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President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Ignatieff (Canada),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 85

Draft Convention on Special Missions

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/7375)

AGENDA ITEM 86

**Report of the Special Committee
on the Question of Defining Aggression**

**REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE
(A/7402 and Corr.1)**

AGENDA ITEM 88

**Report of the United Nations Commission on
International Trade Law on the work of its first session**

**REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE
(A/7408 and Corr.1)**

1. Mr. SECARIAN (Romania) [*Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee*] (translated from French): I have the honour, on behalf of the Sixth Committee, to present the reports on the Committee's work on items 85, 86 and 88 of the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly.

2. The question entitled "Draft Convention on Special Missions" (agenda item 85) represented for the Sixth Committee a task which in some ways went beyond the usual framework of its activity. The Committee had been called upon to fulfil the functions of a codification conference. As such, it was to examine a draft convention proposed by the International Law Commission,¹ which was intended to bring together, systematize and develop, in the light of the practice of States, the rules of international law governing the institution of special missions, a form of *ad hoc* diplomacy widely utilized in modern diplomatic practice.

3. In the course of the present session, the Sixth Committee took decisions on twenty-nine of the fifty articles of the draft; the report on this subject [A/7375] contains the text of the articles proposed by the International Law Commission, the amendments proposed by Member States and the texts adopted by the Sixth Committee on the advice of its Drafting Committee.

4. Because of the scope of the draft Convention on Special Missions and of its own heavy agenda, the Sixth Committee was not able to take a final decision on the text of the draft Convention on Special Missions. The Sixth Committee therefore recommends that the General Assembly should adopt the draft resolution which appears in paragraph 247 of the report and under which consideration of the draft Convention would be continued at the next session of the General Assembly.

5. The Sixth Committee also makes two recommendations to the General Assembly with a view to clarifying certain points concerning the procedure to be followed during the consideration of the question by the General Assembly at its next session. Those recommendations are given in paragraph 248 of the report.

6. The Sixth Committee adopted unanimously the draft resolution referred to in paragraph 241 of the report; it also adopted, without opposition, the recommendations I have just mentioned. I am referring to paragraphs 243 and 246 of the report.

7. The Committee examined the report of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression [A/7185/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Corr.1], which is item 86 on the agenda of the current session.

8. Recalling the various aspects of the problem under discussion on the basis of the report submitted by the

¹ See Chapter II of the report of the Commission on the work of its nineteenth session (*Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Supplement No. 9*).

Special Committee established during the previous session of the General Assembly [resolution 2330 (XXII)], the Sixth Committee had a most useful exchange of views, the main legal trends of which are given in our report [A/7402 and Corr.1]. Consequently, and also in view of the recognition by the General Assembly in its resolution 2330 (XXII) of 18 December 1967 that there is a widespread conviction of the need to expedite the definition of aggression, the Sixth Committee concluded that the Special Committee should continue its efforts to draft that definition. The Sixth Committee therefore recommends that the General Assembly should adopt the resolution given in paragraph 15 of its report. The Committee adopted the draft by 74 votes to none, with 16 abstentions.

9. The Sixth Committee also had before it the report of the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law on the work of its first session [A/7216], which is the subject of agenda item 88. Established at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly [resolution 2205 (XXI)], the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL) is called upon to co-ordinate efforts made to harmonize and unify progressively the legal institutions whereby international trade law relations are established and implemented. The activities of UNCITRAL are designed to promote the development of international trade law. At its seventh session, the Trade and Development Board took note with satisfaction of the work done by UNCITRAL at its first session, during which it adopted a work programme including, as matters of priority, the international sale of goods, international payments and international commercial arbitration.

10. In approving that programme, the Sixth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the draft resolution which appears in paragraph 23 of its report [A/7408 and Corr.1] on agenda item 88. The draft includes the measures to be taken by the Secretary-General, the studies to be undertaken and, lastly, recommendations on the future work of UNCITRAL. It was adopted by the Sixth Committee by 77 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

11. In conclusion, I hope that the General Assembly will give favourable consideration to the draft resolutions and recommendations which I have just submitted, all of which are designed to ensure the continuation and success of efforts made by the United Nations for the progressive development of international law.

12. The PRESIDENT: Unless I hear a proposal under rule 68 of the rules of procedure to discuss any of the reports of the Sixth Committee in detail, statements will be limited to explanations of vote.

13. I call on the representative of the United States.

14. Mr. WARNER (United States of America): My delegation has rarely if ever felt the need to comment adversely on a report emanating from the Sixth Committee. Unfortunately, we do not regard the report [A/7402 and Corr.1] on the question of the definition of aggression as up to the normally high standards of the Sixth Committee.

15. In the view of my delegation, the most important new matter discussed in connexion with this item was the

implications for the question of defining aggression of the recent invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia and the alleged justifications advanced for those actions.

16. For example, many delegations which spoke in the Sixth Committee pointed out that the new doctrine invoked by the Soviet Union in an effort to justify its actions runs directly contrary to the fundamental concept of the Charter and international law. Other representatives in the Committee stated that such a doctrine would seek to create two radically different systems of international law: one in which the Charter would apply, and one in which it would not. Regrettably, we do not find any adequate summary of such views on these important legal matters in the report, and we fail to understand their omission.

17. The PRESIDENT: Before the representative of the United States made his comment, I stated that unless I heard a proposal to discuss any of the reports of the Sixth Committee in detail, statements would be limited to explanations of vote. If there are no objections, I shall assume that the Assembly so agrees.

It was so decided.

18. The PRESIDENT: We shall now take up the reports of the Sixth Committee in the order in which they were presented by the Rapporteur.

19. The first is the report [A/7375] on item 85. Since no representative has expressed a desire to speak in explanation of vote, I shall now put to the General Assembly the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee in paragraph 247 of its report. The administrative and financial implications of this draft resolution are set forth in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/7430].

20. Since the draft resolution was adopted unanimously in the Sixth Committee, may I take it that the General Assembly also adopts it unanimously?

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 2419 (XXIII)].

21. The PRESIDENT: I now invite Members to turn their attention to paragraph 248 of the report. If I hear no objection I shall take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to adopt the decisions of the Sixth Committee as set forth in that paragraph.

It was so decided.

22. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 85.

23. I now invite representatives to turn their attention to the report [A/7402 and Corr.1] of the Sixth Committee, under agenda item 86.

24. As no Member wishes to make a statement in explanation of vote the Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee in paragraph 31 of the report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of this draft resolution is contained in document A/7431.

The draft resolution was adopted by 71 votes to none, with 16 abstentions [resolution 2420 (XXIII)].

25. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 86.

26. I next direct the Assembly's attention to the last report [A/7408 and Corr.1] of the Sixth Committee which relates to agenda item 88.

27. As no member wishes to make a statement in explanation of vote, the Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee in paragraph 23 of the report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of this draft resolution is contained in document A/7432.

The draft resolution was adopted by 86 votes to none, with 2 abstentions [resolution 2421 (XXIII)].

28. The PRESIDENT: That concludes the consideration of agenda item 88.

AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (continued)²

29. Mrs. GROZA (Romania) (*translated from French*): The struggle for the conquest and consolidation of national independence and for the defence of sovereignty, waged by peoples who for centuries have suffered under the yoke of colonial oppression, is one of the characteristic and essential features of modern international life. The entire evolution of the contemporary world is powerfully influenced by that struggle, which is also reflected in the United Nations, since questions concerning the liquidation of the inhuman system of colonialism and the strengthening of the political and economic independence of nations freed from foreign domination have been among the main concerns of this Organization since its establishment.

