppress, colonize and exploit the African people together with the natural resources of Africa.

65. Only a few weeks ago, the atmosphere in this very hall was electrified as we pronounced ourselves against the racist minority rebels who have usurped the territory of Southern Rhodesia using as a basis, be it noted, the infamous 1961 Constitution that was prepared by the United Kingdom Government—and I suppose we shall be told it was by consultation. For years past we have time and again called upon the United Kingdom Government to rescind that reactionary and discriminatory Constitution, and time and again that Government has haughtily told us that it was none of our business. The question of Southern Rhodesia was and remains our business, not just particularly because it is a problem in Africa but also because it is a question of an integral part of the universal community being subjected to colonial suppression. The United Kingdom Government prepared and made operative the discriminatory 1961 Constitution. The Smith gang of outlaws has seized upon it and made the declaration of so-called independence. As far as my delegation is concerned, as far as all freedom-loving peoples of the world are concerned, the Southern Rhodesian question as it stands now is one of the continuation of colonialism, with the United Kingdom Government responsible.

66. When, a few weeks ago, we came to this Assembly to raise our voices against the practices of the United Kingdom Government with regard to Southern Rhodesia, it was because we knew what would happen. We told this Assembly of the ineffectiveness of the economic sanctions. We told this Assembly of the brutalities that would follow should we allow Smith to go away with the much talked-about economic sanctions.

67. Time has proved us right. Since the unilateral declaration of independence we have seen how Smith and his gang have unleashed the most primitive forms of suppression of our people in Southern Rhodesia. We

have heard how defenceless people have been shot dead in the streets simply because they are opposed to this racist gang. What is even more surprising is that the United Kingdom Government has now started to bring to this Assembly and other organs of the United Nations the word "if". For example, they say now that only if everybody, all States, co-operated would the economic sanctions work. We knew that South Africa and Portugal would not co-operate. We knew that even some other Governments would not co-operate. That is why we told this Assembly categorically that economic sanctions would not work. We tell the Assembly again in no uncertain terms that sanctions will not work. My delegation was very much disappointed to hear that the Spanish Government, even after the Security Council resolution, gave an order for iron ore to the racist minority of Southern Rhodesia. We appeal to the Spanish Government and people to desist from this, as it constitutes an open encouragement to the racist rebellion. My delegation, however, reserves the right to submit another draft resolution on Southern Rhodesia, in view of what is going on now in that unhappy land. We hope that such a resolution will receive wide support from all Members.

68. The question of Southern Rhodesia does not end there but is definitely interconnected with the question of colonial suppression in Angola, Mozambique and South West Africa, as well as in South Africa, where the African people are suppressed under the notorious policies of apartheid of the régime in Pretoria. It is common knowledge now that the forces of reaction and suppression have usurped the rule of these lands and are waging an aggressive war of suppression against the heroic struggling people of Africa.

69. I find it imperative to state here again, as my delegation has pointed out in other bodies, that these racist and reactionary minority régimes are able to persist and pursue their policies against the African people only because they receive the active support of the influential Powers of the Western world.

70. When the Committee on Twenty-four went to Africa earlier this year, petitioners appearing before it to expose the situation in the colonies under Portuguese colonialism gave evidence that the Portuguese colonialists were carrying on their aggressive war against the African people, by using huge amounts of armaments supplied to them by some of the Western countries.

71. Portugal has no active enemy in Europe, as far as we know. Portugal's only enemy is its policy of brutal massacre of the African people in continuation of colonialism. Hence, if NATO arms are given to Portugal by the Western Powers to defend it from its enemy, and since its enemy is its own colonialist policies, the arms are, therefore, in active use against the African people. In this context those arms are used by the countries that supply them, collectively with Portugal, against our African brothers. It is evident that Portugal is one of the most backward and poorest of the European nations. It is also no secret that Portugal depends a great deal on the wealthy resources of the territories at present under its colonial régime. It is our belief that Portugal can maintain its present aggressive policies only

because of the support it receives from its Western allies. What is most shocking in this connexion is that those Western countries are ready to co-operate with and encourage Portugal because of the huge sums of money invested in those Territories as a result of the privileges Portugal has extended to them under its colonial laws.

72. The delegation of the United Republic of Tanzania stands fully behind the heroic struggling people of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, who are struggling gallantly against the Portuguese colonialists and those who are supporting them. We are convinced that theirs is a just, and honourable struggle, a struggle that upholds the lofty ideal of the African people to liberate the continent of Africa from the ravages of colonialist exploitation.

73. The Committee of Twenty-four, during its trip to Africa, upheld the justice of such struggles and, in various resolutions, morally accepted the fact that, because such struggles are just and correct, they should receive moral and material support and any kind of aid from all those who cherish freedom. It is the considered view of our delegation that, since those struggles are against colonialism and the exploitation of man by man, and since they are in actuality struggles to attain and further the principles contained in resolution 1514 (XV)—which is the Declaration—they are therefore in furtherance of the basic principles of the Charter, and as such and in themselves should be gloriously upheld.

74. As I have already stated, it is obvious and undisguised that the forces of international reaction in Southern Africa have formed a devil's alliance to perpetuate colonial exploitation. Thus, since I have given our views on Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies, I must go on record regarding the situation in South West Africa. And here I should like to assure the representative of Japan that if what he told us a few days ago—that Japan has withdrawn its investments from South West Africa—is correct, that is a move which we in Africa welcome, and we hope that it will do the same in respect of South Africa.

