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AGENDA ITEM 55

Housing, building and planning:
 (a) Report of the Economic and Social Council;
 (b) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/6126)

AGENDA ITEM 56

Reports of the United Nations High Commissioner
 for Refugees

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/6140)

AGENDA ITEM 66

1 Draft Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of
 the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Under-stand-
 ing between Peoples

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/6120)

*Mr. Ronald Macdonald (Canada), Rapporteur of the
 Third Committee, presented the reports of that
 Committee and then spoke as follows.*

1. Mr. Ronald MACDONALD (Canada), Rapporteur
 of the Third Committee: I have the honour to report
 to the General Assembly on the work of the Third
 Committee in regard to agenda items 53, 54, 55, 56
 and 66.

2. In regard to item 53 [see A/6033], the Committee's
 discussion turned on resolution 1090 C (XXXIX) of
 the Economic and Social Council. That Council had
 recommended that the General Assembly adopt a
 resolution authorizing the Secretary-General to draw
 on the Working Capital Fund in the amount of \$100,000
 for emergency aid in any one year, with a normal
 ceiling of \$ 20,000 per country in the case of any one
 disaster. The resolution also proposed a number of
 measures to co-ordinate international assistance in
 cases of natural disaster.

3. All those taking part in the discussion supported
 the draft resolution submitted by the Economic and
 Social Council, although some expressed the view
 that, since \$100,000 was a rather modest sum, the
 ceiling should be reviewed in due course.

4. In accordance with the Assembly's rules of pro-
 cedure, the Fifth Committee considered the financial
 complications of the resolution adopted by the Third
 Committee. The Fifth Committee agreed [see A/6043]
 that any necessary expenditure should be incurred, in
 the first instance, as an unforeseen item by means of
 an advance from the Working Capital Fund, and that
 the reimbursement of the Fund should be made through
 the subsequent submission of a supplementary estimate
 for the relevant financial year.

President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

AGENDA ITEM 53*

Assistance in cases of natural disaster (concluded)

REPORTS OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/6033)
 AND OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6043)

AGENDA ITEM 54

World social situation:

(a) Report of the Economic and Social Council;
 (b) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/6107)

*Resumed from the 1360th meeting.

5. In regard to item 54 [see A/6107] many speakers in the Third Committee described the ways in which their Governments and peoples had sought to cope with the major social problems of the day; and representatives of many countries reported significant progress in raising standards of living, and particularly in the fight to eliminate illiteracy and disease, and to achieve better nutrition, health, education, housing, social welfare, and so on.

6. At the same time, many representatives emphasized that despite these achievements their countries still faced grave economic and social problems. It was pointed out that social development required considerable resources, which many countries lacked, and that the problem was aggravated by the fact that in some States the rate of population growth was equal to or more than the rate of economic expansion.

7. The Committee unanimously supported the idea of re-examining the programme of work and priorities of the United Nations in the social field and the role of the Social Commission, as requested in Economic and Social Council resolution 1086 E (XXXIX).

8. In regard to item 55 [see A/6126], one may note that, although the Assembly has previously considered related matters, this is the first time that a special item on the agenda of the General Assembly has been devoted to this important sector of activity.

9. The Assembly now has before it a draft resolution on housing, building and planning in the United Nations Development Decade. This resolution, developed by the Economic and Social Council at its thirty-seventh session, incorporates three forward-looking steps. First, it suggests that the Secretary-General report to the General Assembly every second year on the progress of measures recommended to be taken by Member States with a view to solving their housing, building and planning problems and training the required personnel. Secondly, it emphasizes the fact that international assistance to developing countries should clearly be in support of such measures and that they should contribute to implementing emergency action programmes and pilot projects. Thirdly, the resolution invites the Committee on Housing, Building and Planning to propose additional measures to overcome the world housing problem at the earliest possible time.

10. In regard to item 56 [see A/6140]. The discussion in the Third Committee was based on the reports presented by the High Commissioner to the nineteenth and twentieth sessions of the General Assembly,^{1/} as well as on a comprehensive introductory statement by the High Commissioner in which were reviewed the present position of refugee problems and the policy followed by his Office.

11. Particular attention was paid to the fact that the High Commissioner is dealing now with a number of disparate situations throughout the world, and to the need for increasing the international community's support in the area of the voluntary funds programme.

12. The Third Committee also gave particular attention to the problem of assisting refugees in Africa.

13. The Third Committee was informed of the decision taken by a group of voluntary agencies to promote a fund-raising campaign in October 1966 to benefit refugees, mainly in Africa and Asia, and of the wish expressed by the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's programme that United Nations Day in 1966, 24 October, be dedicated to the cause of the refugees.

14. Finally, a great number of delegations paid tribute to the outgoing High Commissioner, Mr. Félix Schnyder, for the work he has performed during his five years of tenure, and a draft resolution of thanks to Mr. Schnyder was adopted by acclamation.

15. Lastly, with regard to agenda item 66, the report [A/6120] contains an account of how the draft declaration was prepared and adopted by the Third Committee. The question of the promotion among youth of the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between people has been under consideration by the General Assembly since its fifteenth session. A draft declaration on the subject was proposed by twenty-six Powers at the eighteenth session. The Third Committee used that draft as a basis for the preparation of the draft declaration which it adopted at the present session. The text of the declaration for adoption by the General Assembly is reproduced in paragraph 73 of the Committee's report. I may add that many of the principles were adopted unanimously, and that only in connexion with paragraph 3 of principle V was there any substantial misgiving expressed and that related to the text of the paragraph in the various languages. I understand the General Assembly has before it an amendment [A/L.472] to that paragraph which would make the text more generally acceptable.

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

16. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): In accordance with the decision that the General Assembly has just taken, statements will be limited to explanations of vote.

17. The Assembly will first take up agenda item 53, on which the Third Committee has submitted a draft resolution. The Assembly also has before it a report by the Fifth Committee [A/6043] concerning the financial implications of the draft resolution.

18. I give the floor to the representative of the Dominican Republic for an explanation of vote.

19. Mr. LEBRON PUMAROL (Dominican Republic) (translated from Spanish): In order to promote the noble work of assistance to the victims of natural disasters, which are as cruel as they are frequent in this small world of today, the Third Committee approved a draft resolution, which appears in paragraph 6 of its report [A/6033] and the effect of which would be to provide assistance in cases of natural disaster. This item was allocated to it by the General Assembly at its 1336th meeting, on 24 September 1965

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Supplement No. 11 (A/5811/Rev.1) and *ibid.*, Supplement No. 11A (A/5811/Rev.1/Add.1); *ibid.*, Twentieth Session, Supplement No. 11 (A/6011/Rev.1) and *ibid.*, Supplement No. 11A (A/6011/Rev.1/Add.1).

20. The delegation of the Dominican Republic associates itself, in a strong spirit of human solidarity, with this noble proposal appearing in the draft resolution, to which it gives its most enthusiastic support. Moreover, we are expressly instructed by our Foreign Ministry to state that, imbued with the desire to cooperate in giving effect to the objectives of this draft resolution as soon as possible, we are withdrawing the reservations that we expressed in submitting amendments to the draft resolution, so that merciful help may reach the victims of such disasters as rapidly as possible. My Government does not wish to delay in any way the adoption of this draft resolution, which in such moments might mean relief for the sufferings of any sister people in any part of the world.

21. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to take a decision on the draft resolution submitted by the Third Committee [A/6033, para. 6]. As this draft resolution was adopted unanimously by the Committee, I shall consider, if there are no objections, that the General Assembly, too, adopts it unanimously.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

22. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now take up agenda item 54, concerning which the Third Committee has submitted a draft resolution [A/6107, para. 30]. The Committee adopted this draft resolution unanimously too. If, therefore, there are no objections, I shall consider that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution unanimously.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

23. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now take up agenda item 55, concerning which the Third Committee has submitted a draft resolution [A/6126, para. 25]. As the Committee adopted this draft resolution unanimously, I shall consider, if there are no objections, that the General Assembly adopts it unanimously.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

24. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now take up agenda item 66, concerning which the Third Committee has submitted a draft resolution [A/6120, para. 73]. The Assembly has before it an amendment to principle V, submitted by Argentina, France, Greece and Italy [A/L.472], which would replace the words "should be of their own choosing and" in the third paragraph by the words "in conformity with the principle of freedom of association".

25. I understand that this amendment is acceptable to all representatives. If there is no request for a vote, I shall consider that this amendment is adopted without objection.

The amendment was adopted.

26. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly will now decide upon the draft resolution submitted by the Third Committee [A/6126, para. 73], as amended. If there is no request for a vote, I shall consider that the draft resolution is adopted by the General Assembly by acclamation.

The draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by acclamation.

27. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): A number of representatives have asked to explain their vote on agenda item 66. I shall give each of them the floor in turn.

28. Miss GROZA (Romania) (translated from French): The unanimous adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples is a source of great satisfaction to the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

29. When Romania took this initiative^{2/} five years ago, it had in mind the importance for the peace of the world of directing the efforts of young people towards the noble ideals of ensuring international peaceful coexistence based on confidence and mutual respect.

30. The principles upon which this proposal was based have aroused the interest of a growing number of delegations. In its final wording, the solemn document that we have adopted today—the Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples—embodies the long efforts made by a large number of States and United Nations organs, as also by many youth organizations throughout the world.

31. In adopting this Declaration, the United Nations, whose Charter opens with the words:

"We the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind . . ."

for the first time addresses the new generation directly and solemnly, calling upon it to concentrate its efforts on the noble purposes of ensuring international peace and security based on the indestructible principles of mutual respect and understanding between peoples.

32. Recognizing the importance of mobilizing young people for the protection of international peace and security, the Declaration points out, in principle VI, that:

"Young people must become conscious of their responsibilities in the world they will be called upon to manage and should be inspired with confidence in a future of happiness for mankind."

33. The Romanian delegation attaches great importance to the principles set forth in the Declaration, which appeal to humanism, justice and dignity, in order to promote the equality in law of all nations and economic and social progress, in a world in which friendly relations among nations are based on respect for the sovereign equality of States.

34. In the speech that Mr. Corneliu Manescu, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania, made in the general debate early in the present session, he said:

^{2/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 76, document A/4442.

"Real and lasting peace can be established only by respecting the will and the legitimate interests of peoples."

Mr. Manescu also pointed out that:

"... in the Romanian Government's view, it is an indispensable condition for the multilateral development of international co-operation that each people should be able to assert its separate existence and its individuality and to enjoy without hindrance all the conditions essential for its material and spiritual progress" [1353rd meeting, para. 66].

35. The spirit of co-operation that prevailed during the drafting of the Declaration and that made it possible for the Declaration to be adopted unanimously shows how great are the possibilities when there is a desire to work for the common good while at the same time taking into account the interests of each party concerned.

36. On behalf of the Romanian delegation, I wish to express my warm thanks to the delegations of the countries which co-sponsored the Declaration and to all the other delegations which, through the understanding and the spirit of co-operation that they have shown, have made it possible to produce a text which has gained unanimous approval.

37. The way in which the work that we are just completing was carried out and the results that have been achieved may, in our opinion, be regarded as a tribute paid to the United Nations on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary. The spirit of co-operation that has been shown may be regarded as a particularly encouraging starting point for the success of the important task that now falls upon us, namely, that of putting into effect the principles set forth in the Declaration, in the vital interest of peoples, in order to safeguard international peace and security and to promote co-operation based on understanding and mutual respect.

38. Mr TAYLOR (United Kingdom): We have much pleasure in expressing our agreement with the principles of this declaration. In making that statement, we also find it necessary to draw attention to our position on principle III of the declaration as is set out in detail in document A/5725/Add.4.