30. Eight years ago, on 14 December 1960, the General Assembly adopted the historically important resolution [1514 (XV)] concerning the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That Declaration included ideas and principles designed to reaffirm "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small . . ." and to create "conditions of stability and well-being and peaceful and friendly relations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples . . .". As is known, the Declaration states the following:

"The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the

United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation."

and that:

"All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

31. The fact that the imperialist Powers continue to ignore these cardinal principles, seek to perpetuate the last vestiges of colonialism—a system which is historically obsolete—and practice new neo-colonialist forms of domination over recently-liberated countries, underscores the highly contemporary nature of the provisions of the Declaration.

32. The anachronistic character of the colonial system is determined today by the fact that the domination and exploitation of certain peoples by a small number of colonial Powers have for long impeded the development of the forces of production and social progress of those peoples by condemning them to stagnation. Essentially, it is this fact which lies at the root of the serious economic and social inequality between various countries and peoples, an inequality which is constantly becoming more pronounced in our time.

33. While a large part of the wealth of those peoples was seized by a relatively small number of foreign exploiters and oppressors, and their territories despoiled, the imperialist Powers developed their industries on the basis of raw materials obtained in the colonies, created powerful centres of culture and science and progressed on the road to civilization. It is that system which is responsible for the fact that today a large part of the world community continues to have the status of "developing countries".

34. The experience of history—including the experience of my own country, Romania—has confirmed that foreign domination seriously affects the development of peoples and the evolution of human society, causing great damage to the vital interests of those peoples. At the same time, it brings out the fundamental truth that foreign domination can hinder the process of national development and the constitution of national States; it can delay for a certain period the development of a people, but it cannot prevent a people from achieving its aspirations to freedom and progress if the people in question is firmly determined to live in freedom and to be the master of its own destiny.

35. We wish to stress that aspect now, since, over a large part of our planet, there are peoples still subjected to foreign capital, peoples who are waging a sustained struggle for their independence and for the liquidation of the colonial yoke.

36. In the majority of those countries and territories, there are revolutionary and progressive movements which are in the forefront of the struggle of the peoples for liberation. Both recent and earlier history invariably confirms that the freedom of a people and of a nation can be achieved only through their own struggle. Victory in the fight for the complete and final liquidation of colonialism depends on the extent to which each people succeeds in concentrating its efforts and in organizing its forces against

² Resumed from the 1744th meeting.

the true causes of that phenomenon. In our view, the strength of the movements of national and social liberation lies in the unity of their actions and their complete identification with the aspirations and fundamental interests of the peoples from which they sprang.

37. We believe it to be the duty of the international community to give wide and effective support to the national liberation movements, whose legitimacy has been recognized and reaffirmed on several occasions by the General Assembly. Indeed, the United Nations is in a position to make an important contribution without, however, substituting itself for the people who must struggle for their own national liberation.

38. The resolutions condemning colonialism, which have been and will continue to be adopted by the General Assembly—since there is an overwhelming majority of countries in favour of those resolutions in the United Nations—may represent moral support for the peoples who still find themselves under colonial domination; however, those resolutions do not seem to be sufficient in themselves. Indeed, those to whom such resolutions are addressed—and the number of those Powers is quite small—vote openly against them in the General Assembly and categorically refuse to permit their implementation. That has led to an intolerable situation in which, every year, the large majority of the States Members of the Organization propose various practical and political measures designed to facilitate the attainment of independence by the colonial peoples. Those measures subsequently become General Assembly resolutions, but, from the standpoint of their implementation, largely remain no more than declarations of intent. In the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General notes that in southern Africa:

“... the collective determination of the United Nations to put an end to colonialism seems to have met a solid wall of defiance in that part of the world” [A/7201/Add.1, para. 148].

39. To give only one example, the fact that the United Nations has so far been unable to take any effective action in the face of the refusal of the Republic of South Africa to leave the territory of Namibia, which it is occupying illegally, leads us to reflect upon the genuine opportunities available to the Organization to make a more effective contribution to the total liquidation of the colonial system.

40. In the Romanian delegation's opinion, it is essential in order to achieve that objective that the United Nations and its specialized agencies should provide active assistance to the national liberation movements in their struggle against foreign exploitation.

41. In this connexion, I should like to stress the importance of directing the assistance of the United Nations and other associated international institutions towards those national liberation movements that are the authentic representatives of the will and aspirations of colonial peoples. In our opinion, in order that such assistance shall constitute genuine and effective support, direct consultation and liaison must be established between the international organizations and the representatives of the national liberation movements.

42. At the same time we consider that the United Nations can support the liberation struggle of the peoples who are still under colonial domination by drawing attention, through debates in the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies, and by the adoption of resolutions, to the true causes of the perpetuation, even in our own days, of the colonial system and to the factors which enable a few colonial powers to ignore the quasi-unanimous will of the international community. In this connexion, it seems to us that in recent years the United Nations has made significant progress with regard to the manner of dealing with questions relating to the liquidation of colonialism, by placing on the agenda of the General Assembly an item concerning the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

43. The Romanian delegation had an opportunity in the Fourth Committee [1767th meeting] of stating more fully the considerations which lead it to believe that the examination of this question by the General Assembly contributes to a better understanding and a clearer identification of the main factors which hamper the elimination of the anachronistic system of colonialism and promote the establishment in international relations of disguised forms of neo-colonialism and national dependence. Such a debate is likely to contribute to the orientation of the national liberation struggle towards the true enemies of national independence and towards the large international monopolies and undertakings whose selfish interests are resorting to every means at their disposal to maintain the colonial régimes. Those monopolies hope in this way to maintain—and even to increase—the huge profits they obtain through the cruel exploitation of the natural and human resources of the colonial territories at the expense of the vital interests of the indigenous populations.

44. The Romanian people, who throughout their history have made heavy sacrifices to throw off the yoke of foreign oppression and who are deeply attached to the ideas of liberty and national independence, understand and wholeheartedly support the cause of peoples still under colonial domination; they express their complete solidarity with the latter's just struggle and with the efforts they are making to advance as rapidly as possible along the road to progress and well-being. We believe that it is the duty of the international community to make new efforts in order to support the national liberation movements more effectively in their struggle to eliminate all forms, open or disguised, of colonialism and neo-colonialism. We are convinced that it is in the interests not only of the peoples oppressed by colonialism or neo-colonialism but also of all peoples of the world to abolish that scourge of contemporary society, that source of danger to international peace and security.

45. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania expresses its firm confidence in the triumph of the fundamental aspirations of peoples to a free life, organized in conformity with their own will and vital interests, without any foreign interference or pressure.

46. Mr. VRATUŠA (Yugoslavia): The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted at the fifteenth session of the General

Assembly [resolution 1514 (XV)], reflects the spirit of positive changes which have taken place in the world after the Second World War and the progress of the irresistible struggle of the colonial peoples for their freedom. By taking that historic step, the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations have unequivocally declared themselves in favour of an undelayed liquidation of the colonial system, an ugly anachronism founded upon exploitation of and disrespect for the elementary human rights and freedom of peoples.