75. The volume of documentation on the question of South West Africa shows that while the territory is, in the words of an editorial in *The Times* of London "a stolen mandate" and ruled by South African apartheid, there are other international forces involved. These forces are the gigantic financial consortium composed of a number of companies in the United States, the United Kingdom and other Western countries. The evidence which was brought before the Fourth Committee has shown that the activities of these companies, in pursuance of the apartheid laws of South Africa, are detrimental to the national interests of the African people of South West Africa. Of course, we were not surprised when the representative of the United States tried to escape from these facts by bringing in communism and trying to state that the report was full of communistic dogma. We know, too, that here in the United States the best way to fight a man is to call him a communist. I am afraid, however, that we are now in the General Assembly where facts have to be given.

76. It is the opinion of my delegation that not only are the activities of these foreign financial monopolies

detrimental, but that they constitute an active impediment to the attainment by the African people of the territory of their legitimate right to freedom and independence. Furthermore, the South African apartheid-mongers, apart from their own huge military machinery within the territory, have the active co-operation in this field of those very Western countries which have always professed to be our friends.

77. Does that mean that these influential Powers are ready to sacrifice the great principles laid down in the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV) in order to further their selfish economic interests in those territories?

78. The report of the Special Committee on the situation in those areas is clear and to the point. The forces of colonial aggression represented in Southern Rhodesia by the United Kingdom Government and the Ian Smith gang of outlaws, in Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea by the Portuguese, and in South West Africa by the apartheid-mongers—all with the active co-operation of the influential Western Powers—are therefore acting in contravention of the various resolutions of this Organization and of its Charter, and are thus maintaining sources of tension which constitute a threat to international peace and security.

79. If I have dwelt at length on the situation in Africa, it is only because those areas are very close to us, because it is an integral part of the over-all struggle for the total liberation of Africa, and we, individually and collectively as members of the Organization of African Unity, are determined to carry on the struggle to the bitter end. On this there can never be a compromise. It does not mean, however, that we are not concerned about colonialism in other parts of the globe.

80. It is the opinion of my delegation that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is a significant document whose principles constitute the basic desires of freedom-loving peoples for the development and progress of mankind and against the retrogressive forces of colonialism wherever and in whatever form it may manifest itself. Hence, my delegation is dismayed to find that today, five years after the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) during which time several other resolutions have been adopted, the colonial Powers are still clinging arrogantly to their old positions of usurping privileges of dependent peoples.

81. For the same reason we are concerned that the United States Government is still clinging to its position in relation to the Virgin Islands under its colonial rule. That Government has informed us that it has already charted the future for the Virgin Islands. That may be so; but the facts that are apparent are that the charted future is one that causes apprehension. Can the United States Government show in what way the status of the Virgin Islands has changed? To what degree have the principles of the Charter and the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) been applied?

Mr. Ramani (Malaysia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

82. In the same manner and context we find that colonialism is still rampant in those far-flung but important territories of Papua and New Guinea which are under the colonial administration of the Government of Australia. Despite many appeals, the Australian authorities have not made any effort to comply with the Declaration and have made no progress towards granting independence. The practice in the territories of Papua and New Guinea is still that of colonial masters suppressing the legitimate rights of the colonized people. Furthermore, we have heard the alarming news that the colonizers are now busy expropriating land and other resources in those territories. For example, in some places in New Guinea they have taken land for the exploitation of timber at a price absolutely unthinkable in our time. Also in those territories they have virtually alienated the land from the people for mining purposes. This Assembly must pronounce itself on those abominable practices. I say "abominable" because we in Africa have learned the bitter lesson that the so-called civilizing mission ultimately turns against the indigenous people.

83. Petitioner after petitioner in the Fourth Committee has told us how many people in the colonies have become landless as a result of such practices. And yet these practices are still being followed, and we have no doubt that they are likely to lead in New Guinea to the same results as in other territories, such as South West Africa, the Portuguese colonies and others. We know that it is through these practices that, ultimately, the colonizers bring problems to the indigenous people such as the minority problem in Southern Rhodesia.

84. My delegation would like unreservedly to condemn these ill-mannered practices of the Australian Government. This Assembly should not be a silent spectator when such evils are practised. It is the considered opinion of my delegation that it was perhaps wrong in the first place to give such Trust Territories to a country like Australia; indeed, in our view, the rule of Australia must be brought to an immediate end. We therefore call on this Assembly to fix definite early dates for the independence of the Trust Territories under Australian administration. After all, if a Government like that of Australia runs Territories entrusted to it by the United Nations in that way, it is for the United Nations now to take them away. My delegation is satisfied that the peoples of New Guinea, and the other Territories can rule themselves today.

85. The only terrible mistake that we at the United Nations make is to wait to be told by the administering Power that such and such a country can now obtain independence, forgetting that the colonial Powers always want to prolong their stay, as long as it is practicable and profitable for them to do so. We appeal to the United Nations to send yet another—and a final—commission that will specifically propose definite dates for the early independence of these Trust Territories. It should be the United Nations, and not the administering Power, that set these dates. It is indeed shocking that since the Trusteeship System was initiated and some Territories were given to Australia under that System, none of those Territories has become independent. I repeat: so far

none of those Territories has become independent. The longer we leave these people to the mercy of the administering Power, the longer we expose them and their Territories to the merciless exploitation of the colonizers. We of the United Republic of Tanzania want to assure the indigenous people of the Trust Territories under Australian administration that we are with them in their struggle, that we shall be with them until they regain their independence.

86. We have said before, and we say again, that the nature of colonialism does not change; that it is only the tactics of the colonialists that change in their attempt to further their condemned and moribund system.

87. Those are factors that are amply presented in the report which is under discussion now. Those are factors that move my delegation to believe that it is high time that this Organization considers some more concrete measures which will bring the colonialist forces to bow down before the just and legitimate aspirations of the peoples in the colonies.

88. I say it is high time, because we find that in several of these colonies—especially the ones now called "smaller" colonies—the colonialist Powers have established military bases for their global military strategies. Why, we ask, do the colonialist forces place these military bases in these Territories? Two schools of thought have been advanced. First, it is alleged that these bases are for use against so-called terrorists and agitators; I suppose that that is the reason used in the case of Aden. Secondly, as I have already said, these bases are for the global military strategies of the colonial Powers.