39. Mr. CAPOTORTI (Italy) (translated from French): During the discussion in the Third Committee on the draft Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples, a number of delegations, in particular the Italian delegation, objected to the wording of the third paragraph of principle V. Indeed, the wording of the sentence according to which youth organizations were to be freely chosen did not seem to us to be sufficiently clear or satisfactory. In the minds of the sponsors of the draft Declaration, the basic idea that they had tried to express in that sentence was undoubtedly the defence of the principle of free association, as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This idea, however, was not entirely reflected in the sentence to which I have referred, the more limited wording of which could have given rise to misunderstandings. For that reason the Italian delegation was obliged to

abstain in the vote on principle V, although it was in full agreement with the value and function of the Declaration and with the importance of principle V in particular.

40. After being consulted by the sponsors of the original text and by various delegations which had expressed the desire to have it corrected and adopted unanimously, we had the honour to submit, jointly with the delegations of Argentina, France and Greece, the amendment [A/L.472] which has just been incorporated into the text. We are very glad that, thanks to the adoption of that amendment, the Declaration has been adopted unanimously. We are sure that this unanimity has the validity and significance of a joint commitment on the part of Member States to respect and promote the fundamental principles set forth in the Declaration.

41. I should like to add a few words on the subject of the resolution on housing, building and planning (agenda item 55) which has been adopted. The Italian delegation is very happy that this resolution too was adopted unanimously. I would draw attention to the reference, in paragraph 19 of the report dealing with this question [A/6126], to the offer by the Italian Government to provide a site in Rome for the international institute for United Nations documentation on housing, building and planning. In making this offer, the Italian Government had in mind the fundamental importance of the problems in question for Members of the United Nations, in particular the importance of having copious documentation with a view to the adoption of practical measures, and the special interest that the Italian Government attaches to these questions because of their considerable economic and social repercussions.

42. The Italian Government is particularly appreciative of the efforts of the United Nations to include the problem of housing, building and planning in its social activities. We therefore hope that at its resumed thirty-ninth session the Economic and Social Council will decide in favour of the idea of establishing an institute for documentation and that our Government's offer will be accepted.

43. Mrs. MANTZOULINOS (Greece): In explaining in the Third Committee [1325th meeting] my delegation's vote on the draft declaration, we stated that we were obliged to abstain from voting on the draft declaration as a whole because we had voted against the third paragraph of principle V. This paragraph as it stood in the draft before the Committee seemed to us to be lacking in clarity and preciseness in expressing its aim of establishing and operating youth organizations on the basis of the exercise of the right to freedom of association. Imprecise language in this regard, we believe, might lead to ambiguities. It was on these grounds that my delegation, with the delegations of Argentina, France and Italy, had the honour to submit to the General Assembly an amendment to the said paragraph of principle V, which, we were happy to see, was unanimously approved by this Assembly. Being gratified in this connexion, my delegation joined in the unanimous vote for the draft declaration, in the belief that this document is a significant record of the aspirations and efforts of

the United Nations to create a world conscience based on the ideals of peace.

44. At this juncture, may I offer my delegation's congratulations to the delegation of Romania for having initiated the item on this declaration and to all those other delegations which co-sponsored the document.

45. Miss LOPES (Portugal) (translated from French): The Portuguese delegation abstained in the vote in the Third Committee on the draft Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples, because of the wording of principle V, which has now been amended and which it has accepted in its new form, and because of the third preambular paragraph. My delegation wishes to state that it has reservations with regard to the third preambular paragraph, for the reasons that it gave at the time of the adoption of the draft Declaration in the Third Committee.

46. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We now come to agenda item 56. If no one wishes to speak, I shall put the four draft resolutions submitted by the Third Committee [A/6140, para. 19] to the vote. I invite the Assembly to vote on draft resolutions I, II and III.

Draft resolutions I, II and III were adopted by 89 votes to none, with 9 abstentions.

47. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now put to the vote draft resolution IV, in which the General Assembly thanks the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Draft resolution IV was adopted by acclamation.

48. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I should like to express my personal gratitude to Mr. Félix Schnyder for the outstanding work he has accomplished as High Commissioner for Refugees. I offer him once again my most sincere wishes for his success in the work which he will undertake in the future and for his good health and happiness.

49. I give the floor to the representative of Burma, who has asked to speak in order to explain his vote.

50. U VUM KO HAU (Burma): My delegation had the honour of voting for this resolution, although we abstained from the vote in the Committee. Burma is fully alive to the need for justice and generosity towards refugees, but because of the programme for the resettlement of refugees within our own country and the implementation of various schemes and projects in our march towards the goal of Burmese socialism, it will not be possible for us to make monetary contributions for some time.

51. Our attitude towards the refugee problem is one of great sympathy. We contributed 10,000 kyats in equivalent dollars during the World Refugee Year. Our other humanitarian acts in the international field are as follows: in 1957, we contributed 300 tons of rice and 5 million medicinal tablets for the Ceylon flood victims. In 1960, we contributed 150 tons of rice to East Pakistan for the storm victims, and, again, in 1961 we contributed another 50 tons of rice to the same country, also for the storm refugees.

In 1962, on account of the storm damage, we contributed £1,500 in cash and 5,000 kyat worth of medicines to Thailand. In 1963, on account of the volcanic eruptions of Mount Gunung Agung, we contributed 50 tons of rice and 4,000 kyat worth of medicines to Indonesia for the people of Bali. In June 1963, we contributed cash and medicine to Yugoslavia for earthquake relief in Skoplje. In 1964, we contributed 100 tons of rice to India for the flood victims in Bihar. In August 1964, we contributed 100 tons of rice to East Pakistan for the flood victims, and in October 1964, we contributed 50,000 kyat worth of medicines, clothing material and blankets for the flood victims in Thailand. We also contributed 50 tons of rice to the refugees from Algeria in Morocco and Tunisia in 1960.

52. We are alive to the humanitarian considerations, as will be borne out by the relief supplies donated by Burma to its neighbours within the recent past, and this tangible evidence of our interest in all worthy causes will be repeated whenever and wherever circumstances permit, within the limitation of our national resources.

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*)

53. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): It will soon be five years since the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which solemnly proclaimed the need for the rapid and unconditional destruction of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, was adopted. From a historical point of view, five years is too short a period for an assessment of the true worth of that historic document. Even now, however, it is easy to understand the important part it has played both in the measures undertaken by the United Nations and in the struggle being waged by the colonial peoples to hasten the process of eliminating the colonialist system. Prepared on the initiative of the Soviet Union^{3/} and enthusiastically supported by the socialist and Afro-Asian States Members of the United Nations, the Declaration has, however, encountered the hostility of the colonialist States and of some of their allies. Unable to prevent its adoption, the forces of colonialism and imperialism have endeavoured to ensure that the Declaration remained a dead letter, going so far as to use every possible means to conceal its very existence from the subject peoples.

54. Today, however, when national liberation movements in different parts of the world, in Aden and British Guiana, in the Portuguese colonies and in Southern Rhodesia, are making claims based on the Declaration and on the resolutions of the Committee of Twenty-four, the sponsors of that document can be, and are rightly, proud of their work. It has been shown by daily experience that the Declaration can

^{3/} *Ibid.*, agenda item 87, document A/4501.

help and has helped the cause of the people's struggle for liberation.

55. Colonialism is creaking in every joint and each year more links become detached from the colonialist system. Nevertheless, although talk of the after-effects of colonialism is today common parlance, there are on this earth over sixty dependent territories, inhabited by tens of millions of human beings who are still subject to the sufferings and vexations of the colonial system and to its slavery.

56. The year just ended has witnessed some slowing down in the process of decolonization. The most aggressive forces of colonialism and racism, in Central Africa and in South Africa, are putting up a fierce resistance to this process of liberation of peoples, in order to preserve their domination in that part of the world at all costs. The criminal colonial wars being waged by Portugal in Angola and Mozambique, the inhuman system of apartheid imposed by force in South Africa, the new racist régime in power in Southern Rhodesia are merely further examples of the concerted policy of the partners in what is called "the unholy alliance", the aim of which is to erect a barrier on the road to liberty south of the Zambesi.

57. With economic and financial aid from the West and with arms supplied by NATO, in particular by certain of its members, the forces of colonialism are trying—and to a certain extent successfully—to erect a fortress of hatred and colonial exploitation in that part of Africa, a fortress which should perpetuate the unscrupulous exploitation of the immense wealth and labour of the African population by foreign monopolies.

58. If in some of the dependent territories the process of decolonization has been delayed, it is because the colonialist States, with the aid of foreign monopolies, are trying—and in some cases with success—to create conditions which would enable them to continue their domination after independence is proclaimed.

59. The racial hatred stirred up in British Guiana and the overthrow of Cheddi Jagan's Government, the installation of a feudal and colonialist régime in South Arabia, are striking examples of this. To take another example, it is clear that the slow progress of decolonization in what are called small colonial territories is in most cases ordained by certain great Powers for strategic reasons. Aware that from now on they can no longer rely on military bases established by them in newly liberated countries or even in the territory of the large colonies of the African continent and other continents, some Western countries are turning increasingly to a policy which will enable them to retain their military bases on certain small islands and even to establish new ones in places where they hope to be able to remain for a long time to come.

60. The most recent example of this kind is that of the new British colony in the Indian Ocean, which was separated from the Mauritius archipelago for the purpose of establishing an Anglo-American military base there. Moreover, there are many cases—such as the Virgin Islands—where the administering Powers

are preparing to proceed to the direct incorporation of small territories into the metropolitan country.

61. The delay in the liberation of colonial peoples must inevitably give rise to great concern among all peoples concerned about the maintenance of international peace and security; such delay may cause serious damage and may place our world in the shadow of great dangers.

62. The newly liberated peoples in Africa have a great need for peace, for lasting peace, to heal the wounds inflicted by colonialism and to consolidate their sovereignty and independence.

63. The criminal policy of the colonizers and racists, however, is the cause of constant tension, which may in the end lead to war and catastrophe. Should that happen, the energies and resources of newly-liberated peoples—so necessary for their economic development—will be mobilized to face the racist and neo-colonialist threats from the south of the African continent. Peace endangered in Africa means that international peace and security are threatened everywhere. In the world of today, with its atomic and nuclear weapons and its rockets, the continuance of colonialism and racism may have really dangerous consequences for all mankind.

64. Numbers of military bases maintained on colonial territories and used chiefly to crush national liberation movements and to bring pressure to bear on newly liberated countries in Africa, Asia and South America, are a real and imminent danger to peace. Was not the recent aggression against the Congo perpetrated from the United Kingdom base on the island of Ascension? Is it not from the United States base on the island of Guam that aircraft take off to take part in the war of aggression against the people of Viet-Nam?

65. This is why the United Nations must make it quite clear that it supports the elimination of all military bases established in colonial territories.

66. Five years ago the General Assembly, expressing the will of most of mankind, solemnly proclaimed that steps should be taken in all colonial territories to hasten the process of transferring all powers to all peoples, so that they could enjoy full independence and freedom. In as dynamic an era as ours, five years is a fairly long time, long enough to allow the Declaration to be applied to the full. That being so, we may wonder how the United Nations, the cornerstone of which is the right of peoples to self-determination, the defence of human rights and freedom and the maintenance of international peace and security, can tolerate for even one more day the perpetuation of the colonialist system and with its racial discrimination and segregation.

67. We associate ourselves with the delegations which have said here that it was high time that the continuance of such an unworthy and inhuman system in the world was considered a crime against humanity.

68. The legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples for freedom and independence has been confirmed by many resolutions and decisions of the Committee of Twenty-four and the General Assembly, which means

that colonial régimes in such territories are henceforth to be considered not only inhuman but illegal. If that is the general opinion—and we are sure it is—there is a need to act accordingly.