47. The aspirations and aims of the Declaration are most clearly expressed, above all, in paragraph 5 of the Declaration, which provides that:

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

48. There is no doubt that the Declaration has played a very important role in moral and political orientation and has been a substantial support to the colonial peoples in their struggle for their independence. Eight full years have elapsed since the adoption of that document, which constitutes the implementation of the fundamental principles of the Charter on the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. In this period more than twenty former colonial Territories have attained independence and created their own independent States. Their peoples, although deeply engaged in laying the basis for their own independent economic and political development, frequently disturbed, unfortunately, by foreign interference in their domestic affairs, have been assuming an increasingly significant role on the international scene. The gaining of independence by a large number of peoples who for centuries were under foreign domination has considerably narrowed the room for the survival of the remnants of the colonial system. In addition to that, it has brought closer the realization of the universality of the United Nations and of equality among nations. All this represents a substantial contribution to friendly co-operation among nations, as well as to the consolidation of peace and strengthening of security in the world.

49. However, in spite of the meaningful results obtained in the field of decolonization, we still find ourselves far from having satisfactorily implemented the principles and aims inscribed in the Charter relating to the final eradication of the colonial system. This year's report of the Special Committee of twenty-four nations [A/7200/Rev.1] and the developments in the southern part of the African continent indicate the deterioration of the situation.

50. There is no doubt that the most serious of the remaining colonial problems are concentrated in the southern part of Africa. I have in mind, above all, the Portuguese colonies, Namibia and the situation in Southern Rhodesia. No one dares deny the fact that the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese colonial rule should long ago have been permitted to attain their freedom through their exercise of the right to self-determination and that the

people of Zimbabwe have the right to govern themselves in their own sovereign State. Notwithstanding all this, repressive actions against the uprising of the people have been carried out with increasing cruelty in the Territories under Portuguese colonial rule. The white minority in Salisbury produced an illegal declaration of independence, followed by oppressive measures against the indigenous people representing more than 95 per cent of the total population. Finally, in Namibia, the illegal occupation by the Pretoria régime of the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations defies persistently an ever-increasing number of resolutions, which have in the past twenty years reached an impressive figure. We regret that this defiance has not been met with greater resoluteness by the United Nations.

51. The report of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four shows also that the responsibility for such a state of affairs falls, first of all, upon those countries which in words continue to condemn the colonial domination and *apartheid*, but which in practice are extending substantial political and material support to the protagonists of such an inhuman practice. I have in mind, above all, the constant increase of trade and investments of some of the industrially most developed countries in Portugal and in the Republic of South Africa, of which the report of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four also gives very documented evidence. Of special significance in this respect is the conclusion of the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report to this General Assembly, which reads, *inter alia*:

“The reason for this state of affairs is to be found not in a lack of concern or effort on the part of the United Nations, but principally in the non-compliance by certain administering Powers with the relevant United Nations resolutions and in the reluctance of some other Powers to extend their full co-operation to the Organization in the application of effective solutions to the outstanding problems.” [A/7201/Add.1, para. 147.]

52. In other words, the colonial problems are no longer problems where solutions could be sought only between specific colonial Powers and the United Nations. The liquidation of the remnants of the colonial system figures also as a problem of relations between the United Nations and those Member States which in one form or another are objectively contributing to the perpetuating of colonial relations in the world.

53. The lack of efficient action to liquidate these relations represents the source for the revolt and for emotional moves and manifestations on the part of Africans above all, and of progressively-minded public opinion in the world. No appeal to legality can satisfy them, as the practice based upon the rule of colonial Powers and the racists has not left them any room for safeguarding either their lives or elementary human dignity. Therefore, the way out of this situation would lie only in a corresponding action aimed at breaking through the existing stalemate in the field of decolonization and at opening up new perspectives for the colonial peoples and freeing the newly liberated countries from the ever-present threats to their independence, sovereignty and autonomous economic and political development.

54. Finally, the problem in the southern part of Africa cannot be viewed in isolation from what is happening in other parts of the world in which a policy of force is being used to prevent the people from exercising their right to freedom and independence.

55. Viewed in this light, the present negative development in the field of decolonization is in great measure the consequence of such a situation. Herein lies the crux of the matter and an answer to the question as to why it is possible for Portugal, the Republic of South Africa and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia to disobey and obstruct the decisions of the United Nations and to challenge almost the entire international community.

56. Too many heavy consequences of the past and too many present interests are involved to permit an early solution of the problem of colonialism. History tells us that independence has never been donated as a gift. Therefore, the recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the colonial peoples to exercise their right to self-determination and independence is not an abstract formula. The resistance and the struggle, by all available means, is the only choice for the oppressed peoples when the other side is speaking in terms of violence.

57. The fact is that the problems of decolonization fall into the category of those questions on whose solution, in a great measure, depends peace in Africa and elsewhere. That is why all the Members of the United Nations should comply strictly with the decisions of the world Organization and why effective action by the international community in favour of national independence of all colonial peoples is so urgently needed. We have the mechanism and instruments needed for this purpose, and the Declaration can serve as sole guidance in this direction. What is lacking is the political will to act and to use effectively the instruments which Member States of the United Nations have themselves created to eradicate, without delay, colonialism and every form of subjugation. There is no doubt that in this respect action through the Security Council, which under the Charter has the primary responsibility to safeguard peace, is the most essential.

58. During the eight years which followed the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the colonial peoples, as well as the whole of mankind, has the opportunity to gain many experiences, learning both from their successes and from their set-backs.

59. Only a short period separates us from the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration. In the same year the world Organization is going to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of its existence. In the opinion of the Yugoslav delegation that is a fitting occasion to make a reassessment of the road traversed by the colonial peoples and by our Organization in the struggle for the realization of the principle of self-determination. I am convinced that an objective analysis of those events would give encouraging results both in respect of the role of the United Nations, and of the irresistible force of anti-colonial and national liberation movements all over the world. Furthermore, this would shed additional light on those forces and tendencies constituting major obstacles to the final realization of the aims embodied in the Declaration.

60. Such a studious approach would provide, at the same time, the necessary elements for the evaluation of the present situation and for the preparation of an adequate programme of action for the near future in order to set in motion all available forces for the most rapid realization of the aims of the Declaration.

61. That is why the Yugoslav delegation is of the view that we should answer affirmatively the question put to the Fourth Committee on 7 October 1968 by the Under-Secretary-General for the Department of Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories, Mr. Djermakoye, when he asked "whether the time had not come for the international community to rethink the problem of how to give new vigour to the Declaration and, more important, new momentum to decolonization".³

62. In the same spirit the Yugoslav delegation noted with great appreciation the appeal addressed to us by Mr. Mestiri, the President of the Committee of Twenty-Four, on 16 December [1742nd meeting], to undertake new efforts in that direction. These and other suggestions made in the Fourth Committee and during this debate reflect the widely shared feeling among delegations that we cannot limit ourselves to ascertaining the unsatisfactory situation. What is needed is intensified and concerted action.