89. Therefore, if this military machinery is now being used locally, it is an open confession that it is there in order to further the injustice that already exists, to impede the people from attaining their legitimate desires for freedom and independence. We cannot agree nor accept that the heroic nationalists struggling for their independence are terrorists. In my delegation's view, it is the colonialist forces and their paraphernalia of war and massacre that are terroristic. It is they that have usurped and colonized the lands, denying the people their natural rights, intimidating them with aggressive military power and generally terrorizing the colonized peoples. And so, as experience has shown, the use of military force, or any force at all, invites the use of force by the colonized peoples in order to free themselves.

90. Hence, the colonial situation, which has been condemned as shameful to humanity, constitutes a threat to international peace and security. And such a situation exists. It exists in the colonies under Portuguese colonial occupation, where an aggressive war is being waged against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea.

91. I believe I shall only be doing the duty which falls on me because of our position as an integral part of the anti-colonialist forces if I suggest that we should draw the attention of the Security Council to such situations and request the Council to take the measures necessary to remove such threats to international peace and security.

92. On the second point, that of colonial territories being used for the maintenance or creation of military bases for utilization in global military strategies, I should like to recall the Declaration made by the non-aligned countries at Cairo last year. It reads, in part:

"The Conference considers the maintenance or future establishment of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops on the territories of other countries, against the expressed will of those countries, as a gross violation of the sovereignty of States and as a threat to freedom and international peace. It furthermore considers as particularly indefensible the existence or further establishment of bases in dependent territories which could be used for the maintenance of colonialism or for other purposes." ^{4/}

93. That Declaration was made because we are all people determined to uphold the lofty ideals of freedom and independence for human progress and development. That Declaration was made because we took into consideration the fact that the maintenance or establishment of such bases is inimical to international peace and security.

94. We should again like to appeal to the United Kingdom and United States Governments not to establish a military base on some islands which are at present part of the Mauritius.

95. We have made a lengthy statement because the colonial problem is still raging in the world. Colonialism has now taken a very bad turn. I have in mind the events in the Portuguese territories and the inhuman way in which people are being killed daily in Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa. Those situations are indeed a nightmare for all the people of the world who are committed to the ideals of freedom and independence. My delegation hopes that during this twentieth session of the Assembly we shall see some more positive lines adopted against colonialism. Finally, my delegation hopes that it will not be long before this Organization can make it possible for every man under the sun to breathe the air of freedom.

96. Mr. KULAGA (Poland): This year's consideration of colonial questions has begun in the dark shadows of the question of Southern Rhodesia. It has erupted under the impact of the seemingly unimaginable—the practical imposition of a most retrograde racist régime—becoming an ugly reality. It has provoked a storm of protest and demands that Ian Smith's act be met with the sternest, most rapid and effective counter-action. It has focused the world's attention on the ever-present threat which colonialism poses to the rights of men and peoples, to the ever-present threat which colonialism poses to international peace and security.

97. Five years ago, almost to the day, the Assembly passed a resolution which has very rapidly come to rank among the most outstanding documents of the United Nations. Resolutions 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, has acquired such pre-eminence because it went far towards meeting the aspirations of still

dependent peoples, because it reflected and responded to the active and just struggle of these peoples for their independence. Simultaneously, the Declaration, as the highest common denominator of the support of all progressive humanity for dependent peoples, furthered and encouraged their struggle. Ample proof of that may be found in the reports of the Committee of Twenty-four [A/5800/Rev.1 and A/6000/Rev.1], in the numerous declarations by petitioners at the meetings of the Committee in Africa and in the hearings of petitioners in the Fourth Committee. In many respects the Declaration has become the Magna Carta of dependent peoples.

98. These five years have witnessed the achievement of independence by a number of States, which we have been happy to welcome in this Assembly as full-fledged Members of our Organization. They have witnessed the intensification of the struggle for independence in most Territories under colonial domination. The "passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples", to quote the third paragraph of the preamble to the Declaration, has manifested itself with even more strength.

99. And yet, it is precisely now that the latent threat in Southern Rhodesia has exploded. We do not intend to reopen this question, except to underline once more how fully our delegation shares in the shock at and condemnation of this hotbed of racism, subjugation and exploitation which the Salisbury régime has introduced in Southern Rhodesia. We had experience of theories of Herrenvolk—race superiority—under German Nazi occupation and cannot but look with the deepest concern on the new Herrenvolk domain, purporting to establish itself from the Cape coast to the Zambesi River.

100. My Government has denounced the criminal act accomplished by the minority settler régime in Southern Rhodesia and has declared its fullest support for the just stand adopted on this question by the Organization of African Unity and for the resolutions adopted by the United Nations. We have also declared our full solidarity with the just striving of the 4 million Rhodesian people for freedom and independence, and with the demands that Rhodesia's racist laws be annulled and a Government representative of the population of that country be formed.

101. As the result of a long process—marked by the Salisbury minority settlers' progressive implementation of their plans for racist supremacy; marked by guilty British complacency in spite of the resolutions of the United Nations, which Poland supported entirely, and in spite of the timely warnings, coupled with corresponding proposals, by the African States—a new apartheid structure is now trying to entrench itself in Southern Rhodesia. A racist bloc has taken form in southern Africa. Its economic and military backbone is constituted, with the overt or covert support of some Western countries, by the Republic of South Africa, which also provides the "ideological" lead. The African population in South and South West Africa, the Portuguese colonies and Southern Rhodesia serves as a kind of slave labour reserve. All this happens with complete—if not, for understandable reasons, too vocally expressed—harmony among the intermixed interests of South Africa, Portugal and

^{4/} See document A/5763, section VIII.

some Western and NAFO Powers, which therefore bear a responsibility for the threat to peace which is steadily growing in southern Africa.