69. The Bulgarian delegation considers that not only should the provisions in the United Nations resolutions concerning the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples now be reaffirmed but the appropriate inferences should be drawn from them.

70. Accordingly, the United Nations must first of all give effective help to colonial peoples by every means in its power. The Organization and its subsidiary international agencies, and each of their Members, must provide these peoples with the moral and material assistance they need so badly to recover their violated rights.

71. States which refuse to abandon their policy of colonial domination should be deprived of all aid and assistance, and especially of the military assistance they receive on a bilateral basis or through military alliances, such as NATO, for example.

72. Moreover, the Security Council should take the coercive action provided by the Charter against States and régimes whose policies create dangers for the peace and security of peoples, such as the Republic of South Africa, Portugal and the present racist régime of Southern Rhodesia. These measures and the decisions which the General Assembly is about to take now should, in our view, ensure the full implementation of the Declaration within the shortest possible time.

73. The Committee of Twenty-four has been engaged in its work for more than four years. We should have liked the situation to be such at present that the General Assembly could say to it: "You have completed your task, we no longer need you". Unfortunately, that is not the case and the mandate of the Committee of Twenty-four must be further extended. That Committee should now, however, be given more effective weapons which will make its work easier. The experience of the last year, and above all the Committee's visit to Africa, have suggested certain ideas and brought to light certain methods which may secure greater efficiency in its work.

74. What is most important is that the Committee of Twenty-four should be in a position to establish close contact with the peoples of dependent territories and to prepare its recommendations in close co-operation with them. In this connexion we support the proposals in section I of Chapter I of the Committee's report [A/6000/Rev.1] and the proposals made by its Chairman, Mr. Sori Coulibaly.

75. It is our deep conviction that with the effective help of all countries and peoples interested in maintaining international peace and security the colonial peoples will emerge victorious from the just struggle for freedom and independence which they have undertaken and are waging against the shameful colonial system which must disappear for ever.

76. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people have always given proof of their solidarity with peoples subjected to colonial slavery. The delegation of the People's Re-

public of Bulgaria is authorized to state that for the future, too, its Government and people are prepared to make their contribution to the triumph of the just cause of colonial peoples and to their liberation from the colonial yoke.

77. Mr. Taïeb SLIM (Tunisia) (translated from French): The General Assembly is today considering the work 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, as described in the reports of the Committee for the last two years [A/5800/Rev.1⁴ and A/6000/Rev.1].

78. The Tunisian delegation, which has listened most attentively to the statements on this item by the distinguished speakers who have preceded it, is glad to note this interest aroused by this important debate and wishes, at this stage of our work, to make only a few short remarks.

79. First of all, however, it wishes to express its appreciation and gratitude to the distinguished Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Sori Coulibaly of Mali, for his devotion and distinction in guiding the work of the Committee. It also wishes to express its thanks and sincere appreciation to the Rapporteur, Mr. Natwar Singh of India, who has worked with exemplary zeal to submit to us very full documents on the Committee's work during the last two years.

80. We also congratulate our two eminent Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Carlos María Velázquez of Uruguay and Mr. Sonn Voensai of Cambodia, upon the great contribution that they have made to the work of the Committee. These two distinguished colleagues of ours have now left us, having been summoned by their respective Governments to perform other functions in other capitals. They have left with us, however, the unfading memory of diplomats devoted to the uplifting task of peaceful decolonization.

81. It would be an unpardonable oversight on the part of the Tunisian delegation if we failed to pay a tribute to the close collaboration and great devotion of the secretariat of our Committee and to Mr. Chacko and Mr. Dadzie. We should like to express our particular gratitude to Mr. Amachree, the Under-Secretary, and all the officials and interpreters who have constantly helped us in our proceedings.

82. As we take up the report of the Special Committee, we should like to point out that five years have elapsed since the proclamation, at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Since 1960 a considerable number of countries have been liberated from colonialism and have come to join us as sovereign States Members of the United Nations, to which they are making an increasing contribution in all fields, and to enrich the great human family with their genius and their traditions. They have brought to the United Nations new ideas and a continuing enthusiasm for the strengthening of friendly relations among nations and for the development of international co-operation. Their presence among us, which we are most happy

⁴ Ibid., Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8, part 1.

to welcome, works for the consolidation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and for the full development of its spirit of universality. We have to admit, however, that these five years have been hard indeed for millions of other human beings, who are still suffering oppression and foreign domination.

83. The fact is that, although we have made appreciable progress in the process of emancipation, there are nevertheless some administering Powers which, through reaction, perhaps, or out of resentment at seeing their former great empire dwindling and fading away, have somewhat hardened their position and show only a mere semblance of co-operation with the United Nations. Far from hastening the process of decolonization and thus making it possible for the bonds of subjection to be converted into healthy and favourable relations of co-operation in friendship and equality, they do their utmost to produce all sorts of imaginary obstacles to delay the emancipation and liberation of the peoples placed under their protection. They ignore the imperative injunctions of the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) and flout the many resolutions adopted on the problem. It is useful to recall operative paragraph 5 of that Declaration, which states in clear language that allows of no ambiguity:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all power to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

84. Year after year the General Assembly has adopted or reaffirmed all the relevant resolutions on the various territories that have been considered by the Special Committee, making more and more urgent appeals to the administering Powers to hasten the emancipation of the peoples placed under their rule and to implement resolution 1514 (XV) as rapidly as possible. The colonial Powers seem to turn a deaf ear to all our appeals, pleading all sorts of difficulties, which are really no more than a pretext for safeguarding the material interests of their settlers and of the economic monopolies that they have established in their colonies. It is a pity that the English, Portuguese and South African settlers refuse to abandon this colonialist spirit and mentality and go on practising a blind, selfish policy without any thought for the future. It is even more regrettable that the colonial Powers which protect them do not manage to throw off this conqueror's complex and that they continue to confuse the understandable interest of their relations with the people whom they have subjugated by force with the interests of their nationals and settlers in these territories. This state of affairs has unfortunately gone on all too long and the United Nations should remind the administering Powers that they must respect the obligations they have assumed under the Charter.

Mr. Khampan (Laos), Vice-President, took the Chair.

85. The United Kingdom, for example, has stubbornly refused to co-operate with the Special Committee in the efforts to find a just and satisfactory solution to the problem of Southern Rhodesia. Since 1962 the Committee has mapped out the path and indicated the general lines along which a solution might be found to this problem, which has been made so complicated by the disastrous policy pursued by the administering Power since 1923. Back in 1962 the General Assembly endorsed the point of view of the Committee and adopted a resolution in which it requested the United Kingdom not to hold the elections that were scheduled to take place under the December 1961 Constitution and to abrogate or suspend that Constitution, at the same time taking the necessary action to convene a constitutional conference in which all the nationalist leaders of the political parties in the Territory would participate.

86. At that time we drew the attention of the administering Power to the fact that any delay in the implementation of that resolution could only encourage the racist settlers of Southern Rhodesia to consolidate their power and authority in the colony. The United Kingdom Government knew perfectly well that that was the only path to follow and that any other policy could only create the germs of a conflict between the Africans of Zimbabwe and the white settler minority. It was quite clear at that time that the imposition of the 1961 Constitution—which had already been rejected by all the Rhodesian Africans—was opening the way to the establishment of a State modelled on that of South Africa and was precipitating a catastrophe by widening the dangerous gap separating the two elements of the population.

87. If any doubt about this remained in the minds of the United Kingdom leaders, the example of Algeria was there to dispel it. We ourselves, as members of the Sub-Committee on Southern Rhodesia, urged the United Kingdom leaders, in conversations that we had with them in London, to follow the example of France, which in the face of more than a million French settlers in Algeria had not hesitated to hold their rebellion in check and to bring the agitators to heel, in order to restore the situation and to acknowledge the right of the Algerians to independence. The courage and far-sightedness of France, together with the determination of General de Gaulle, its President, which gained them our wholehearted appreciation and gratitude, was in our opinion such as to indicate the path of reason and wisdom and could help the British settlers to emerge from the confusion of the traditional policy they were following in Southern Rhodesia and to find a positive and realistic solution, the only solution that could safeguard their interests in Africa.

88. It is a pity that the administering Power did not see fit to choose the path of firmness when the Whitehead Ministry was still in power at Salisbury. Using the excuse of constitutional precedents and parliamentary traditions in order to evade its obligations towards the United Nations, the administering Power saw fit, on the contrary, to practise towards the people for whose welfare it was responsible a policy which simply reinforced the authority of the racist extremists in Southern Rhodesia by providing them

with all the means, military and otherwise, to exercise power. Reassured by the statements by the United Kingdom Prime Minister himself that force would not be used against them if they declared independence unilaterally, the Whites of Southern Rhodesia staged an open rebellion against their own administering Power. The situation in Southern Rhodesia is deteriorating dangerously and is a real threat to peace and security throughout the southern region of Africa. The administering Power must assume all responsibility for this before the United Nations.

89. Even at the very dangerous point that the situation in Southern Rhodesia has reached as a result of the challenge hurled by Ian Smith, even in the face of the clear aggression perpetrated by the usurpers of power against the four million Africans, the administering Power is still reluctant to take the necessary steps to quell the rebellion and to transfer power to the authentic representatives of the people of Zimbabwe. The administering Power has admittedly imposed certain economic and financial sanctions, but it is obvious that those measures will only be comparatively effective so long as a total and complete embargo is not imposed and so long as they are not strengthened by military action. Moreover, the boycott proposed by the United Kingdom, even limited as it is to the few sanctions announced by that Power, will not be respected, since, as we all know, the rebellious Government of Ian Smith will obtain all the products it needs from its two allies, Portugal and South Africa.

90. The New York Times of 5 December 1965 published a dispatch from Reuter's of London, dated 4 December 1965, which shows exactly how the sanctions imposed by the United Nations against Southern Rhodesia are defeated by the great oil companies:

"A tanker of the British Petroleum Company—which is more than half owned by the British Government—was on its way to Africa tonight with 12,000 tons of oil for the breakaway colony of Rhodesia.

"The tanker will arrive at Beira, Portuguese East Africa, in ten days. The oil will be piped from there to a refinery at Umtali in Rhodesia that is jointly owned by British Petroleum and six other oil companies.

"The oil shipment is Rhodesia's first since Prime Minister Ian D. Smith declared independence on 11 November. It was loaded at the Persian Gulf State of Abu Dhabi, which has not followed the United Nations recommendation for an embargo on oil to Rhodesia. Britain voted in favour of the United Nations motion but has not embargoed oil.

"A spokesman for the oil company said that Abu Dhabi oil was being used because Iran and Libya have applied embargoes."

That shows how the sanctions are being respected!

91. In the opinion of the Tunisian delegation, only immediate military action could open the way to a satisfactory solution of this problem and would at the same time obviate a guerilla war that otherwise is likely to be more costly.

92. Recent happenings in Southern Rhodesia have provided glaring evidence that a government formed by the racist settler minority in Southern Rhodesia has already created a real threat to the independence and territorial integrity of a neighbouring country, Zambia.

93. The United Nations cannot remain impassive in the face of the explosive situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia; it cannot remain silent in the face of the aggression perpetrated by Ian Smith and his government against the security of a whole people of four million Africans, whose most sacred rights are being trampled under foot. It must intervene to halt this aggression and the threat it entails for other neighbouring countries. It is the duty of the United Nations to adopt vigorous measures to put an end to the conspiracy hatched by the rebellious Whites of Southern Rhodesia and supported by their Portuguese and South African allies. The General Assembly should invite the administering Power to take the necessary economic and military steps to restore to the Zimbabwe people all their inalienable rights as set forth in the Charter, and in particular their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV).