63. It is the view of my delegation that those ideas should be adequately reflected also in the resolution which the General Assembly is going to adopt and that concrete decisions should be taken in this regard. It would be advisable to prepare a comprehensive analysis of the existing situation that has evolved as a consequence of events in recent years, of major obstacles to progress and of the causes of the stagnation in this field, as well as to examine the possibility of organizing a special programme of activities in connexion with the tenth anniversary, having in view the urgency of achieving, as soon as possible, the objectives laid down in the Declaration on decolonization.

64. That, naturally, requires thorough preparation and the Special Committee on decolonization should play the most important role in that endeavour. It is the view of the Yugoslav delegation, therefore, that the Committee of Twenty-Four should be requested by the General Assembly to undertake, in co-operation with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and all associated organs, all necessary steps to have those tasks fulfilled in time in order to be able to report to the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

65. The Yugoslav delegation is ready to continue, in the Committee of Twenty-Four, of which it is a member, and in other bodies, to contribute its utmost towards the adoption of such measures as would effectively contribute to the realization of the objectives enshrined in the United Nations Charter in respect of decolonization.

66. Mr. HULINSKY (Czechoslovakia): Approximately eight years have elapsed since this Assembly adopted the

³ This statement was made at the 1759th meeting of the Fourth Committee, the official records of which are published in summary form.

Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. The adoption of the Declaration constituted a certain turning point in the United Nations in the struggle against colonialism. The degree to which it reflected the pregnant situation in the world and the necessity for this Organization to be a partisan in the process under way was best demonstrated by the fact that immediately after the adoption of the Declaration some dozens of new States entered the road to independence. The fact that within a relatively short span of time a considerable number of dependent territories broke away from the colonial yoke confirmed the absurdity of reasons given by some colonial Powers which were claiming at that time that the territories under their domination were not ready for independence.

67. The task and main objective of the Declaration was to put an end to colonialism once and for all. That task, unfortunately, remains unfulfilled. It is necessary to stress that because we have sometimes witnessed attempts to speak as though the whole work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization was now almost finished and that what remains could be limited in substance to the problem of the so-called small colonial territories. We cannot agree with the assertion contained in the statement made this year by one of the administering Powers that the Fourth Committee is approaching a stage when its basic and original objectives may be considered as fulfilled. The problem of decolonization does not reside in the so-called small colonial territories, even though they undoubtedly have some specific problems of their own, but in the existence of a very rigid and harsh colonial supremacy over vast territories on the very continent which suffered most under colonialism: Africa.

68. In the Portuguese colonial territories, in Southern Rhodesia and in South West Africa we have been witnessing intensive co-operation between the colonial Powers—I might say integration of colonial power—in consequence of joint actions by the racist régimes of Portugal, the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia against national liberation movements. The objective of the military and political coalition which is taking shape in the south of Africa is not only to halt the decolonization process in the Republic of South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies. Such policies also directly endanger the neighbouring independent States of Africa.

69. In that connexion I have to state that one of the factors contributing to the further strengthening of colonial positions by force which is intensively used against national liberation movements is the use of mercenaries, mainly in instances where the colonizers, for one reason or another, believe that the direct use of their own armed forces to suppress national liberation movements would be unsuitable.

70. There is no doubt that up to now the United Nations has played a positive role in the anti-colonialist strivings of nations and that its activities in that field should be appreciated. In particular I should like to mention the activities of the Committee of Twenty-Four which after the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) became the central working organ for decolonization questions and which has gained considerable respect within the system of our Organization.

71. It is regrettable that the administering Powers do not support the work of the Committee of Twenty-Four to a desirable degree, as can be seen, for example, by the fact that they have prevented the Committee from studying the true situation on the spot in dependent territories by sending visiting missions there. Some administering Powers have likewise consistently refused to furnish, under Article 73 (e) of the Charter, information on the Non-Self-Governing Territories for which they are responsible. In papers prepared by the United Nations Secretariat and the Committee of Twenty-Four we are forced to read footnotes to the effect that the material has been compiled on the basis of "accessible information": in other words, the United Nations is not being precisely informed about the situation in the territories whose destiny it is considering.

72. In recent times the activities of foreign monopolies in dependent territories have attracted ever more attention in the complex of questions relating to the anti-colonial struggle. The Special Committee rightly devoted special attention to that question and reached conclusions concerning the activities of foreign monopolies in some given colonial territories, as well as conclusions of a general character. It is evident that foreign monopolies acting in colonial territories constitute one of the main obstacles preventing the peoples of those territories from deciding truly independently on their future. At the present time foreign monopolies are the main pillars on which the existing colonial and racist régimes are based.

73. The analyses also show that the objective of the activities of the monopolies in colonial territories is primarily to make the highest possible profits at their expense as well as of their further economic and political development. The assertions that monopolies penetrating into colonial territories help them to attain their independence sound hypocritical in view of the analyses made by the Committee of Twenty-Four.

74. Another question of a more general character to which the Special Committee has devoted its attention in this year's report is that of the military utilization of colonial territories. Strategic military bases located in those territories constitute a grave obstacle to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and are a source of tension. They frequently serve as bases for aggressive actions both against the population of colonial territories and against the territories of neighbouring independent States. The United Nations has expressed its position on this question several times. However, so far there has been no positive response either in the territories of great colonial areas or in the small colonial territories in the Pacific, for example. The United Nations should continue to deal concretely with this complex of problems and take measures leading to a rectification of the situation.

75. I should like also to say a few words concerning the information provided by some administering Powers about the so-called "constitutional progress" in colonial territories. These consist in a number of administrative reforms made mainly in order to generate the impression that the dependent territories are making another step towards independence. Moreover, the representatives of the individual national liberation movements, when analysing those "reforms", have drawn attention to the fact that the

administering Powers aptly use the old principle of "divide and rule". They sometimes give authority to individual racial, national and tribal groups in limited areas and through this they add to the intensification of various internal, often nationalistically tinted, differences, which only complicate the efforts to attain independence. It is not our intention to reject individual reforms in colonial countries. In a number of instances such reforms do constitute a step forward. On the other hand, those reforms cannot be in any way considered as the attainment of the final objective in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration.

76. At the beginning of my statement I deemed it necessary to evaluate the role played by the United Nations in the question of decolonization and particularly that played by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four. The positive evaluation of the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization and its realistic possibilities cannot, however, conceal the fact that the main burden of the struggle for freedom has been borne directly by the peoples in colonial countries. Bearing this fact in mind the United Nations has already made a number of appeals to help national liberation movements in colonial countries and has also itself taken the initiative by assisting them. I have in mind, for example, the resolutions concerning the role of specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations in the implementation of the Declaration. But the United Nations itself, the specialized agencies and other associated international bodies owe much more to national liberation movements in individual territories and particularly to their requirements for concrete assistance in undertaking new tasks connected with the creating of a foundation for a free and independent life.

77. The Czechoslovak people is fully on the side of peoples struggling for the attainment of the right to self-determination, freedom and independence. The Czechoslovak delegation here in the United Nations will also strive for the attainment of the objective that these rights be respected and applied in harmony with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

78. Mr. NACO (Albania) (*translated from French*): A fierce struggle is being waged today throughout the world by progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist peoples who wish to live in freedom and independence, against the imperialist and colonial Powers which are seeking by all means at their disposal to retain their colonial possessions and which, under different forms and by various neo-colonial methods, are trying to regain their lost domination in order to restore colonial oppression and exploitation and to dictate their will to various peoples and nations.