102. A careful study of all the thorough and valuable reports submitted to the Assembly by the Committee of Twenty-four shows clearly the variety and tactics, the elasticity of colonialism in adapting itself to new situations in what I would describe as the guerre d'usure which it is conducting against the wishes of the dependent peoples, against the aims and purposes of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

103. This war for the "containment" or even "roll-back" of the anti-colonialist struggle—to use such expressions for policies which have already been proved bankrupt—may assume the form of outright rejection of United Nations principles, as in the case of South West Africa and the Portuguese colonies. It may assume the form of military intervention, as in the case of Aden. It may assume the more subtle form of preparing independence through authorities which are not representative of the people. It always bases itself on establishing as firm an economic grip on the dependent peoples as possible while keeping to its barest minimum the social and educational advancement of these peoples. In many instances it is accompanied by the establishment of military bases and by efforts to anchor these bases in the economic structure of the colonial country, so as to make it seem an indispensable element of the future development of the country after it achieves independence.

104. In all cases, however, the common denominator is the same: the thwarting of the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the creation of conditions for the maintenance of direct or indirect rule over dependent peoples.

105. My delegation would like to deal with some of these manifestations of colonialism in the post-Declaration period. We would like in so doing to take as our starting point the following paragraphs of the Declaration [resolution 1514 (XV)]:

"Immediate steps shall be taken . . . to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire . . ."

and:

"Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence."

106. It is a fact that most resolutions adopted by the Assembly and the Committee of Twenty-four have had to include a provision deploring the non-implementation of the Declaration in the relevant territories. I would quote here resolution 2023 (XX) on Aden, the draft resolution on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland [see A/6106, para. 11] and the draft resolutions on Mauritius [see A/6160, para. 50, draft resolution II] and Fiji [ibid., draft resolution IV].

107. Turning now to concrete examples: the situation in Aden shows a very clear trend towards the creation of a political structure by virtue of which

independence would be granted to authorities not representative of the people, after delays which would make it possible to invest such authorities with the seal of respectability. This has been stated in the debate on the question of Aden. The resolution adopted by the Assembly [2023 (XX)] takes due account of this trend in its operative paragraph 4, which I think I do not have to quote again.

108. The situations in Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland show a similar tendency, as can easily be deduced from the evidence produced before the Committee of Twenty-four, in particular at its meetings in Africa.

109. In Guiana, independence has been delayed for years now in order to implement the policy of "divide and rule".

110. Even the South African authorities, as appears from the report of the Committee of Twenty-four, are trying to follow a course of action inspired by this trend, by mobilizing chiefs and headmen in support of their policies against the interests of the entire population of South West Africa.

111. These plans for what I would call an indaba-like type of independence seem to have become a pattern in the post-Declaration behaviour of the colonial Powers—a pattern which is contrary to resolution 1514 (XV), a pattern which it is the duty of the United Nations to condemn and redress.

112. And I am not, of course, taking up the subject of the Portuguese colonies and of South West Africa, where the only prospect offered to the peoples of these territories is pure and simple annexation and domination within the devised political and social structure of Portugal and South Africa.

113. Another problem of cardinal importance for dependent peoples is the increasing tendency of administering Powers towards the conversion of a number of dependent territories into military bases. This question has already been mentioned by the representative of Tanzania.

114. Guam, Aden and Ascension Island are examples of existing bases. Petitions, reports and debates in the Fourth Committee indicate that bases are being planned and established in many other territories: in the Seychelles Islands, the Chagos Archipelago, Aldabra Islands, Farquhar group, Desroches Island and South West Africa.

115. Is it necessary to recall in this hall the use to which the base in Guam has been turned? Is it necessary to mention its role in the aggressive war being waged against the Viet-Nameese people? Is it necessary to recall the role played by the base in Ascension Island? We have already adopted a resolution [2023 (XX)] condemning the base in Aden as a major obstacle to self-determination by the people of South Arabia and as a threat to the peace and security of the region. Is it necessary to recall that Chapter XI of the Charter provides for the administering Powers to promote, as a sacred trust, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end, to further international peace and security?

116. In the continued existence and use of existing bases and in the establishment of new ones there is,

as far as dependent peoples are concerned, a series of most essential principles involved. Such bases are, first, a serious impediment and obstacle to the achievement of independence by the peoples concerned, since they constitute a powerful means of pressure against these peoples by virtue of their physical presence and by virtue of the strength for potential repression they represent. Secondly, they distort the economic structure of the territory upon which they are situated, subjecting it to the needs of the base and thereby creating lasting disproportions in the future economic life of the territory while at the same time preparing the ground for securing the continuance of the base for so-called economic reasons. Thirdly, they draw the dependent peoples into the front-line of an eventual conflict, since bases in such territories would be most likely to suffer heavily in case of conflict; and thus dependent peoples are subjected to potentially grave dangers without their having anything to say in this respect, without having in the least been consulted. Fourthly, bases in dependent territories, especially when situated on islands insulated from any pressure of public opinion, are one way of securing the strategic purposes of certain countries while at the same time countering the growing resistance of peoples to the armament race and, in particular, to the presence of foreign military bases on their territories.

117. Another grave consequence of such bases in dependent territories is the threat they pose to territorial integrity. This is confirmed by the plans for the partition of the Seychelles and Mauritius, condemned by the Fourth Committee [see A/61.60, para. 50, draft resolution II]. This is a practical illustration of the disdain which certain Powers have for the notion of self-determination and of their disregard for the imperative injunction contained in operative paragraph 4 of resolution 1514 (XV), that the territorial integrity of the territory of dependent peoples shall be respected, whenever their own strategic interests come into play.