94. I have spoken of Southern Rhodesia because it is the most typical case in which the complaisance of the administering Power has brought about an abnormal situation which today constitutes a threat to peace and security in Africa. That that situation prevails today is due to the fact that the United Kingdom has refused to co-operate effectively with the Special Committee and the United Nations with a view to accelerating the process of decolonization by peaceful means.

95. Portugal displays the same negative attitude with regard to the great African territories which it still dominates. Despite successive condemnations by the United Nations and despite the many General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, Portugal continues to defy the international conscience and to exploit the millions of Africans of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea in the most unworthy and shameful manner.

96. We note that in carrying out its odious policy Portugal is encouraged by the complaisance of its trade partners. In spite of repeated appeals from all the African countries, Portugal's allies go on providing it with the financial investments and military equipment which enable it to carry on its war and repression against the African nationalists and to consolidate its power in Africa in order to thwart the economic measures against it decided upon by the United Nations and by the Organization of African Unity. We cannot accept that attitude on the part of these States, which, indirectly perhaps, simply help the terrible repression to which the Angolans and the inhabitants of Mozambique and of so-called Portuguese Guinea are subjected and strengthen Portuguese colonialism in Africa. We find it hard to understand that this unfriendly attitude is that of certain permanent members of the Security Council. We appeal once again to the United States, the United Kingdom and France and to their allies—Italy, Belgium and Japan—to stop giving assistance and aid to those who persist in ignoring their obligations as States

Members of the United Nations and who continue to violate the inalienable rights of millions of Africans in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, against the principles of the Charter.

97. The situation in the other African territories continues to be equally tragic. In South West Africa and South Africa our African brothers are still suffering the shame of racist laws and the policy of apartheid. Their most elementary rights as human beings are violated and ignored day after day. This revolting and disgraceful situation goes on, reducing nearly fourteen million Africans to the degrading status of inferior beings. The policy and philosophy of apartheid, based on the concept of the superiority of one race, have been universally condemned; yet when it comes to rectifying this situation we are reduced to impotence, because up to now the great trading Powers have refused to apply total economic sanctions, the only measure that could induce the Pretoria Government to abandon its inhuman policy of apartheid. The United Nations should in all urgency take the necessary steps to persuade South Africa's trading partners to co-operate with it in taking all the requisite coercive action, including the severing of diplomatic and trade relations and the imposition of an embargo on arms, oil and oil products.

98. In other territories of Africa, such as the United Kingdom Protectorates, and of Asia, such as Aden and South Arabia, the administering Power has similarly failed to achieve the progress expected in order to hasten the achievement of independence by these countries. Force and repressive measures are still being used all too frequently against the nationalists.

99. There is another group of problems in connexion with the islands and small territories scattered about the oceans, for which the Special Committee must find solutions based on the interest of the inhabitants and their development. With regard to the small territories and islands that are still under foreign rule, The Tunisian delegation feels that there is a serious task to be undertaken in considering, together with the administering Power, the best ways and means of providing for a free consultation of the inhabitants in order to determine their future. There should be a detailed study, embracing all the human, geographical and economic aspects, to ensure rapid social and cultural development for these people. The United Nations has a new field there, in which international co-operation should be encouraged.

100. The Tunisian delegation considers that the example given by New Zealand in the case of the Cook Islands is of great importance and might prove to be a happy experiment and precedent. The presence of a representative of the United Nations, Mr. Omar Adeel—to whom my delegation is pleased to pay a well-deserved tribute—has given a new meaning and a new direction to the co-operation of the administering Power with the United Nations which should be a source of inspiration to other Administrations.

101. Lastly, other territories whose sovereignty is still in dispute should be considered by the Special Committee with a view to hastening the quest for a satisfactory solution to the problems to which they

still give rise. Such a solution should be sought through negotiations between the parties directly concerned. This is particularly important in the case of Gibraltar and the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

102. We were pleased to note that in the statement he made here yesterday [1389th meeting] the representative of Spain affirmed clearly that his country was ready to enter into negotiations with the United Kingdom on the problem of Gibraltar. The spirit of co-operation that Spain has shown in connexion with the settlement of this question deserves to be encouraged by the Assembly. My delegation would be happy to see the same spirit prevail in the case of other territories in Africa, such as Ifni and the Spanish Sahara.

103. These are the few comments that my delegation felt called upon to make with regard to the most important territories which our Special Committee has considered.

104. A rapid review of the Special Committee's four years of work shows that the progress made in the liquidation of colonialism is by no means great and is still hampered by the lack of co-operation on the part of the administering Powers, particularly those whose efforts are directed towards strengthening the bastion of the dominant minorities in southern Africa.

105. The considerable financial interests of the great trading Powers and allies of South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia are becoming an ever more serious obstacle to the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the colonized peoples and are strengthening the resistance of the white leaders to any attempt at peaceful decolonization. We join those who have already appealed to the great colonial Powers to renounce that negative attitude towards the African nationalists and to abandon their policy of complaisance towards the racists and colonialists of southern Africa. It is quite clear that all the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council have been ignored by the United Kingdom, South Africa and Portugal. The General Assembly should take account of the evolution of the nationalist movements in all the territories still under foreign domination. A new awareness inspires our brothers who are fighting for independence.

106. We salute the efforts of all those who are organizing themselves and fighting fiercely and resolutely for the triumph of their rights. The United Nations has on many occasions recognized the worth of those who are fighting and has acknowledged that theirs is a just struggle.

107. The General Assembly should therefore seek all possible means of supporting and strengthening the national liberation movements. Direct, practical aid would be no more than an illustration of the firm resolve of the United Nations to rid mankind of colonialism. It is high time that the colonial Powers took the sacred principles of the Charter into consideration. We make an urgent appeal to them to co-operate sincerely in the rapid implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) in each of the territories under their administration. The denial of such co-operation will impair the prestige of the United

Nations, forcing those who are fighting for independence to have recourse to all the solutions of despair and inciting them to rely upon no one but themselves.

108. Tunisia firmly believes in the triumph of reason and justice, but if the colonial Powers go on defying the United Nations by refusing to comply with the relevant resolutions, the only way left open to the liberation movements will be that of armed resistance for the defence of their dignity and of their right to self-determination.

109. Mr. DE CASTRO (Philippines): The Philippine delegation welcomes this opportunity to participate in this general debate on the work of the past two years of the Committee of Twenty-four. This debate should give this Organization a chance to pause and to reflect on what has been achieved so far and what remains to be accomplished. We should take stock, as it were, and assess how far we have gone. We must ask ourselves: where do we go from here?

110. When the founding Members organized the United Nations, they made a solemn promise that subject peoples the world over would be assured of their birthright of freedom and independence. At the same time the administering Powers freely and solemnly accepted as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost the well-being of the inhabitants of the territories, and in particular to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the people and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement.

111. The Philippines, a former colony which had become a free and sovereign nation soon after the Second World War, was one of the founding Members of this Organization. It played a role, though modest, in enshrining the Declaration in the Charter regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories.

112. Fifteen years later, in 1960, the United Nations, by its resolution 1514 (XV), reaffirmed its determination to end all forms of colonialism and in no uncertain terms declared that:

"The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights . . .",

and that

"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 . . .".

It was likewise the honour of the Philippines to co-sponsor and to support the adoption of that resolution.

113. After twenty years of the Charter and five years of the Declaration, one may well ask: what is the balance sheet as of today? How many colonies have achieved freedom and how many more remain to be liberated?

114. In 1946 there were seventy-four territories, or 215 million people, falling under Chapter XI of the Charter. They varied in size—from about 100

people in tiny Pitcairn Island to more than 70 million on the Netherlands Indies. Almost one half of that total were in the African continent. A very considerable number were in the important sector of the Mediterranean littoral.

115. From such a sombre beginning, have we progressed at all? Indeed we have. Let us look at the figures.

116. By the end of 1954, the Non-Self-Governing Territories which had achieved self-government in one form or another were: French Guiana, Guadeloupe and Martinique, Réunion and Saint Pierre and Miquelon, forming overseas departments or units within the French Republic; Indonesia and the States of Indo-China, which won independence; Puerto Rico, now a commonwealth associated with the United States; Greenland, which joined the Kingdom of Denmark on an equal basis with other parts of the realm; the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam, now partners in the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

117. Since 1955 there has been an increasingly rapid advance of the dependent territories and peoples in both Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, especially in Africa. In 1956 Morocco, Tunisia and Sudan became independent. The former French territories of West Africa, Equatorial Africa, Madagascar, the Comoro Archipelago and French Somaliland were well on the way to independence. The Gold Coast became the independent State of Ghana. In 1958 the former French Guinea became independent as the Republic of Guinea.

118. At the same time, in other parts of the world the movement of dependent peoples towards independence and self-government was also gaining momentum: the Federation of Malaya achieved independence in 1957, and, in 1959, Alaska and Hawaii attained statehood in the United States of America.

119. During 1960 no fewer than eighteen newly independent nations emerged from dependent status: seventeen in Africa and one in the Mediterranean. In 1961 and 1962 two African and two Caribbean countries became independent. This year, 1965, two more became free and have become Members of the United Nations. The Cook Islands has become self-governing, with the right to choose independence if its people so desire. Finally, it has been announced that British Guiana will become independent in 1966.

120. Thus, from the original 215 million subject people, only about 25 million remain to be liberated. The United Nations can congratulate itself, and rightly so, on the tremendous advance in this field.

121. There is, to be sure, still a long list of territories that remain to be liberated; but, except for a few, namely, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and the territories under Portuguese administration, the great majority of the remaining territories—and I do not mean to minimize their importance—are small islands and/or sparsely populated. The problems of these small territories may well become the major concern of the Special Committee from now on. The modalities and procedures which worked successfully in the case of the larger territories with large numbers of indigenous people may be unsuited to the

small territories. The Special Committee may have to find a new approach, a fresh approach to the problem, taking into consideration the special and peculiar conditions obtaining in these island territories, bearing in mind always that the final goal is freedom and independence or self-government, according to the freely expressed desire of their peoples.

122. As I have said, the three major problems now facing the Committee of Twenty-four, as indeed the United Nations, are the questions of Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and the Portuguese territories. They are doubtless the hard core today in the issue of decolonization. The problem is further complicated by the presence in them of intransigent racist minorities.

123. The unequivocal position of my Government in these cases is well known, and I need not tax the indulgence of this body by repeating our stand once again. Suffice it to say that my delegation is in favour of whatever appropriate measures and actions the United Nations may deem it necessary to take in each and every one of these territories in order that the inalienable right to freedom, independence and human dignity of their peoples may prevail. We cannot and must not condone the refusal of the administering Powers to implement the Charter and the resolutions of the General Assembly with respect to these territories.

124. Allow me now to come back to the case of the small territories. Their problems may well require the major attention of the Special Committee from now on. My delegation would venture to suggest, therefore, that the Special Committee make it its special task to study a method or procedure which the administering Powers might follow in order that these small territories might move forward to a full measure of self-government, independence and freedom. This suggestion is in keeping with the letter and spirit of resolution 1514 (XV), which guarantees to all peoples the right to self-determination, by virtue of which they may freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

125. Before I close these remarks, allow me to state clearly the position of my delegation on the value of visits on the spot in the territories in question by members of the Committee of Twenty-four. Invariably the administering Powers have refused such visits in the past. My delegation is in favour of such visits and would urge the administering Powers to reconsider their position. The information submitted by the administering Powers and the evidence given by petitioners, both orally and in writing, can best be evaluated in the light of first-hand observation.