79. The colonial peoples, who have for centuries suffered oppression, exploitation, humiliation and violence, have taken up arms against the crumbling fortress of colonialism. Thanks to the powerful and unprecedented momentum of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial national liberation movements, the colonial system, having been struck grave blows by the popular forces, is irresistibly approaching its inevitable end.

80. Despite the decisive blows which it has been dealt, however, the heavy losses it has sustained and the great

narrowing of its sphere of activity, the rotting system of colonialism continues to exist and to threaten seriously not only the people who are still suffering under its domination but also all those peoples who, through countless sacrifices, have regained their freedom and independence.

81. In order to safeguard their colonial possessions and to continue the inhuman oppression and exploitation of the colonial peoples and countries with a view to increasing the fabulous profits of their monopolies, the imperialist and colonial Powers—headed by the United States of America—are waging a barbarous war in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America and throughout the world; they do not hesitate to commit any crime, however cruel it may be, and are seeking by fire and sword to drown in blood all the popular liberation movements.

82. In Angola, in Mozambique, in Guinea (Bissau), in Southern Rhodesia, in Namibia, in South Africa and wherever the colonial régime is dominant, the colonial and imperialist Powers have systematically set up an unbridled policy of racial discrimination; they have unleashed a campaign of terror and carried out massacres of the most barbarous type, which assume the form of veritable genocide. The indigenous population is deprived of all rights and is submitted to inhuman treatment on the part of the colonial Powers and of a handful of white settlers; it is treated as one that has no rights but obligations only, condemned to enrich the imperialist monopolies which are mercilessly exploiting it by the sweat of its brow. The African receives wages about twenty times lower than those of the white worker. Moreover, the African is sold as one sells merchandise, as in the case of the Mozambique workers sent by the Portuguese fascists to South Africa to endure forced labour in the mines.

83. The indigenous population is dispossessed of its fertile lands for the benefit of the white settlers and its economy is reduced to the level of subsistence. The overwhelming majority of the indigenous population, which constitutes more than 95 per cent of the inhabitants in some territories, is illiterate. One third of African children die before the age of five. Lastly, the indigenous population is denied all rights of assembly and of organization into political parties and trade unions. Any attempt to set up such organizations or unions is punishable as a crime, and the national and social liberation movements are oppressed by force of arms.

84. The imperialist and colonialist Powers organize and systematically exploit the natural resources of those countries by every possible means, reducing them to mere appendages of the economy of the metropolitan countries and earning fabulous profits for their imperialist monopolies. While the vast riches of the colonial countries are exploited in order to enrich still further the imperialist monopolies, the indigenous population is condemned to a life of suffering and privation and is daily faced with the threat of death from hunger, disease and epidemics.

85. The colonialist and imperialist Powers have established a series of military bases in their colonies, which enables them to maintain the inhuman and colonial exploitation of the human resources and natural wealth of those territories by force and to crush the people's struggle for freedom,

while at the same time threatening the liberty and independence of other freedom-loving countries.

86. The efforts made by the colonial Powers to strengthen the military bloc of the racists in southern Africa are also directed towards the same goal. In accordance with their economic and strategic interests in that region, the Western countries members of NATO, and primarily the United States of America, grant those racist cliques multilateral political, economic and military aid, which is the main factor responsible for the continued maintenance of colonial domination in that part of Africa.

87. The United States of America, the country of Black and Puerto Rican ghettos, the country of southern slaveholders, is today the main stronghold of colonialism and racial discrimination in the world. It maintains colonial domination over Puerto Rico and the Pacific Islands and pursues a policy of racial discrimination in the United States itself. It has spread its claws to the four corners of the world and has militarily occupied the Chinese province of Taiwan, Southern Korea and South Viet-Nam, even converting them into military bases in order to carry out its aggressive plans against the revolutionary, progressive and peace-loving peoples and the national liberation movements of oppressed peoples, primarily the People's Republic of China, which is a consistent and resolute champion of all who struggle against imperialist aggression, oppression and tyranny and which represents an insuperable obstacle to the counter-revolutionary plans of United States imperialism for the oppression of peoples.

88. In order to implement its neo-colonialist plans of domination, United States imperialism uses every possible means, ranging from the most cunning neo-colonialist manoeuvres to open and barbarous aggression. To that end, it brazenly uses economic, political and military blackmail and resorts to corruption and subversion, arrogating to itself the detestable role of international policeman. It intervenes brutally in the internal affairs of sovereign States, organizes military *putsches* and brings to power fascist cliques which are entirely subservient to the dictates of the United States and which hand their country over to foreign monopolies for the purpose of merciless colonial exploitation.

89. The United States of America has set up a complete system of aggressive pacts and has established a broad network of military bases around the world, in keeping with its policy of aggression and of subjection of peoples. In Viet-Nam, the United States is continuing its aggressive war—the most barbarous ever known in the history of mankind—with a view to perpetuating its colonial domination in that country and to using it as a bridge-head against the People's Republic of China, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and all peace-loving Asian countries.

90. With the assistance and under the direct authority of the United States imperialists, the other imperialist and colonial Powers carry out all their aggressive activities and implement their plans designed to ensure colonial and neo-colonial domination over the people who cherish freedom and independence, and to crush the will of the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples who are still subjected to inhuman colonial oppression and foreign domination.

91. Throughout these sinister activities, the United States imperialists have had the assistance and support of the Soviet revisionists who, in accordance with their plans drawn up jointly with the United States imperialists to carry out their global strategy for world domination and the sharing of zones of influence, are making great efforts to thwart the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial movements of the peoples and divert them from their struggle for national liberation. They circulate false reports about the "new and peaceful nature" of imperialism and spread panic among the peoples struggling for freedom and independence by claiming, in particular, that because of the existence of nuclear weapons, even local wars constitute a danger since they might give rise to a new world war and thus bring about the destruction of the world.

92. To that end, the Soviet revisionists are carrying out an intensive campaign to deceive the oppressed peoples, using deceptive devices of all kinds; for example, they claim that freedom can be won by so-called peaceful means such as "political solutions", discussions and "mutual understanding", and through compromises and concessions made to the imperialists and the colonialists. It is not difficult to understand that all this is aimed at perpetuating the colonial system, since it is common knowledge that imperialists and colonialists never voluntarily abandon their colonial possessions and that it is the peoples who, through their victorious struggle, have expelled them once and for all from the countries which have regained their independence.

93. The frantic defence of the racist régime in South Africa made last week in the General Assembly by the imperialist Powers, primarily the United States of America, with the full assistance of the Soviet revisionists, shows once again who are the champions of the colonial régime and of *apartheid*. It also shows the complicity of the Soviet revisionists and the United States imperialists in the imperialist plots against the oppressed and colonial peoples; furthermore, it has served to unmask the treacherous clique in the Kremlin and exposed that clique as the champion of colonial and racial oppression and the staunch adversary of the efforts made by freedom-loving countries on behalf of the struggle of peoples for freedom and independence. The firm support given by the Soviet revisionists to the United States imperialists in their conspiracy to frustrate the Afro-Asian draft resolution [A/7383, para. 9] which calls for the expulsion of South Africa from UNCTAD, is a new expression of that dangerous Soviet-American collaboration which operates to the detriment of the interests, of the cause, of the liberation of peoples—a situation to which the Albanian delegation has repeatedly drawn attention.