118. Taken all together, these elements demonstrate to what extent bases in dependent territories are contrary to the Charter and to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. They demonstrate the vicious circle the dependent territories are being drawn into: from the establishment of a base and the exercise of a direct influence over the evolution of the people of the territory and the creation of a base-gearred economy, up to the finalization of the process of self-determination within the framework desired by the Administering Authority. And it would not be surprising if strategically based islands were prevailed upon to "choose" association with the Administering Authority.

119. At this stage of the United Nations fight against colonialism we have, and rightly so, concentrated on the most important problems of the remaining colonies in Africa and South Arabia. This is and will remain our main preoccupation as long as South West Africa and the Portuguese colonies remain subjected to conditions of colonial bondage, as long as in Southern Rhodesia 4 million Zimbabwe people and many more millions in South Africa, suffering under apartheid,

have not assumed the rights which are theirs and as long as colonialism continues to deny genuine freedom to the peoples of South Arabia and other dependent territories.

120. In no circumstances, therefore, should we relax our effort and our drive to assist these peoples in their struggle for an independent life. At the same time, the new behaviour of the colonialist Powers in this five-year post-Declaration period requires, in the opinion of my delegation, the closest examination.

121. This neo-colonialist stage of colonialism demands of the United Nations an adequate response. First and foremost, there is the matter of the legitimacy of the struggle of dependent peoples for independence. We are greatly indebted to the Committee of Twenty-four for having, if I may say so, codified this essential provision, thus bridging one big gap between the process of decolonization and United Nations action in this respect. The Assembly must now make it entirely clear that the struggle of dependent peoples for independent life is a legitimate one, that it is fully consistent with the Charter and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Such a clear statement by the Assembly is both a legal and political necessity. The principle of the legitimacy of the struggle of a colonial people for independence implies the recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of each of its participants, who are therefore entitled to the moral and material assistance of all States and of the United Nations. Repressive measures against the national liberation movement as a whole and against its participants as individuals should therefore be regarded as contrary to the provisions of the Declaration.

122. The principle of a fully democratic and free achievement of independent life by dependent peoples must be the cornerstone of the implementation of the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV). In this principle we include the notion of the consultation of the whole people, so aptly expressed in the formula "one man, one vote", and the notion of a development free from any pressure, both of which notions we understand to be contained in operative paragraph 5 of resolution 1514 (XV).

123. The essential principle of economic independence has been recognized by the Committee of Twenty-four, and we commend the Committee's first reports on the influence of foreign monopolies in dependent territories. As these reports are on the agenda of the Fourth Committee, my delegation will not enter into the substance of this question here. We wish merely to point out the usefulness of such reports, particularly as they illustrate the directly proportional relationship between colonial economic interests and colonial domination. The continuation and extension of this field of activity by the Committee of Twenty-four, in consonance with the eighth preambular paragraph of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), is therefore of the greatest importance.

124. The measures I have drawn attention to, the many others which have been advanced during our debates—and I am particularly referring to the suggestions made by the representatives of Mali,

the USSR and the United Republic of Tanzania—are measures which should be taken at this post-Declaration juncture of the efforts to eliminate entirely the remaining strongholds of colonialism. We would be happy to see all of these measures codified.

125. This brings me to my concluding remarks, which I should like to devote to the Committee of Twenty-four. We wish to express our most sincere appreciation for the dedication, ability and thoroughness with which the Committee has been discharging its duties. We congratulate in particular the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Coulibaly of Mali, the Bureau of the Committee and its Sub-Committees. We are convinced that the Committee will continue, as in the past, to spearhead the action of the United Nations for the final and immediate elimination of colonialism. We trust that, in doing so, the Committee will take into account all the new elements which have manifested themselves since the adoption of the Declaration.

126. Mr. PARTHASARATHI (India): The General Assembly is now discussing the reports of the Special Committee for the years 1964 and 1965. These reports run into 3,500 pages and my delegation has followed the discussion on them, both in the Fourth Committee and in plenary, with very great interest. Having been under colonial rule ourselves, we cannot be but deeply concerned about the future of those peoples and territories that have not yet obtained independence.

127. It was five years ago that the General Assembly adopted the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. A year later, the General Assembly established the Special Committee. The delegation of India has been closely associated with both the Committee of Seventeen and the Committee of Twenty-four. I should like to take this opportunity to pay special tribute to the Chairman of the Committee of Twenty-four, Mr. Coulibaly of Mali, whose dedication to the cause of decolonization is so praiseworthy. The Committee is indeed fortunate to have a person of his energy, patience, courtesy and goodwill to preside over its deliberations.

128. The reports of the Committee deal with some sixty territories and contain two special studies, one on South West Africa and the other on Portuguese territories. This is the first time that a United Nations body has undertaken a detailed examination of the situation in all the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Both these special reports are extremely valuable as they reveal the appalling conditions that prevail in South West Africa and the Portuguese colonies.

129. Since the establishment of the Special Committee, several countries in Africa and elsewhere have attained their independence. But the hard core of colonialism and racialism remains embedded in Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea and South and South West Africa. The southern half of Africa is the last citadel of colonialism and racialism in that continent, and the General Assembly has to face the problems arising out of such a situation. My delegation earnestly wishes for the peaceful progress of those territories

to independence and freedom, but it is unlikely that this will happen. The declared policies of the régimes of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa run counter to the spirit of the Charter, the Declaration on Human Rights, the Declaration on decolonization, and other resolutions of the General Assembly.

130. Not only has my delegation co-sponsored relevant resolutions on South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and the Portuguese colonies, but we have taken action against Portuguese colonialism and carried out the provisions of the resolutions in regard to South Africa, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Unfortunately, there are still some members in the Assembly who continue to assist these racist and oppressive régimes directly or indirectly. Had it not been for such assistance it is unlikely that the Smith faction would have dared to usurp the Government of Southern Rhodesia.