126. As I have said at the beginning of this intervention, my delegation is grateful for this opportunity to participate in the discussion of item 23. Subject to certain reservations we have expressed regarding some conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee with respect to specific chapters of the reports during the discussions in the Fourth Committee, my delegation will vote for approval of the reports of the Special Committee and would like to add to the many commendations the Committee

has received for the good, valuable and voluminous work it has submitted. My delegation will also support any draft resolution to continue the mandate of the Special Committee.

127. I should like to say one final word. The United Nations has achieved a good deal in the liberation of subject peoples. However, it cannot stop its efforts at decolonization until the very last territory has been liberated or rendered self-governing.

128. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) (translated from Russian): Exactly five years have elapsed since the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This historic document, which expresses the ardent desire of all freedom-loving peoples to put an end to the shameful system of colonialism, gave hope and inspiration to the oppressed peoples of the colonies and in their struggle for liberation from colonial slavery.

129. During these years, the struggle of the colonial peoples has become increasingly widespread and has taken on various forms, from the organization of political parties to armed insurrections against the hated colonial régimes. For over four years, the people of Angola have been waging a valiant fight against the Portuguese colonialists. Their uprising has been followed by that of the peoples of Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. The people of South Arabia are waging an equally resolute combat to free their country from the United Kingdom colonialists. The protracted struggle of the Algerian people, which led to its national rebirth, is still fresh in our minds.

130. As a result of the battle fought by colonial peoples and of the efforts of all peace-loving forces during the last five years, a number of countries previously under the colonial yoke have attained national independence and have joined the family of sovereign nations; they are now, together with all progressive elements of mankind, fighting to liberate their brothers from colonial domination.

131. The peoples of the world are eager to see the immediate end of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, since the continued existence of colonial régimes is an outrage to the conscience of mankind and is in flagrant contradiction to the purposes of the United Nations. Therefore, the progressive forces in the world are naturally striving, both inside and outside the United Nations, to speed up the process of extirpating the colonial system and implementing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

132. In this connexion, we cannot but note that the newly independent countries of Africa and Asia and the socialist countries have been playing an important part in the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The socialist countries and the non-aligned countries of Asia and Africa have been jointly opposing imperialism and colonialism and exposing their various schemes and manoeuvres to perpetuate colonial régimes.

133. The Summit Conference of Independent African States, held in 1963 at Addis Ababa, marked a new

stage in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The Organization of African Unity, which was set up at that Conference, is an effective tool for consolidating the political and economic independence of African peoples and an important factor in the development of national liberation movements of colonial and dependent peoples.

134. As we all know, the Conference of Independent African States at Addis Ababa and the African summit meetings which followed it, together with the Conference of Heads of State or Governments of Non-Aligned Countries, all of which were held during this same period, worked out a programme of action and outlined definite measures to speed up the process of decolonization and of the liberation of colonial and dependent peoples from the colonial and racist yoke. The Organization of African Unity and all African and Asian States are greatly helping the United Nations to fulfil the tasks assigned to it by the Charter and by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

135. When the decision to declare 1965 the International Co-operation Year was taken [resolution 1907 (XVIII)], many Member States expressed a wish that 1965 should see the elimination of the last vestiges of the colonial régime. Unfortunately, however, tens of millions of people in some sixty territorial units in various parts of the world remain in colonial enslavement to this day. Thus, the peoples' hopes have been disappointed and the requirements of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples remain unfulfilled. The reason for this unsatisfactory state of affairs lies in the stubborn refusal of a handful of colonial Powers and their allies in the aggressive NATO bloc to implement the provisions of the Declaration and the various General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

136. Thus, for example, Portugal simply ignores the United Nations decisions on the Portuguese colonies. Salazar himself has stated that Portugal is determined to retain control over Angola and all its other territories, regardless of United Nations appeals that these territories should be granted independence.

137. To this end, the Portuguese colonialists are stepping up their punitive operations in suppressing the legitimate struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea for their freedom and independence. The cruelty and brutality of the Portuguese colonialists are comparable only with the most barbarous methods ever used by the fascists. Everyone knows that such a country as Portugal could not maintain its colonial possessions, which are in a different continent and many times larger than its own territory, without external support. An equal share of responsibility for all crimes committed by the Salazar colonialists rests with such Western Powers as the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and others, which finance Portugal's bloody war in the African continent and supply it with weapons for that purpose, ignoring the repeated resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

138. The situation in the United Kingdom colonies of Aden, Oman, British Guiana, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland continues to deteriorate. The United Kingdom Government, while formally promising to grant independence to these territories, maintains them in a colonial slavery under various pretexts. The United Kingdom representative, speaking before the General Assembly on 1 December [1386th meeting], attempted, advancing various social and economic considerations as an excuse, to justify the delay in granting independence to these territories. In this connexion, I should like to quote the relevant provision of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Operative paragraph 3 of resolution 1514 (XV) reads:

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

139. Racism, which is a particular form of colonialism, continues to be a threat to international peace and security.

140. The South African racist régime, with the economic and military aid of the Western Powers, is pressing forward with its abhorrent policy of apartheid, and is spreading this system of racial segregation to the neighbouring Territory of South West Africa. The indigenous population of South West Africa is being oppressed by the South African racists.

141. The South African racists are harbouring criminal plans to dismember the Territory of South West Africa, to extend the system of apartheid to it and to annex it. In this infamous attempt to enslave the indigenous population of South West Africa, foreign monopolies are working hand in hand with the racist Verwoerd régime.

142. The recent discussion of the question of South West Africa and the analysis of the activities of foreign monopolies in that Territory carried out by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples have fully confirmed this view.

143. The illegal declaration of Southern Rhodesia's independence by the racist régime of Ian Smith was yet another criminal act by the racists and those who connive at their activities. Despite repeated warnings of the dangers inherent in the establishment of another racist State on the pattern of South Africa, and the insistence of world public opinion that the necessary steps should be taken to cut short any such venture, the Western Powers, led by the United Kingdom, have cleared the way for this illegal declaration of Southern Rhodesia's independence. Thus, one more source of tension has been created in Central Africa.

144. The position of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic on the question of Southern Rhodesia is unambiguous. In its statement of 16 November 1965, my Government sharply condemned this criminal act and declared that "it will not recognize the independence of Southern Rhodesia, illegally proclaimed by the racist dictatorship of the white minority to the detriment of the interests of the

Zimbabwe people, and calls upon all States urgently to take all necessary measures".^{5/}

145. The actions of the administering Powers in a number of other territories are far from being in conformity with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). In particular, the United States is turning the Pacific Islands under its trusteeship into military bases which constitute a serious threat to the peace and security of the peoples of Asia and the Far East.

146. All this indicates that the progressive forces fighting for the speedy elimination of the shameful colonial system must redouble their efforts, both in the United Nations and outside it.

147. No less a danger than the vestiges of colonialism, which have retained their classical form, is neo-colonialism, which the imperialist Powers now use to maintain their old colonial régimes and to enslave the young and still weak independent States. In the forefront of those who carry out a neo-colonialist policy are the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. United States and West German monopolies hold sway in many dependent territories.

148. According to the U. S. News & World Report of 1 June 1965, large firms in the United States feel that their overseas businesses are bringing in excellent profits, and this is one of the most important business factors in the second half of the twentieth century.

149. The Federal Republic of Germany is not only continuing its economic expansion in the Portuguese African colonies, South Africa and South West Africa, but is also supplying Portugal and South Africa with arms and building military bases, including rocket installations in the southern part of Africa.

150. In addition to promoting economic expansion with a view to perpetuating the enslavement of colonial countries and young independent States, the colonialists and their neo-colonialist allies, in an effort to hold their economic and strategic positions, openly interfere in the domestic affairs of sovereign States now liberated from the colonial régime.

151. The most glaring examples of this are the intervention of imperialist Powers—the United States, Belgium and the United Kingdom—in the Congo, the armed interference by the United States in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic, the United States aggression in Viet-Nam and the brutal bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

152. It is quite clear that the leading role in collective actions by the imperialist Powers, the sole aim of which is to maintain colonialism, is played by United States imperialists. The United States review Foreign Affairs stated in October 1965: "As circumstances have permitted, we have encouraged the former colonial Powers to remain or to come back into the picture."

153. The overseas military bases of the imperialist Powers are being used to defend their economic

and political positions and are meant to be used to suppress the national liberation movements of colonial peoples. United States and United Kingdom imperialists have covered the globe with a network of military bases from which they commit open aggression and armed interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States and launch punitive operations against the peoples of dependent territories.

154. A large proportion of United Kingdom military bases are situated in its colonial possessions and former colonies which have recently gained national independence. Lord Caradon, the United Kingdom representative, in his statement before the General Assembly [1386th meeting] defined the purpose of United Kingdom military bases as follows: "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."

155. If we recall on what occasions these bases have been used, we can readily see their true purpose. Everyone knows that the United Kingdom, coming to the aid of its allies, allowed the United States and Belgium to use its base on Ascension Island for their intervention in the Congo.

156. My delegation believes that the struggle of peoples to achieve the removal of military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops is part and parcel of the general struggle against imperialism and for national liberation and peace throughout the world.

157. My delegation fully shares the view that the time has come to take specific and effective measures to bring about the unconditional implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It believes that, while taking the most decisive steps against the colonialist Powers, we should also strongly condemn the activities of those Western Powers which disregard United Nations resolutions and continue to provide the colonial and racist régimes with political, military and economic assistance, that being the main obstacle in the way of the implementation of the United Nations Declaration.

158. The General Assembly must once again reaffirm the right of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence, recognize that the struggle of these peoples to exercise that right is a legitimate one, and call upon all States to help them.

159. The General Assembly must also sternly warn both the colonial Powers and the Powers which give them assistance that they are acting in gross violation of the United Nations Charter and Declaration, and thereby assume a heavy load of responsibility before the peoples of the world.

160. In conclusion, I should like to deal briefly with the work 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. In the period which has just elapsed, the Special Committee has done a great deal of useful work which deserves our deep gratitude.

161. The Special Committee has submitted to the General Assembly a most interesting report con-

^{5/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twentieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1965, Document S/6943.

taining a wealth of factual material and reflecting the real situation in the territories which it considered.

162. The Committee's decision to hold meetings in Africa has proved to be fully justified. Although the Committee was unable to visit the colonial territories themselves, owing to the refusal of the administering Powers, it established, during its work in the capitals of three African States, close ties with the peoples fighting for national independence.

163. During its visit to Africa, the Committee considered such acute colonial problems as the question of Southern Rhodesia, the territories under Portuguese administration and South West Africa, and brought to light many facts exposing the harmful activities of foreign monopolies and the involvement of Western Powers, members of the military NATO bloc, in the reckless policies of the Portuguese colonialists and the racist South African regime.

164. Thus, the Committee's African session marked a new stage in its work. The Committee should continue this useful practice in the future.

165. In view of the useful work that the Committee has done during the four years of its existence and its continuing task of considering the question of the implementation of the Declaration, the Mongolian delegation believes that it is both advisable and necessary to extend the Committee's mandate.

166. The Mongolian people, which has known feudal and colonial oppression in the past, has always been on the side of the peoples fighting for freedom and national independence.

167. The Mongolian people and its Government sternly condemns colonialism in all its forms and manifestations as a most heinous crime against mankind.

168. The Mongolian People's Republic is prepared to support any effective measures to bring about the speediest elimination of the vestiges of the shameful colonial system and, as far as it is able, to make its contribution to that end.