94. The criminal policy of the colonial and imperialist Powers—headed by the United States of America—which obstinately persist in perpetuating their system of colonial oppression and domination of the peoples, is the main cause of the intolerable situation prevailing in the United Nations with regard to problems of decolonization; it also explains the unjustifiable attitude of this Organization, which has shown itself to be entirely incapable of carrying out its functions in accordance with the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter. As is known, the United Nations has had the question of decolonization before it for years; it has established permanent bodies to

deal with the matter and has adopted a large number of resolutions. Yet because it is dominated by the two great Powers, not only has the United Nations failed to achieve any results in that regard, since colonialism and neo-colonialism continue to exist, but, through its resolutions which have remained a dead letter, it has created false hopes among the oppressed peoples with a view to deceiving them and to making them weaken in their struggle for national liberation, which is the only sure way of getting rid of the colonial yoke and regaining freedom and independence.

95. Throughout the world, peoples have risen up against the oppression and exploitation of the colonial and imperialist Powers. The national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples are constantly gaining momentum and their ranks are being strengthened with new fighters who, with ever more courage and determination, are throwing themselves into the struggle for national salvation, freedom and independence.

96. The oppressed peoples are meeting the American-Soviet imperialist and counter-revolutionary plot to perpetuate the barbarous colonial and neo-colonial domination, as well as the inability of the United Nations to make its contribution to the struggle of peoples against colonial oppression, by intensifying their struggle to frustrate the aggressive plans of that alliance against their freedom and independence. From their own experience, the colonial peoples are convinced that armed struggle is the only way of ridding themselves of colonial oppression; they are aware that by adopting that course, which is the only sure way of regaining their freedom and independence, they will have to overcome difficulties and obstacles and will have to shed even more blood and make great efforts.

97. Thus in Southern Rhodesia, in Namibia, in Angola, in Mozambique, in Guinea (Bissau), in Palestine, in the Arab territories occupied by the Zionist imperialists, in Viet-Nam and in other oppressed countries, the peoples are broadening and strengthening their armed struggle against the imperialist and colonialist aggressors, dealing them mortal blows and thereby showing the world that however strong the imperialists and colonialists may appear, they cannot resist the force of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples and that whatever efforts and whatever means they may employ, the aggressors cannot escape final defeat.

98. This great movement of the peoples for national and social liberation, which has penetrated the entire sphere of colonial and imperialist domination, has today become a great force which exerts a decisive influence upon the course of history and which will annihilate the colonialists and imperialists as well as their revisionist collaborators.

99. The Albanian people and Government, guided by their revolutionary policy of giving unreserved support to the struggle of peoples for their national and social liberation, stand solidly behind that just struggle and express their firm support of that rightful cause.

100. The Albanian people and Government assure the peoples who are still suffering under barbarous colonial domination of their sincere sympathy with their struggle for liberation and express the conviction that the cause of

the peoples will inevitably triumph, that the imperialists and colonialists will inexorably be driven from their colonies.

101. Mr. GANESH (India): Significant developments have taken place in the field of decolonization since the creation 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 by the United Nations. A large number of Territories have attained independence and most of them have taken their rightful place in the comity of nations. We have now arrived, however, at almost an impasse in so far as some of the remaining major Territories under colonial domination are concerned—what the Secretary-General aptly refers to as “as solid wall of defiance”.

102. It is a sad truth of our times that powerful nations stand by while determined racist and colonial minorities perpetuate their domination in Southern Africa. Year after year the General Assembly approves resolutions on Southern Africa by overwhelming majorities, but to no avail. This is so because of a waning sense of responsibility on the part of powerful nations in the field of decolonization. If they chose to bring the sufferings of African peoples under Portuguese domination or those in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia to an end, the racist and colonial Powers would be forced to abide by the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. But it is their powerful trade interests and, in Southern Africa, questions of kith and kin in addition, which control their policies. Thus they adopt anti-decolonization postures, while professing to be neutral or even in favour of freedom movements. Until such time as these great Powers decide to exert their influence and power in favour of decolonization, freedom in Southern Africa will not be achieved by peaceful means.

103. My delegation is happy to note that in spite of the up-hill task with which the peoples of these Territories are faced, the freedom fighters continue to redouble their efforts. It is heartening to note that considerable areas of Portuguese Territories in Africa have been liberated by the freedom fighters. In an effort to overcome this increasing resistance Portugal has been rapidly increasing its troops and armaments on African soil. But it is beyond the resources of Portugal to contain and combat the ever-widening resistance movements in its African colonial Territories. One can only hope that the Government of Portugal, even at this late stage, will reconsider its policies and submit itself to the winds of change that have so far been shut out.

104. Southern Rhodesia constitutes a classic example of a deliberate imposition of an alien minority over the indigenous majority. That minority has now flowered into a full-fledged racist and colonial Power wholly supplanting the United Kingdom. Much has been said in this forum on this subject, and the vast majority of nations represented here have called clearly for something better than the passive attitude which the administering Power continues to adopt. Our advice and exhortations, however, have not only fallen on deaf ears, but the administering Power has gone a step further in proclaiming itself “unalterably” against the use of force to settle the Rhodesian issue. We are told that there will be no “sell out” of African interests in

negotiations with the Smith régime, when the administering Power no longer has anything left to "sell out"; we are told that there will be no "slamming of the door" when in effect this is exactly what negotiations amount to if they are not to be with the true representatives of the people; we are also told that there will be "no use of force"—and indeed, this is the only part of the statement which is unfortunately true.

105. There exist today a large number of small and sometimes tiny Territories in the Atlantic and Caribbean, in the Indian Ocean and in the Pacific, which have still to be decolonized. In many, if not most of these, progress towards self-government remains painfully slow. Special reasons are advanced by the administering Powers to show why there are circumstances justifying the slow progress. In most cases these are a façade for the retention of those colonies as long as possible. It is true that in several island Territories an attempt has been made to associate representatives of the people in varying degrees with the tasks of government. But in the majority of those Territories, the powers given to such representatives are in effect nullified by the fact that their role is largely advisory, with the right of veto remaining in the hands of representatives of the administering Power.

106. Most of the administering Powers today refuse to accept visiting missions from the United Nations. We are of the firm belief that such missions are not only useful but in some cases indispensable if the work of decolonization in the United Nations is to proceed smoothly, and if the United Nations is to be kept informed at first hand of the conditions existing in colonial Territories. The reluctance of colonial Powers to accept visiting missions exposes the true nature of conditions therein.

107. It is the obligation of the free world community to assist by all possible means the freedom fighters in the "hard core" colonies of Africa. My country, for its part, is making its humble contribution in educational programmes by the offer of scholarships for technological and other education for students from Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. Last year, twenty-four Angolan students, among others, were undergoing training in India in various fields. My delegation is convinced of the necessity to further the cause of training and educational facilities for the inhabitants of those Territories, through the United Nations and through other forums.

108. The late Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru had the deepest affection for the peoples of Africa. He saw the African peoples not as an object of civilizing missions but as a dynamic section of human society. Speaking in the General Assembly on 10 November 1961, he said:

"When future historians write about this period in which we are living, they may well say that an outstanding feature of this period was the emergence of African countries, the new life that is coursing through the veins of Africa, which I think is, historically speaking, of vital importance today.