131. While the situation in the southern part of Africa is bleak and dangerous, my delegation notes that the process of decolonization in certain other parts of the world is proceeding in the right direction, although slowly. In this context my delegation would like to welcome the recent decision of the British Guiana Constitutional Conference held in London that British Guiana should attain independence on 26 May 1966. It was unfortunate that the administering Power was unable to create conditions which would have enabled one of the major parties in British Guiana to attend the Constitutional Conference. As my delegation stated before, British Guiana could have attained independence much earlier if the administering Power had pursued more enlightened policies. However, it is the earnest hope of my delegation that the people of British Guiana will compose their differences and work towards national unity, progress and prosperity. My delegation would like to sound a note of caution however: if the administering Power were to delay or hinder the attainment of full independence by British Guiana, such action would be fraught with grave consequences.

132. The situation in Fiji, where on one pretext or another the administering Power is reluctant to relinquish its hold, causes the United Nations much concern. This concern has already been expressed by the Fourth Committee, which adopted a draft resolution on it only last week [see A/6160, para. 50, draft resolution IV]. It is regrettable that the Government of the United Kingdom should persuade itself that, in the second half of the twentieth century, it should create conditions which, as the resolution adopted by the Fourth Committee clearly shows, foment separatist tendencies and delay the progress of Fiji to complete nationhood and independence. It is well known that colonialism has always brought in its wake racial discrimination and communal disharmony.

133. My delegation does not wish to dilate on this matter since the representative of Ceylon, when introducing the draft resolution in the Fourth Committee, [1567th meeting], stated the cause of the people of Fiji most eloquently and clearly. I would only appeal to the Government of the United Kingdom to act in Fiji, as it has done in Mauritius, by fixing

an immediate date for independence on the basis of representative institutions and democratic elections conducted on an unqualified "one man, one vote" principle. However, my delegation regrets that certain countries, which themselves are born out of the merging of races, should attempt to focus attention on racial and ethnic differences rather than on common nationhood.

134. Now I turn to the Cook Islands, and I do so with satisfaction. New Zealand, the erstwhile administering Powers, has always played a forward-looking role in colonial matters. Its achievement in the field of decolonization has been praiseworthy. New Zealand was the only administering Power to vote for General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It is also to the credit of the New Zealand Government that it has always sought to build up multi-racial societies eschewing racial discrimination and ethnic differences. Another example of the progressive policy of the Government of New Zealand is to be seen in the attainment of full self-government by the Cook Islands.

135. The New Zealand delegation co-operated with the Committee of Twenty-four and the General Assembly and invited the United Nations to observe the elections in the Cook Islands and the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly established as a result of the elections.

136. In this connexion, my delegation would like to pay a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Adeel, who, as the representative of the United Nations in the Cook Islands, performed a responsible and difficult task with ability and impartiality.

137. The developments in the Cook Islands, which have now attained self-government within the meaning of Article 73 e of the Charter, give us confidence that the people of this Territory have chosen and will always choose their destiny in full freedom and without interference from any outside party.

138. The Committee of Twenty-four and its sub-committees accomplished a pioneering task in examining the situation in the smaller island territories with respect to the implementation of the Declaration. The conclusions and recommendations submitted by the Special Committee are of great significance, since the administering Powers will be able to act on these recommendations in discharging their responsibilities in implementing the Declaration. It is to be noted with regret, however, that some of the administering Powers have not extended the full co-operation which the Committee of Twenty-four and the United Nations expects from them as Member States.

139. It has been proved beyond doubt—and this has been clearly demonstrated in the case of the Cook Islands—that visiting missions from the United Nations can be of great assistance to the people of these Territories and to the administering Powers in realizing the objectives of resolution 1514 (XV). It is therefore to be hoped that the other administering Powers will extend facilities to all visiting missions which the Special Committee and the General Assembly may consider it necessary and desirable to send.

Arguments have been advanced that the dispatch of visiting missions from the United Nations to Non-Self-Governing Territories would be tantamount to interference in the internal affairs of the administering Powers. This contention has been rejected by the General Assembly. What is more, the United Nations has certain responsibilities towards Non-Self-Governing Territories, and it is the obligation of the administering Powers to co-operate with the United Nations in all possible ways.

140. In surveying the work of the Special Committee, my delegation would like to refer to the important work done by the Committee during its visit to Africa in May and June 1965, at the invitation of the Governments of Ethiopia, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia. This visit enabled the United Nations to renew direct contact with peoples under colonial rule in Africa and to acquire greater knowledge of their present status as well as of their aspirations. The Special Committee's work in Africa will have served to demonstrate further the concern of the United Nations for the plight of dependent peoples and to enable it to assist in the speedy emergence of many countries from dependence to freedom.

141. India has always been in the vanguard of the struggle against colonialism, both in the United Nations and elsewhere. When we look back at 1945 and look around us today, we notice the striking success achieved in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. But this Organization cannot afford to be complacent. Much has been done, but much more remains to be done in Angola, Mozambique, South West Africa, Rhodesia, Aden and many other territories not yet independent.

142. India is passionately dedicated to the noble task of the rapid and total eradication of colonialism and racialism. So long as racialism and colonialism exist, there can be no real peace, no real progress and no real understanding among peoples. India will always extend its full support to all peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence.

143. I have not attempted to go into a detailed consideration of all the questions which arise out of the reports of the Special Committee, since my delegation had an opportunity to express its views both in the Committee of Twenty-four and in the Fourth Committee. My delegation reserves the right to intervene in a debate when the draft resolutions on this item are considered.