169. Mr. LEKIC (Yugoslavia): The report of the Committee on decolonization, the statements of numerous petitioners, and in particular the events in the central and southern parts of Africa have confirmed us in our belief that the international community is faced with a very serious situation in the field of decolonization. Although some progress has been made since 1963, we have not come anywhere near attaining the aims of the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It is not merely a question of one-third of the territory of Africa still being subjected to the most brutal forms of exploitation and oppression, which is in itself contrary to the spirit of the Charter and the requirements of contemporary development; it is a question of actions directly threatening the lives of millions of Africans as well as the peace and security of Africa and, thereby, the peace and security of the world. Making use of all the advantages offered to the forces of racism and hegemony by the crisis in international relations, the racists in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa, as well as colonialist and neo-colonialist forces in general, have undertaken a number of

actions likely to have far-reaching consequences. Relying on the fact that the forces of peace are preoccupied with events in other parts of the world—events that are directly threatening the peace and security of mankind—the racists in Southern Rhodesia have closed a circle of total enslavement around the 4 million inhabitants of that Territory. In doing so, they receive the full support of the followers of the Uebermensch theory in South Africa, who, for their part, are taking measures to deprive the people of South West Africa of even the faintest hope of liberating themselves from the conditions of slavery in which they have been kept by the racists of South Africa for more than forty years.

170. The Portuguese colonialists are also getting ready to intensify, under new conditions, their colonial wars against the inhabitants of the colonies under their domination, and to impose upon them by fire and sword the blessings of the so-called Portuguese heritage.

171. These are, of course, only the most dramatic manifestations of the co-ordinated action of the forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism, which are active in other territories as well. In some of these territories constitutions are abrogated, Governments dismissed, states of emergency proclaimed, and, by the use of force, "consultations" conducted and steps taken to ensure the "acceptance" of solutions which are rejected by the inhabitants of the territories concerned for the simple and sound reason that they are not in conformity with their aspirations and wishes.

172. The negative impact of the crisis in international relations on decolonization has proved once again that the policy of aggravation of tension, of use of force for the settlement of international disputes, and of "brinkmanship" is affecting adversely the struggle for the freedom, independence and equal rights of peoples and the establishment of lasting peace in the world. Regardless of the pretexts under which the policy of intensification of tension and intervention is pursued, and the reasons given in justification thereof, the fact remains that its protagonists are not genuinely interested in ensuring the freedom and emancipation of peoples and States. What are in fact involved here are narrow and selfish interests aimed at achieving specific political, military, strategic and economic aims through the exacerbation of existing sources of conflict and the creation of new ones.

173. We are faced today with a tendency to expand existing privileges and to extort new ones, to impose relations based on domination and hegemony, and to prevent, or at least seriously hamper, progress in the world. Viewed in this light, current negative developments in the field of decolonization are closely linked with the crisis in international relations and are to a great extent the direct consequence of this crisis.

174. The situation created by developments in Viet-Nam and in other parts of the world has without doubt encouraged Mr. Smith to choose precisely this moment for committing an act of treason towards Great Britain and a crime against the 4 million Africans in Southern Rhodesia. And conversely, the

existence of colonialism, as a system of relations based on domination and inequality, suits the protagonists of the policy of aggravation of relations and interference in the affairs of other peoples and States.

175. Such a development of the situation in the field of decolonization is not merely due to the refusal on the part of some colonial Powers to honour their obligations and co-operate actively in the elimination of colonialism and in the implementation of the principles and provisions of the Charter. The reports of the Special Committee [A/5800/Rev.1 and A/6000/Rev.1] point unequivocally to the fact that a great part of and now perhaps the main responsibility for this state of affairs is borne by countries which, while condemning the actions of the racists and colonialists verbally, actually give full support to them. And this support, as we know, is not limited to the expansion of trade and economic relations. Arms are also being supplied, either directly or through third countries.

176. Seen from this point of view, the colonial problem is no longer a matter to be settled only between a given colonial Power and the United Nations, which personifies the international community. Conditions have changed and methods have changed as well. There has been an increase in the number of countries which are directly interested in maintaining outposts from which they can exercise their influence upon developments in various parts of the world, and thus threaten the dearly won independence of the newly emancipated countries. Therefore, the elimination of colonialism should be viewed today as a problem of relations between the United Nations and those States which, under one pretext or another—ideological, military or economic—assist in the maintenance of colonialism or hamper its elimination.

177. The African countries, interested in the immediate liquidation of colonialism and in the elimination of racial discrimination from the soil of Africa—since this question for them, as for us, is one involving peace and security—have made efforts to complete the process of decolonization by peaceful means. The Heads of African States and political leaders in the remaining colonies have repeatedly expressed their readiness to search, through negotiations, for solutions that will also ensure equal treatment and equal rights to members of other races in Africa.

178. The profound attachment of African countries and peoples to peace and to the principle of the peaceful solution of disputes has not met with understanding on the part of the racists or of those who are supporting them. The hand extended in co-operation and friendship has been met by the racists and colonialists with brutal repressive measures and war. The offers to seek by peaceful means solutions that would guarantee the equality of all have been countered with acts in violation of the rights and human dignity of Africans.

179. There is thus a confrontation of the new and the old, of the progressive and the reactionary, of the human and the inhuman, of right and force, of

justice and lawlessness, of friendship and hatred, of faith in man and a better future and fear of the uncertain future. There can be only one outcome of this confrontation, and that is the triumph of justice over lawlessness, of the victory of right over force. Such an outcome in a conflict of this kind has never been in doubt. The question is only whether we want to do what is necessary—and together we can do it—for the termination of this conflict between right and force with a minimum of suffering and sacrifice.

180. In implementing the policy of active and peaceful coexistence—one of the basic principles of which is respect for the right of every people to freedom and equality—the Government of Yugoslavia has supported and continues to support the efforts exerted by the Organization of African Unity and the liberation movements in the colonies with a view to realizing this right by peaceful means, if this is possible, and by force if such a course should be imposed upon colonial peoples.

181. For obvious reasons we have dealt at some length with the dangerous developments in the colonies, to which the colonialists and the neo-colonialists have assigned a specific role in the global strategy for the preservation of existing privileges and for the acquisition of new ones, and for the imposition under a new guise of essentially old forms of relationships based on domination and subordination.

182. However, the so-called small colonies exist, that is the colonies whose small size, population and economic under-development are used as arguments to justify their continuance under foreign domination. These factors probably render more difficult in some cases the process of the emancipation of these territories, but they are not the only factors that have marked this problem with their specific imprint. Most of these territories are situated at a greater or smaller distance from the coasts and continents that have been recently liberated or where the struggle for political and economic emancipation is still being waged. For this reason, these territories are of particular interest to those forces which cannot reconcile themselves to the changes that have taken place in the world and which desire to preserve positions from which they can continue to hamper the development of the newly emancipated countries and launch actions aimed at re-establishing spheres of interest and influence.

183. The specific character and complexity of the conditions under which these territories have been developing and the necessity of finding solutions that will take into account the interest of the inhabitants and those of peace, make it imperative for the United Nations to take an active part in the process of the decolonization of these territories. The Special Committee on decolonization, which has already devoted considerable attention to these efforts, should set out in detail the ways and means for the direct participation of the United Nations in solving the problem of the so-called small territories.

184. In this connexion, I wish to stress that the variety of the forms and methods used by the forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism to achieve their aims makes it incumbent on us continually to alter

the action of the United Nations in the process of decolonization. We believe it is necessary to adopt those methods of work which will enable the United Nations to play its role in the present phase of decolonization. The United Nations should counter the actions of the colonial Powers—primarily military actions which prevent the implementation of one of the fundamental aims of the Charter, namely the right of peoples to self-determination and independence, and which impose an armed struggle upon colonial peoples—by giving full political, moral and material support to the legitimate struggle of the colonial peoples for liberation.

185. On the other hand, in order to ensure painless decolonization, where such a course is still possible, the United Nations should involve itself directly and in good time by sending visiting missions or by ensuring the presence of the United Nations by sending observers or residents, with the sole purpose of initiating programmes and accelerating the implementation of measures aimed at transferring power to the representatives of the peoples and guaranteeing the independence of those peoples.

186. In the final analysis, this would be also in the interest of the colonial Powers, which should reconcile themselves to the inevitable. Consequently, they should renounce legalistic approaches and fictions about their own "exclusive" competence and show, at least in this phase, goodwill and readiness to co-operate in the implementation of the aims and principles upon which our Organization is based.

187. Availing itself of the experience acquired during its one-month visit to Africa, in the course of which it accomplished a rather voluminous and useful work, the Committee on decolonization could, by adopting appropriate methods of work, and constantly adopting them to changing circumstances, lay an even greater emphasis on its role of political organ, an organ for action entrusted also with the task of initiating and elaborating concrete measures for accelerating the process of decolonization. To the method of work in sub-committees and sessions held in the vicinity of colonies—which have proved to be politically very useful—one should add the appointment of visiting missions or of individual Committee members and request the administering Powers to enable these missions or these Committee members to visit the remaining territories for the purpose of getting acquainted with the situation and of agreeing with the administering Powers about the measures that should be undertaken. Frequent but short sessions devoted to the study of the situation in certain territories, exclusively with a view to the urgent undertaking of political action either by the Committee or, at its request, by the Security Council, would also be useful. This would make it possible to draw the attention of the United Nations and the international community in good time to problems which are directly endangering world peace. This would also offer greater and continued moral and political support to peoples who are fighting for their liberation and for whom the manifestation of the presence and of the continued concern of the world Organization is of exceptional importance.

188. The close connexion between the crisis in international relations, the war in Viet-Nam in particular, and the present negative developments in the field of the decolonization of Africa—their interdependence and mutual repercussions—clearly show that the struggle for peace cannot be separated from the struggle for the freedom and equality of all peoples. This determines, in our opinion, the orientation of the activities of the forces of peace and democracy. These forces are under obligation, particularly at this moment, to exert energetic and simultaneous efforts for the elimination of the immediate danger to peace and security in the world—brought about in the wake of the war in Viet-Nam—which would facilitate actions for preventing developments likely to lead to bloodshed, not only in Africa but elsewhere, if no appropriate measures are taken in time.

189. The twentieth anniversary of the United Nations provides us with a favourable opportunity to draw up a balance sheet and to see what has been accomplished and what is still to be done. In the light of such an analysis and of the most recent developments in the field of decolonization, it is necessary to undertake measures for the immediate implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The General Assembly should reaffirm the Declaration, demand its immediate application, set a target date for the elimination of colonialism everywhere and in all its forms, and request the administering Powers to co-operate fully in the implementation of a programme to be elaborated in co-operation with the representatives of colonial peoples and designed to complete the process of decolonization within a determined period of time.

190. The Yugoslav delegation will lend full support—as it has done in the past—to the struggle of the peoples of the remaining colonies and to the efforts exerted by the forces of peace and progress for the immediate elimination of colonialism.

191. Mr. EASTMAN (Liberia): When the General Assembly adopted its historic resolution 1514 (XV), it was envisaged that, with the implementation of that resolution, the world would free itself of the last vestiges of colonialism, effacing for ever the horrible system of plunder, exploitation and denial to any people of the fundamental right of control of its own destiny. Regrettably, we are assembled here to discuss the granting of freedom and independence to more than fifty territories scattered over the face of the globe. We are still debating whether these people have this right that they were previously declared to have. We would have thought that the administering Powers would have been convinced by now that we can no longer uphold the system of colonialism and that they would have taken all necessary measures to grant freedom to the people of the territories under their rule. For we know that the most liberal form of colonialism cannot be compared with the lowest form of freedom and independence. No people can ever really fulfil their destiny while under alien rule. We admit that there are various forms of colonialism, but my Government disapproves of that system in any form.