"Because of that vitality and tremendous urge in the various countries of Africa, we find problems arising that are problems of a new vitality, and not problems of a decadent people—they are the problems of a new life

emerging. Sometimes they are troublesome problems, but we must recognize that they are problems of growth and therefore problems which should encourage rather than discourage us." [1051st meeting, paras. 14 and 15.]

109. Another session of the General Assembly is about to end soon. At this time our thoughts are turned to the millions of people still groaning under colonial and racist régimes, where human dignity, freedom and human values are throttled. The world is afflicted by so many complex problems—the problem of war, starvation, underdevelopment and the fear of a catastrophe in the event of a nuclear confrontation. But worse still is the prevalence in a naked form of the vestiges of colonialism buttressed by inhuman racism. The conscience of the world community cannot be at peace until man is free from alien domination everywhere on earth. For, freedom and peace are indivisible. There can be no peace in southern Africa and elsewhere till colonialism and racism are eliminated and rooted out. My delegation only hopes that the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly will at least make an earnest attempt to write the final epitaph on colonial and racist domination in southern Africa.

110. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): The Fourth Committee has been considering the situation of peoples and territories still under colonial domination for over ten weeks; both the symptoms and the causes of continued oppression in some of the most important colonial Territories have been analysed. We have before us a number of reports by the Special Committee, running to hundreds of pages, a compilation of pertinent data, precise information, on the economic, social, political and military developments in these territories since the past session of the General Assembly. Undoubtedly, the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has presented—as a result of hard work, a profound examination of the problems and a carefully considered evaluation and judgement of issues—a balanced picture of the state of affairs in the field of decolonization and has enabled us to draw some general conclusions.

111. The fire of colonialism, even in its most anachronistic, nineteenth century form of naked oppression, is still raging and is far from being extinguished. On the contrary, there are alarming signs clearly indicating that in the southern part of Africa at least—in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau)—the last strongholds of colonialism are being hastily fortified. The common interests of the Governments of South Africa, Portugal and the illegal racist régime of Ian Smith, in holding peoples under colonial subjugation, push these dark forces into an ever closer economic, political and military alliance in a desperate attempt to stop the wheels of time.

112. South Africa's opposition leader, Sir de Villiers Graaf, is reported to have declared:

"While Angola is controlled by Portugal, it offers South Africa a completely safe border and a buffer state against the disorder and chaos in the rest of Africa." [A/7200/Rev.1, chap. VIII, annex 1, para. 66.]

113. By means of an old and too well-known colonialist trick he tried to identify disorder and chaos with the movements of national liberation of colonized peoples and equate order and stability with colonial oppression. Judging from the actions of the Republic of South Africa, this is an issue on which the Government and its Opposition are in full agreement. *The Times* of London thought it timely last March to devote a news team inquiry to various reports on the steps being secretly taken by Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa in the forging of a triple alliance.

114. It is also constructive to listen to the Rhodesian Minister of Education who, in August 1967, commenting on relations with Portugal, stated:

“Events subsequent to our declaration of independence nearly two years ago have brought us even closer together and we shall always be gratified for the staunch support we have received from our Portuguese neighbours in Angola and Mozambique in our struggle.” [Ibid., para. 73.]

He went on to say that not only were the Portuguese “the first Europeans” to come to Africa but he added the wish that

“together with the South African and Rhodesian friends, They will never leave it.” [Ibid.]

115. It is to be feared that these strongholds of colonialism serve not only the purpose of defending an evil cause as long as possible, the maintenance of colonial domination on the long-suffering continent of Africa, but are also intended to be a basis for holding at bay the nations of Africa which have already achieved their political independence. The repeated violations of the sovereignty of independent African states by Portuguese troops, the growing presence in Southern Rhodesia of South African armed units, and the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the Republic of South Africa are but a few designs in a rapidly emerging pattern.

116. It is also to be noted that this die-hard type of colonialism—especially in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia—is inseparably combined with racial discrimination and the inhuman policy of *apartheid* condemned by United Nations resolutions and public opinion all the world over.

117. Unfortunately, colonialism—in the eighth year following the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples—is not confined to the continent of Africa alone but is still a world-wide phenomenon. In fact the Committee of Twenty-Four has not yet completed the list of dependent Territories which have to be studied. I have in mind, especially, Puerto Rico on which the Special Committee has not yet finalized its position. Obviously it will have to cope, in time to come, with the situation prevailing there.

118. My delegation feels concerned about the status and future of small territories scarcely populated and at present economically not self-supporting and finds itself in full agreement with the members of the Special Committee that the problems relating to these colonies have to be carefully

studied by the Special Committee, an expert body, with a view to formulating recommendations for the General Assembly on the best and most effective ways and means of putting an end to their colonial status. Obviously the fact that a number of these Territories—including Gibraltar whose case has been discussed at some length in the Fourth Committee—are used as military bases by some of the Western Powers, further aggravates the situation and renders the task of decolonization most difficult.

119. Now, it is evident from facts and also reported by the Special Committee in its documents submitted to the General Assembly for consideration, that international monopolies, financial and other interests, constitute an underlying cause for, and play a prominent role in, the prolongation of colonial domination. The operation of international monopolies underlines the collective character of the colonization we are witnessing these days. It explains why a number of countries have combined forces to help stabilize the position of the Republic of South Africa and the racist white settlers in Southern Rhodesia and why they support financially, as well as militarily, the Government of Portugal which alone would be incapable of making a brutal colonial war of oppression against the national liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

120. A logical extension of collective colonization is the military assistance that Portugal and other colonial régimes receive from members of NATO. No wonder references have been made, in the form of condemnations and appeals, to that political and military organization in so many United Nations resolutions over the past few years.

121. As regards the harmful activities of foreign monopolies in colonial Territories, a few figures will suffice to illustrate the magnitude of this aspect of colonialism and the extent to which they determine the attitude of certain governments which, in violation of General Assembly resolutions, refuse to take any steps to restrict and to put an end to the activities of these economic, financial and other interests owned and operated by their nationals.

122. The United States and the United Kingdom control over 60 per cent of the total foreign investment in the Republic of South Africa and Namibia and one half of the direct investment in the Republic of South Africa itself. Yet, as the representative of Jamaica rightly observed in the Fourth Committee, they would like to make the world believe that they could not influence South Africa's policies on Namibia and *apartheid*. The earnings of the United States on investments in South Africa totalled \$124 million in 1966—roughly the amount of the United Nations regular budget—while those of the United Kingdom reached almost \$200 million. In the light of these figures, indeed, it is not too difficult to understand why some countries voted against or abstained whenever a resolution touched upon such a delicate problem.

123. The 1967 edition of *Who Owns Whom*, a publication of O. W. Roskill and Co. Reports Limited, London, lists over 200 British firms with subsidiary or associate companies in Southern Rhodesia. Information on those firms is also available from the *Anti-Apartheid* Movement in London.

124. The number of West German firms taking part in the exploitation of Portuguese colonies in Africa also amounts to not less than 200. The number of big German land-owners in Angola has grown to 1,100. The capital investments of West German monopolies in Namibia have more than doubled in the past three years and now stand at well over \$100 million. After the adoption of United Nations resolutions on sanctions against the illegal régime of Ian Smith, the Federal Republic of Germany took a leading position in the foreign trade of this fascist régime and has been continuously increasing both its imports and its exports. Last May the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, speaking about the economic relations with the Republic of South Africa and Portugal, made no secret of the fact

“that these economic relations have a long tradition. . . . We had no reason to break off these traditions suddenly and unilaterally, all the more, since as an industrial State depending on exports, we also have to guard the interests of our economy”.