144. Mr. BUSNIAK (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): As has been stressed by a number of the preceding speakers, five years have elapsed since the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In so doing, the United Nations endorsed the struggle of colonial peoples for independence, and gave it a much broader basis than it had had before. Our Organization thereby emphasized the need to put a speedy and complete end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

145. The Declaration was adopted at a time when revolutionary changes had taken place in the world following the Second World War, and the colonial system had been nearing collapse. By adopting the

Declaration and emphasizing in it the need for speeding up the elimination of the colonial system, our Organization demonstrated with consummate clarity that this question related to one of the most important aspects of this revolutionary process. That noteworthy document has since provided great moral support and encouragement to colonial peoples in their struggle for independence.

146. This struggle, waged by the enslaved peoples with the active support of all progressive forces in the world, has led to the present stage of disintegration of the colonial system. Since the adoption of the Declaration, Czechoslovakia, as a socialist State which does not have, does not permit and firmly condemns any form of exploitation of man by man, has not only shown complete understanding of and sympathy for this process of liberation of colonial territories, but has been giving it the maximum support of which it is capable.

147. No one can deny that colonialism has been forced to retreat from its former positions during the past five years. Nevertheless, the unfortunate fact remains that colonialism, indeed, colonialism in its worst forms, still holds sway over an area of approximately 6 million square kilometres, inhabited by more than 40 million persons. This fact is all the more tragic because we have to recognize its existence twenty years after the establishment of our Organization, the principal task of which is to develop peaceful international co-operation on the basis of equal rights of peoples.

148. At first glance, it might appear that the number of remaining colonies is not very large. Nevertheless, what is alarming is that colonialism still exists, and still exists in its worst forms, brazenly trampling underfoot the most elementary human rights. The remaining strongholds of colonialism are a serious obstacle to the stabilization of vast territories, mainly in Africa, but also in Asia and Latin America. They are a serious threat to international peace and security and fail to cause apprehension among all peace-loving peoples. Hence the great urgency of achieving full decolonization at top speed. If this is not done, the fundamental purposes of the United Nations Charter, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights will remain unfulfilled.

149. The colonialists do not shrink from any crimes. Such events as the murder of the great Congolese and African patriot Patrice Lumumba in 1960 and the recent creation of a new racist State in Africa in the territory of Southern Rhodesia are clear examples of this. The establishment of a second racist State in African territory on the fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration is nothing other than a mockery of its principles. As has been emphasized by others, it is quite clear that the imperialist and colonialist States are setting up in southern Africa a group of countries, consisting of Southern Rhodesia, the Republic of South Africa and the Portuguese colonies, whose aim is not only to consolidate colonialism and racism in that part of Africa, but also to create a bridge-head against independent African States. In the final analysis, we are dealing, not with isolated

efforts, but with a broad counter-attack by imperialism and colonialism in various parts of the world.

150. Where the colonialists and imperialists have no other means at their disposal, they have no hesitation in resorting to naked aggression and colonial wars. Unfortunately, there are only too many examples on hand.

151. Colonial wars are being waged by the United Kingdom colonialists in Aden and Oman. The Portuguese colonialists are waging a cruel colonial war in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. The United States has no qualms in using the colonial territory of Guam for barbarous air raids on Viet-Nam.

152. The imperialists and colonialists do not even hesitate to interfere in the internal affairs of independent States, as evidenced by the examples of the Congo, the Dominican Republic, Cuba and other States.

153. We have often heard the view, and have heard it again at this session, that the presence of military bases is a matter which must be decided by the peoples of colonial countries only after they have achieved independence. We cannot agree with this view; we reject it out of hand. The example of the United States base at Guantanamo, Cuba proves that even an independent State can have the establishment of a foreign military base in its sovereign territory imposed upon it against its will. Nor is this the only example. Apart from the fact that they are an important instrument for maintaining and strengthening colonialism, military bases in colonial territories also threaten international peace and security. Our Organization must therefore also view their existence from this angle and demand their immediate elimination.

154. We have often heard from the colonialists and their friends that the colonial Powers are compelled to use armed force in the colonies because "rebels" and "conspirators" force them to do so by allegedly disturbing law and order. There is no need to demonstrate that this argument is untenable. The Declaration provides for a peaceful process of decolonization through the exercise by the colonial peoples of their right to self-determination and independence. It calls upon the colonial Powers voluntarily and without delay to grant dependent countries and peoples complete independence. However, what are the colonial peoples to do in the many cases in which the colonial Powers stubbornly refuse to fulfil their obligations and oppose independence by every means at their command? In such cases, these peoples, on the basis of their right to self-defence against colonial aggression, are fully justified in fighting for their liberation in every possible way, including armed struggle. It is the sacred duty of the Members of the United Nations and of the Organization itself fully to support their just struggle for national liberation.

155. It is clear from the present discussion that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is not being satisfactorily implemented. What are the reasons for this situation?

156. The experience of the last five years clearly shows that the unsatisfactory implementation of the Declaration cannot in any way be attributed to the

"unpreparedness" of the peoples of these territories for independence or their "lack of interest" in exercising their right to self-determination, as the colonialists and their allies have been arguing. These and similar arguments are merely a very transparent cover for colonial policies—a device which will deceive no one today.

157. It has been proved beyond doubt over the past five years—although this was also known even before the adoption of the Declaration—that the main obstacle to the achievement of decolonization, in other words, the main reason for the unsatisfactory implementation of the 1960 Declaration, is the political, economic and financial interests of such imperialist Powers as the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Federal Republic of Germany, not to mention others, and the interests of international monopolies which are exploiting the wealth of colonial territories. I need only refer to such names as Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa and Tsumeb Corporation in South West Africa; Angola Diamond Company, Mozambique Gulf Oil and Mozambique Pan American Oil in Angola and Mozambique; British Petroleum in Oman and Pan-American Hadhramaut Oil Company in Oman and Aden; Demerara Bauxite Company, a subsidiary of the Aluminum Company of Canada, Ltd., in British Guiana; Barns Philp and Company and the Australia New Guinea Corporation Ltd., in New Guinea, etc. The enormous profits of these monopolies are made possible by the colonial system, which puts them in a privileged position and allows them to plunder natural resources, and also enables them, through racial discrimination, cruelly to exploit the local workers by making them do the most arduous work at extremely low wages. These colossal profits are made possible by a land distribution system under which the European planters can appropriate the best and largest tracts.