192. However, the most diabolical form of colonialism is that practised by the Governments of Portugal and South Africa. We do not intend to involve the Assembly in listening to a recapitulation of the atrocities meted out to the people of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea by the Salazar régime. Yet, it is tremendously difficult to forget the suffering, genocide and suppression that the people of those territories suffer under Portuguese rule. The General Assembly and the Security Council have asserted themselves on this question numerous times and have called upon Portugal to recognize the fundamental rights of these people under its jurisdiction. Portugal's answer is well known to all. It does not hesitate to flout these decisions or to adopt more strenuous measures to further the suppression of the people in its colonies.

193. The United Nations can never hope to fulfil its purpose as long as suffering humanity can be found anywhere, because peace and security will always be endangered if people are denied the right to self-determination and independence. A state of emergency, of insecurity, of unrest, will exist on the continent of Africa as long as there are those among our brothers who are not yet able to live as free men. Whilst we enjoy freedom and independence in my own country, that is not sufficient to us, and it will continue to be insufficient until the entire continent is free. Then we shall enjoy our own independence better.

194. As to South Africa and its apartheid rule in South West Africa, my Government has made its position clear. We shall therefore mention here again only that we are strongly convinced that South Africa has failed in its trust in the Territory of South West Africa. We are opposed to the partitioning of this Territory; we are equally opposed to the alienation of land as it is practised in this Territory.

195. We want to assure the Assembly that the Government and people of Liberia will continue to be relentless in their efforts to see that the people of South West Africa are again allowed to live as a free people. The Government of Liberia condemns unreservedly the criminal acts perpetrated by the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, and calls upon all peace-loving nations to join their efforts to prevent the perpetuation and exercise of this unlawful authority in Southern Rhodesia.

196. As regards the High Commission territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, the Government of Liberia condemns any attempt by the South African Government to annex or encroach upon the territorial integrity of these three territories. Any actions by South Africa to this end, directly or indirectly, should be considered by the General Assembly as aggression.

197. My delegation approves the resolution of the Committee of Twenty-four [see A/5800/Rev.1, chap. VIII] calling for a constitutional conference for each of the three territories, where one has not been held, for the purpose of gathering opinions from all sectors of the population with a view to devising democratic constitutional arrangements leading to general elections on the basis of universal adult

suffrage, as well as reaffirmation of the inalienable right of the peoples of these territories to self-determination and independence.

198. From the reports, it is to be noted that as regards certain of the territories not yet liberated, the question of territorial disputes has been raised among Member States of the United Nations, and that negotiations have been started or are to be started regarding such territories. While my delegation will desist from taking a positive position on the question at this session, we would state, in passing, that until the question of territorial disputes can be definitely settled, we consider that all peoples have an inherent right to choose their own destiny, and would request that any negotiation should take into consideration the interest of the inhabitants.

199. The delegation of Liberia welcomes the announcement of the United Kingdom Government that British Guiana will attain independence as Guyana on 26 May 1966, and we call upon the people of Guyana as a whole to lend their co-operation in bringing about the most favourable conditions for their independence. The Government and people of Liberia take this opportunity to extend their best wishes to the people of Guyana for peace, harmony, progress and stability on their accession to independence.

200. My delegation is amazed by Australia's refusal to answer outright whether it intends to grant independence to the people of Nauru. The leaders of Nauru informed the 1965 visiting mission and the previous session of the Trusteeship Council that they desired to accede to independence in 1968. This is a legitimate claim; this is a right. We therefore invite the Government of Australia to say before this Assembly whether it recognizes this right of the Nauruan people, and if it does, to state categorically whether the people of Nauru will have their desire fulfilled.

201. In conclusion, let me say that the hopes of the peoples not yet liberated rest in the United Nations. What they require is simple: that they may be free to manage their own affairs; have a right to their land and its natural resources; control their commerce and industry so as to make the main object of capital and labour the welfare of the many rather than the enriching of the few. The development of Africa, or any region of the world for that matter, should be for the benefit of its inhabitants and not merely for the profit of the foreign investors and exploiters. In short, they wish to live as equals with the rest of mankind. Is this too much to ask?

202. Finally, may I take this opportunity to extend the appreciation of my delegation to the Chairman and members of the Committee of Twenty-four for the reports contained in documents A/5800/Rev.1 and A/6000/Rev.1. Recognizing the difficulties involved for the Special Committee effectively to implement its terms of reference in accordance with operative paragraph 4 of resolution 1956 (XVIII), we wholeheartedly congratulate it for the work already accomplished.

203. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): As a number of representatives have asked to exercise

their right of reply, I shall give them the floor one after another.

204. Mr. McCARTHY (Australia): In exercising this right of reply, I should explain that my delegation has not spoken during the general debate on the matters contained in the report of the Special Committee because we have spoken on them at length many times over the past four years in the Committee of Twenty-four, of which of course we are a member, and before that as a member of the Committee of Seventeen. In doing that, we have tried to make clear our views on the many subjects covered in these reports and, additionally, we have provided the fullest possible information, entirely for the convenience of the Committee, on those areas with which the Committee has been concerned and for which Australia is responsible.

205. In relation to the report as a whole, I should like to take the opportunity of expressing in this plenary meeting our recognition of the dignity and competence of the Committee's Chairman, Mr. Coulibaly of Mali, and of the indefatigable work done on the production of the report by our colleague Mr. Natwar Singh of India, the very distinguished Rapporteur of the Committee. I should also like to place on record our awareness of the constant efficiency of Mr. Godfrey Amachree, Mr. Chacko, and their colleagues of the Secretariat who have given form to so much of the effort which the Special Committee has put into its work, and indeed have provided the means to make this effort possible.

206. With regard to one further aspect of the work of this Committee, I should like to pay another tribute to Mr. Adeel, who, by his objective observation of and reporting on the elections in the Cook Islands, has, I believe, brought much further credit not only to himself but also to his country and to the United Nations.

207. In preparing this reply, I recalled that representatives of fifty nations met in San Francisco, from April to June 1945, where they agreed upon the Charter of the United Nations, which came into force in that same year and has ever since literally been both a beacon and a great foundation for all our efforts.

208. The original Members of the United Nations which signed and ratified the Charter numbered fifty-one, my country, Australia, being among them. What bound these countries together was above all a common background of suffering, and hopes and purposes arising from that suffering.

209. It was against that background and in common realization of their common lot as human beings that they came together towards a common purpose, regardless of differences of political ideology, of race, of culture, of geography. I think it worth recording that at those meetings from which the Charter emerged, my country, Australia, was by no means inconspicuous.

210. In this connexion, and in partial reply to certain observations in this debate made by the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania and Ghana, I recall a remark made by the representative of

Ceylon as part of a most scholarly statement in the Fourth Committee two years ago:

"... I would be failing in my duty at this stage if I did not add here that the world and all colonial and former colonial people are indebted to the Australian initiative at the San Francisco Conference which was mainly instrumental in producing the declaration in Article 73 which, in retrospect, has provided the machinery for the emancipation of many colonial peoples in the last seventeen years."^{6/}

211. I as an Australian will remember that quotation. I know the history of the San Francisco Conference, and I know that this tribute was deserved. I would ask this plenary meeting to note well these words of the representative of Ceylon:

"... which in retrospect has provided the machinery for the emancipation of many colonial peoples in the last seventeen years".

212. It was with a sharpened awareness of those values springing from their common and tragic experiences that the countries which created the Charter—some fifty-one of them—addressed themselves to the colonial problems of the day. The basic elements of colonialism in the sense in which the word is customarily used, still existed in a number of places and could be isolated. They perhaps centred around such matters as alien and enforced occupation of other peoples' lands, exploitation, the denial of self-expression, race prejudice and race discrimination. But now I wonder how clearly these elements can be isolated in some, and perhaps many, situations which we refer to here now as colonial situations.

213. It is possible—indeed I do believe it to be so—that quite often when we speak here now of colonial situations, these are not the situations towards which we directed our purposes at San Francisco; rather, they are obscured and perhaps distorted by the use of words which are in danger of becoming our masters.

214. I think, for example, that there is a very incomplete understanding—among some of us at least—of the deep sense of personal responsibility which animates many of those in whom the task of guiding and assisting and encouraging vital phases of the development of other people has been vested—a sense of responsibility deriving from history; from a realization of past mistakes and inadequacies; from shared experiences in peace and war; from a rejection of concepts of race; from a common striving; from efforts towards common purposes here in the United Nations; from the impact here and elsewhere through the means of communication now available to the world of mind upon mind; from the simple spread of knowledge among us of one another and one another's problems; and particularly from the knowledge of this deep and profound sense of responsibility of man for man regardless of race and religion.

215. As regards my own people, I must reject the observations which have been made here about the Australian administration of New Guinea by the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania and

^{6/} Document A/C.4/608, p. 4.

Ghana. I do believe that, occupied—and understandably occupied—with the problems of Africa, they have not been able to develop any detailed knowledge or understanding of my part of the world, which is remote from Africa. But I have no wish to labour this. Nor do I propose to attempt to traverse in detail what they have said.

216. I would recall, however, that the representative of Ghana said yesterday [1389th meeting] that, in Papua and New Guinea, instead of bringing the people together, the Australian Government is introducing racial and ethnic differences into their minds in order to protract settlement of their demands for independence. The very reverse is the case. I have patiently explained many times in many organs in the United Nations, and representatives of the indigenous peoples themselves have similarly explained, that Papua and New Guinea is not one of the smaller territories, as our colleague observed yesterday; it contains 2 million indigenous people, 2 million vital, questing, intelligent indigenous people who will form one of the nations of the future.

217. There are, to begin with, 700 different languages among these 2 million people. Until the coming of the Australians, the Papuan and Melanesian people were shut off from one another by this multiplicity of languages. There was no communication. They were shut off by physical barriers so formidable that the country even now has not yielded all its geographical, its topographical and its human secrets, despite the most extensive use by us of the most modern means of communication and discoveries such as aircraft and helicopters. They were shut off by different customs, they were fragmented and encased in a thousand or more different tribal groups which were mutually exclusive and mutually hostile. For the most part they were ignorant of the very existence of one another except when they were near neighbours. When the Australians came to this country, there was no one country, there was no one people, there was no one Government which professed to hold sway over more than a minute portion of this great country. The first task of my people—if I may, I would say here that I speak with some authority on this subject because it was part of my own personal task many years ago—was to create a self to govern itself. There was no self in New Guinea and our task was to create a self to govern itself. To this task the Australian Government has addressed itself with the most unremitting vigor through the spread of education, medical facilities and the conscious development of an identity common to the country as a whole. At a more appropriate time I will address myself in detail to just how this is being done.

218. The representative of Ghana has also said: "the resources of New Guinea are being exploited with impunity by the Australian Government" [1389th meeting, para. 175]. However, he should know—and I greatly regret he is not here to be informed in this matter—that never in the history of so-called colonial development and effort has so much money been put by a metropolitan Power into a dependent area with no thought of return. What is the annual figure? The Australian grant to Papua and New

Guinea—interest-free, non-repayable, an outright gift—stands this year at the figure of some £A30 million, that is, \$70-\$80 million, to which must be added some millions more which are carried on the budget of the Australian Government itself for such matters as civil aviation development. The total annual figure, which has increased every year since the war, stands at something approaching \$100 million. This is the country which our colleague suggests we are exploiting!

219. The representative of Ghana has also referred to land problems in New Guinea. I doubt whether, in the history of so-called colonial development, land elsewhere has been so jealously safeguarded for the welfare and use of the indigenous people. Of the total land area of that great land mass, less than 3 per cent has been alienated from indigenous ownership, and much of this for the public and modern land settlement purposes of the indigenous people themselves.