125. It is the firm conviction of my delegation that, unless resolute measures are taken to restrict and eliminate the operation of international economic, financial and other interests, the further process of decolonization will slow down.

126. The Hungarian delegation fully endorses the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee [A/7200/Rev.1] and in particular those contained in chapters III to V.

127. We believe that the General Assembly—in addition to calling upon the administering Powers to transfer all authority to the colonized peoples on the basis of majority rule without any conditions and reservations, to dismantle their military bases and installations in the colonial Territories without delay, to put an end to the operation by their nationals of economic, financial and other interests in colonial Territories and to forbid by law the recruitment and training of mercenaries by their nationals and condemning the financial and military assistance that the colonial régimes receive, especially from members of NATO—should also instruct the Special Committee to prepare a concise report on the implementation of General Assembly resolutions adopted in relation to the most important colonial Territories since 1960. We are now approaching the tenth anniversary of the adoption of our Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. A study analysing the implementation or non-implementation of those resolutions would be very timely, both as a look backward, enabling us to take an over-all view of the progress achieved so far and the obstacles blocking the way to further advance, and as a look forward to specific measures and the course to be taken by the General Assembly and the Governments of Member States for the full implementation of the Declaration.

128. The Special Committee should further advise us at the next session of the General Assembly on the practical means by which the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other related organizations could assist the national liberation movements, the Organization of African Unity and independent African States in speeding up the process of decolonization.

129. In our view, it would also greatly benefit the Members of our Organization if the Special Committee prepared an analysis examining the intertwining of the various elements of the unholy alliance, both in the southern part of Africa and outside the continent, and determining the degree and urgency of the danger their aggressive activities represent for the peoples of Africa.

130. In conclusion, I should like to reaffirm the pledge of the Hungarian Government to continue rendering all possible assistance to those striving for the final and speedy liquidation of the shameful colonial system.

131. Mr. HASRAT (Afghanistan): At this late stage in the deliberations of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly on the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we are once again evaluating the achievements, frustrations, and shortcomings of the United Nations in solving one of the most important and long-standing problems, that is, decolonization, which the Organization has faced since its establishment.

132. As the Members of the Assembly are aware of the different stages of application of the process of decolonization, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, in different areas of the world, it is needless to go into detail regarding the accomplishments of the United Nations in this matter before the adoption of the Declaration.

133. In this instance, we simply wish to stress that the world Organization, eight years ago, through the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by an overwhelming majority [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], took a bold step towards the enhancement of liberating the oppressed peoples of the world. This measure taken by the General Assembly was a reaffirmation of world public opinion for the attainment of the objective of the United Nations Charter; and therefore, by this historical Declaration, the General Assembly proclaimed its belief that colonial peoples have the undeniable right to self-determination and independence.

134. It is indeed noteworthy that, due to the untiring efforts of the world Organization in these past years, the process of decolonization was accelerated, and the result was independence for many countries, and many peoples in the world succeeded in gaining their sacred right of freedom. This progress made by the United Nations in the field of decolonization does not conclude the work of the world community, for there are territories and peoples which, despite their endeavours, are still under colonial domination.

135. Regretfully, we see that there are Governments still stubbornly presenting obstacles to the will of the world community. These persistently ignore world public opinion and defy the decisions of the General Assembly in regard to the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

136. Among other colonial Powers, the policies of the Government of South Africa in regard to Namibia, and the attitude of Portugal towards its African territories and its

close partnership with the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia, constitute the hard core of colonialism in southern Africa.

137. The ruling circles in those countries are resolute in their defiance of the recommendations of the United Nations and are obstinately carrying out their policies of oppression and exploitation of the indigenous inhabitants of those colonial territories.

138. At this juncture, my delegation would like to state that the study of contemporary history reveals the fact that colonialism in all its forms and manifestations cannot continue to stand against the will of the subjugated people in colonial territories, and will never be able to survive in the struggle of the people who are fighting to obtain their independence. It is therefore our firm conviction that under these just pressures the colonial Powers will be forced to yield to the will of the people in the colonial territories.

139. This year the Special Committee of Twenty-Four prepared an analytical report with regard to the compliance of Member States with the Declaration and other relevant resolutions relating to the question of decolonization [A/7200/Rev.1, chap. VI to XXXII]. I should like to take this opportunity to express the appreciation of my delegation for the work which has been done by the Committee.

140. This report, presented by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, clearly states that eight years after the proclamation by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, there are colonial Powers which are Members of the United Nations which have failed to furnish any information to the Secretary-General regarding the extent of their compliance with the recommendations of the General Assembly. In particular, the Governments of South Africa and Portugal did not comply with the requests which were made to them in respect to the territories under their domination.

141. Moreover, we find in the said report that the situation in other dependent territories is not satisfactory. The administering Powers did not comply fully with the recommendations of the General Assembly. At the same time, they refused to let the visiting missions of the United Nations obtain information on the political, economic and social situation in the colonial territories. Those administering Powers are ignoring the repeated requests of the General Assembly and have been unco-operative with the Secretary-General in promoting the large-scale dissemination of the Declaration and of information concerning the aim and work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. My delegation regrets that such a state of

affairs, so contrary to the aims and objectives of the Charter, is impeding the implementation of the Declaration.

142. I should like also to mention that the continuation of some of the colonial situations is without any doubt a threat to international peace and security. This aspect of colonial rule should be given due attention by the General Assembly and should not be dismissed lightly on the basis of assertions to the contrary by some colonial countries. This fact has been recognized in many instances by the General Assembly. Suffice it to mention, by way of example, General Assembly resolution 2326 (XXII) in which this gathering reiterates "its declaration that the continuation of colonial rule threatens international peace and security and that the practice of *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination constitute a crime against humanity".

143. The Secretary-General, in his reports on the question of compliance, has given the text of the Member States' replies which have been received by him. We have studied these replies, and at one point we are not in agreement with the statement made by the administering Powers which feel that they have no obligation with respect to those recommendations of the General Assembly on which they have not given an affirmative vote.

144. We do not want to argue this point, but merely wish to say that the repercussions of such statements not only weaken the position of the United Nations but, due to its discriminatory nature with regard to the General Assembly's recommendations, the other activities of the United Nations may be jeopardized. Therefore, it is advisable that we avoid making distinctions in relation to recommendations of the General Assembly.

145. To reiterate our position regarding this item, my delegation is of the opinion that we have reached the stage where we must demand the independence of the colonial territories more forcefully, on the basis of undeniable convictions held by an overwhelming majority of the Members of the international community, and that this is the appropriate time to attempt to bring about the abolition of all forms and manifestations of colonialism with regard to dependent people who are under alien domination. Independence from domination should apply not only to those peoples and territories which are usually called colonies, but to all dependent peoples.

146. In conclusion, my delegation whole-heartedly hopes that the General Assembly, with the co-operation of the entire membership, will be able to take another step forward during this session of the General Assembly towards its final goal, which is the preservation of human dignity and enhancement of the prosperity of mankind.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.