158. The system of economic exploitation of the colonies has the full support of the military and political NATO bloc. Ample and conclusive evidence has been given within and outside the United Nations to the effect that without the continued economic, financial and military assistance of the imperialist countries—the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and others, i.e. practically all the NATO countries—Portugal could not have waged such a lengthy and costly war in its African colonies. Without such assistance, the Republic of South Africa could not have pursued its policy of apartheid and unrestrained terror against its own African population and that of South West Africa. Without this assistance, the second racist State in African territory, Southern Rhodesia, could not have been established.

159. This was emphasized in the final declaration of the Cairo Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in 1964:

"Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism constitute a basic source of international tension and conflict because they endanger world peace and security."^{5/}

^{5/} A/5763, sect. I.

160. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic fully agrees with this conclusion. So far as its position on colonialism is concerned, it is well known that Czechoslovakia condemns colonialism in all its forms and manifestations and, together with all anti-colonialist forces, is striving and will continue to strive for the defeat of the colonialists and the speediest possible elimination of the vestiges of the shameful colonial system.

161. The Czechoslovak delegation fully agrees with the view expressed by some delegations in this debate that the United Nations should take the strongest measures in its power, in order to speed up the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism. Any delay in the elimination of these vestiges of colonialism would inevitably lead to situations for which full responsibility would be borne by the neo-colonialists and all those who are helping them to postpone the final elimination of this shameful system.

162. The Czechoslovak delegation believes that the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has done useful work, despite the fact that it has had to overcome both internal and external difficulties, which have diminished its impact. There can be no doubt that the main obstacle has been the colonialists' continuing refusal to co-operate actively with the Committee.

163. Of the Committee's work so far, we particularly appreciate the meetings held in Africa, which gave it new impetus. We accordingly believe that the Committee should hold other meetings in the future as close as possible to the territories and regions with which it is concerned.

164. We consider that in future the Committee must press the General Assembly and the Security Council more strongly to take the most resolute measures in the Organization's power to speed up the elimination of the colonial system.

165. The United Nations must take steps which will ensure the immediate and unconditional implementation of the 1960 Declaration.

166. The General Assembly must reaffirm the right of every colonial people to self-determination and independence, regardless of its size and its stage of development, and the people of every territory must be allowed to decide its own future freely without national or racial discrimination or outside pressure.

167. The General Assembly must call for an immediate end to all repressive measures and military operations against peoples struggling for their freedom and, at the same time, for the liquidation of all military bases and withdrawal of all foreign colonial troops and military personnel. In addition to condemning the activities of international monopolies, it must call for the cancellation of agreements and concessions which, directly or indirectly, limit the sovereignty of future independent States. The measures we take must also include the prohibition of any assistance to the colonialists, particularly military assistance, given either directly or through military blocs. The General Assembly should call upon Member States to give all possible assistance to the peoples

of dependent territories in their struggle for freedom and independence.

168. In our view, emphasis should also be laid on the duty of administering Powers and of the United Nations to disseminate more widely information on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and on the activities of the Special Committee.

169. The Czechoslovak delegation, in a spirit of complete solidarity with colonial peoples, will support any and all measures which will enable the United Nations to take the final step towards immediate completion of the process of decolonization, so that all peoples may enjoy full freedom and sovereignty over their own territories, and so that the danger to international peace and security inherent in the existence of colonialism may be removed once and for all.

170. The CHAIRMAN: That concludes the list of speakers for this afternoon. There are two requests for the floor to exercise the right of reply, and I shall call first on the representative of Argentina.

171. Mr. JIMENEZ MELO (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): The familiar arguments repeated by the United Kingdom representative when he referred to the Malvinas Islands in his statement this afternoon are not likely to further the bilateral negotiations between my country and the United Kingdom, which were recommended by the Special Committee of Twenty-four and by the Fourth Committee in the recently approved draft resolution [A/6160, para. 50, draft resolution I], so that the question of sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands could be settled by the peaceful means specified in the Charter of the United Nations.

172. My delegation repeats that it cannot accept that the principle of self-determination should be invoked in the case of the 2,000 British inhabitants of the Malvinas Islands in order to legalize an act of force which displaced the original Argentine population

and which, at the same time, prevents the decolonization of that territory as demanded in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and as specified in its operative paragraph 6.

173. As we have repeatedly shown, the question of the population of the Malvinas Islands cannot be equated with similar questions concerning territories where there are indigenous populations with an inalienable right to self-determination.

174. Finally, I must reaffirm what my delegation has stated time and again, that Argentina is prepared to give special consideration to the interests of the inhabitants of the Malvinas Islands in the negotiations which we hope will continue with the United Kingdom and which we approach in the most conciliatory spirit.

175. The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of Spain, who wishes to exercise the right of reply.

176. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (translated from Spanish): Reserving the right of my delegation to reply at some future time, when we have had an opportunity to study the exact text, to the United Kingdom representative's comments on the question of Gibraltar, which directly concerns my country, I should like at this time to reply to the appeal addressed to my Government by the Tanzanian representative.

177. He need have no concern. On 26 November of this year the following communiqué was issued:

"The Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has denied a report put out by various foreign press agencies and information services that a Spanish firm had ordered 20,000 tons of steel from Rhodesia. It added that no such transaction has been completed, although there might have been negotiations between Spanish and Rhodesian companies for a contract of that kind before Rhodesia's declaration of independence. The Spanish Government has not authorized any import licence for such a transaction."

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.