220. However, leaving these matters of detail aside—and they are matters of detail to which I shall subsequently address myself in greater detail—let me say this particularly to the representatives of Tanzania and Ghana, and let me say it against the background of our seeking and striving in relation to other areas for what we all believe to be necessary and good—indeed the best—and particularly against the background of the core of the problem of Southern Rhodesia which has occupied so much of our attention. I would ask this Assembly to note this well in relation to what has been said here in the United Nations about Southern Rhodesia and other colonial areas in the world. If I may digress for one moment, let me say that, following the recent unilateral declaration of independence in that unhappy country, Southern Rhodesia, the Australian Parliament was one of the first of the world's parliaments to announce and implement the actions of non-recognition, prohibition of trade and the application of monetary measures which were needed to reinforce the action which was being put in train by the United Kingdom and the action which was being called for by the United Nations itself. This took place in the Australian Parliament within a few days of the declaration. However, in relation to the very core of the Southern Rhodesian situation—that is, of the right to vote and the representation of the majority—let me say this. There are in New Guinea 2 million indigenous people and some 27,000 Australians. There is also in that country a universal franchise. There is an electoral system which provides "one man"—or one woman—"one vote", on the basis of a common roll, regardless of race, creed or colour. That system has produced a parliament with an elected indigenous majority.

221. In short, what we have been seeking and are still seeking as the solution to all the problems in Southern Rhodesia, in other areas of Africa and in certain other parts of the world outside Africa is an accomplished fact in New Guinea: "one man, one vote", a common roll and an elected indigenous majority.

222. Let me also refer to the fact of the existence of the whole range of freedoms to which my country, the Administering Authority, is heir: freedom from want, freedom from fear and the complex of other

freedoms towards which mankind is striving. These freedoms exist in Papua and New Guinea. There are no political prisoners there or in Australia itself. In the whole of metropolitan Australia and all of the Australian territories there is not one political prisoner. There is freedom of association, of meeting, of the Press and of speech. Racial discrimination is outlawed. Political parties, trade unions and other organizations of the indigenous people are not only unchecked but encouraged. We in my country take that for granted. However, the bulk of the problems which have faced our United Nations as a whole in the colonial field have been problems simply because of the denial of those freedoms. Concerned as we have been with so many areas which have been areas of conflict, great or small, I would remark simply that in the Australian territories there is peace. There is peace throughout all these territories. There is no armed conflict. There is progress in this peaceful atmosphere. There are no people dying for a cause which has been denied to them.

223. In conclusion I would say, with full respect to our colleagues of Tanzania and Ghana, that these freedoms—this universal franchise, this common roll, this parliament with its indigenous majority—are a measure of our appreciation of our responsibilities in New Guinea. We have responsibilities there. We will discharge them, and discharge them to the letter. Likewise, we have rights here in the United Nations and elsewhere. We will protect them.

224. Mr. DE MIRANDA (Portugal): Many references have been made to my country in the course of this debate. Although my delegation has listened attentively to all the speakers and waited until this moment to exercise its right of reply, we find that nothing new has been said. Whatever we have heard in this debate is a repetition of what we have been hearing for some time past.

225. As everyone knows, our position has been stated quite clearly from both the juridical and the political point of view on numerous occasions in every relevant organ of the United Nations, and it does not seem necessary to state our position again. Therefore, I shall not take up the time of the Assembly by repeating our point of view.

226. I should, however, like to tell our critics that preconceived opinions, baseless allegations, distortions of facts, half truths and falsehoods, no matter how often they are repeated, do not add up to the truth. In fact, such repetitions serve only to underline the unreal and artificial nature of the debate in respect of my country. But this is not a point on which I wish to dwell in this intervention. If my delegation comes to this rostrum now, it is only to set the record straight in respect of certain specific affirmations produced in the course of this debate, and I shall do so briefly and without any spirit of polemics.

227. At the 1389th plenary meeting, the delegation of Guinea, in making some charges against us, in its usual style, alleged that Guinea's air space was constantly violated by Portuguese aircraft. This allegation is as baseless as it is tendentious. My delegation rejects it and sees in it an attempt to justify certain illicit activities which are going on

in the Republic of Guinea and of which we are the victims.

228. Again, speaking at the 1387th meeting, the Senegalese delegation referred to its complaints to the Security Council against Portugal in these words:

"When Senegal complained to the Security Council in February 1965 Portugal did not dispute the facts relating to the alleged incidents but sought to justify the violations which had been committed." [1387th meeting, para. 22.]

This statement is not borne out by the Portuguese reply to Senegal, as may be seen from the relevant documents of the Security Council. In another sentence, the delegation of Senegal said that Portugal "simply denied everything" [*ibid.*].

229. My delegation is at a loss to understand the implication of this sentence when the Senegalese delegation itself admits that (1) we expressed our wish to maintain friendly relations with Senegal; (2) we proposed a discussion, with the participation of Senegal. My delegation is of the view that these two facts by themselves demonstrate that Portugal had not "simply denied everything". We did in fact propose a three-man investigation into the allegations made against us by Senegal, but Senegal did not want any impartial investigation; all it wanted was a resolution, based of course on its own allegations.

230. In view of the foregoing, I think that it is proper for my delegation to make a comment which we take from the words of the Senegalese delegation itself:

"I leave the Assembly to be the judge of such ambiguity, such cynicism, such lack of common sense" [*ibid.*].

231. The Senegalese delegation now alleges further incidents, seeking to attribute them to us. We note, and we should like the Assembly to note as well, the eagerness of Senegal in its attempts to advertise its allegations, while at the same time balking at our proposals to have them investigated by an impartial body. We also take note of the remark by Senegal that another "question at issue relates to a different series of problems. It is to be found in the resolution [218 (1965)] of 23 November 1965" [*ibid.*, para. 23]. This is a highly significant remark and one with which my delegation entirely agrees. We are only too well aware that the question lies not in the allegations of incidents, but in the wider Senegalese objectives. Its allegations of frontier incidents are nothing more than attempts to create a climate conducive to those objectives.

232. But Senegal cannot pretend to conceal the reality. The whole world knows that Senegal harbours, aids and encourages irregular armed gangs to disturb the peace in our territory. I should not be surprised if the Senegalese delegation came to this rostrum again to say that it will continue to support such armed gangs. But it cannot be denied that Portuguese territory is constantly being violated by armed raiders proceeding from Senegal. While we are always willing to have the Senegalese allegations investigated, although we consider them baseless,

Senegal prefers the way of advertisement of its allegations. While we are most careful to respect Senegal's territory and air space, we have to point out that our territory is not similarly respected by Senegal, and from these facts we cannot but conclude that Senegal's allegations against us are nothing but attempts, and poor ones at that, to camouflage its own illicit activities and to elude the responsibility which it bears for them.

233. Mr. EASTMAN (Liberia): It is with deep regret that I have to ask your indulgence, Mr. President, to detain this plenary meeting a little longer.

234. The representative of Australia—my friend, I may add—has tried to convince this Assembly that the remarks made by the representatives of Tanzania and Ghana were unfounded. Time does not permit me to go into any detail in explaining the truth, but I can make a brief reference to some of his remarks.

235. It must be a long time since the representative of Australia has visited the territory of New Guinea. I, who have recently returned from there, can inform him that racial discrimination is practised openly in New Guinea—in the schools, in housing, in wages, in medical facilities, to mention a few.

236. He told us also that he took exception to the remark that exploitation was practised with impunity by Australia. I wonder if Australia knows that in Boggabilla, where gold by the million is extracted, when the people ask about their share or their royalties or their ownership, they are told that anything found above the ground belongs to the people of New Guinea, but anything below is the property of Australia—or of the Crown as it is commonly called. He tells us about the millions that the Australian Government puts into New Guinea for the benefit of the people. He does not tell us about Rio Tinto, he does not tell us about Burns Philp, a New Guinea company, to name a few of the monopolies, and the several millions a day which they bring out.

237. The Australian representative also mentioned land. I would inform the representative of Australia that the most frequent complaint one hears from the people of New Guinea is that their choice land has been taken away from them or alienated by some means—I do not know how—and that it is now owned by Australians and New Zealanders. I should like the Australian representative to refute the fact that for several years now the people of Nauru have asked to be given possession of their island, but this has been denied. They have been told on several occasions that they do not own the island, but that Australia does. They have been told that everything on the surface of the island is theirs. This is what my friends, the representatives of Ghana and Tanzania, referred to when they expressed dissatisfaction with the Australian administration of New Guinea, and in many respects I heartily agree with them.

238. Mr. McCARTHY (Australia): It is not very often, I believe, that in the United Nations the representative of one country feels impelled to exercise the right of reply on behalf of other countries. When I exercised my right of reply a short time ago, I did so in relation to observations made by the representatives of Tanzania and Ghana in the earlier stages

of this debate. Now my colleague and friend, Mr. Eastman of Liberia, has taken it upon himself to protect them.

239. The representative of Liberia referred to racial discrimination in New Guinea and to certain matters with regard to Nauru. I shall reply to what he has said during the discussion of the report of the Trusteeship Council in plenary and in the Fourth Committee, when I shall place before the whole body of the United Nations—and this has not yet been done—the full details of the latest developments in New Guinea and in Nauru.

240. Mr. Eastman said that racial discrimination is openly practised in New Guinea. Mr. Eastman, I will admit, has recently been there as our honoured guest and with every facility we could place at his disposal. It is quite true that one can find evidence of racial discrimination or any other sort of discrimination in any country of the world, if one goes looking for it. What I said was that racial discrimination has been outlawed in New Guinea—and racial discrimination has indeed been outlawed in New Guinea. What I said and what I implied was that in New Guinea every man is free before the law, regardless of race, creed or colour. What I said was that in New Guinea every man and every woman, regardless of race, creed or colour, has a vote and elects members to the Parliament of New Guinea. What I said was that every man and every woman in New Guinea, regardless of race, creed or colour, is free, without let or hindrance, without penalty under the law, without persecution of any kind, to raise his voice against any abuse, wherever he finds it in that country.

241. With regard to Nauru, this is a complicated problem. Nauru is an island, of the kind which has been referred to by many representatives in plenary and in the Fourth Committee. I do not propose to traverse now the ground which I shall traverse a little later. Nauru is a remote island in the Pacific. I would remind my friend that although I have been working here in the United Nations for the last two and a half years and have not been back to those Territories during that time, I have been working in those territories and for those territories for the last thirty-three years, and I shall be going back there very shortly. I know rather more about them than my colleague from Liberia does as a result of one visit in which he was an honoured guest of my Government.

242. What I was about to say is that Nauru is a remote island in the Pacific, so remote that on my last visit there three years ago, just before I came here, I travelled for eight days from New Zealand, without seeing land of any sort, until I came to this island, which is only twelve miles in circumference. Its nearest neighbour is an even smaller island 180 miles away. Nauru has one economic asset—phosphate rock. It has no other resource. The inhabitants number 2,600 people, and they have a standard of living higher than the standard of living of any other people in the Pacific, and, I would suggest, higher than the standard of living of many of the peoples represented here in the United Nations. From the royalties paid for the phosphate,

Nauru has an income, divisible amongst the 2,600 people, of approximately, at the present time £1 million to £1.5 million per year, and going up. It has just concluded a series of discussions with the Australian Government which has resulted in the setting up of another milestone towards its ultimate political future, whatever that may be. It has all the problems of independence that all small islands have.

243. Having said that, I would reserve my right of reply to what my friend and colleague has said until

the Fourth Committee and the Assembly in plenary discuss the report of the Trusteeship Council and the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission which has been to Nauru and to Papua and New Guinea within the last few months—with every assistance we could give and, as I said, as honoured guests of my Government.

The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.