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President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Ohin (Togo), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Organization of work

AGENDA ITEM 97

Celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations (*concluded*)*

**SIXTH REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE
(A/7250/ADD.5)**

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Paragraph 1 of the General Committee's sixth report [A/7250/Add.5] concerns the organization of the Assembly's work. The Committee recommends that the closing date of the twenty-third regular session, which was fixed as 20 December 1968 [1676th meeting], should be put back to 21 December 1968.

2. In the absence of any objection, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts that recommendation.

It was so decided.

* Resumed from the 1714th meeting.

3. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Paragraph 2 of the report concerns agenda item 97. The General Committee recommends to the Assembly that the twenty-fifth anniversary should be commemorated in an appropriate manner and that the Assembly should, in this connexion, appoint a Preparatory Committee for the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, composed of all the Member States represented in the General Committee at the twenty-third session. The Preparatory Committee would be entrusted with the task of preparing recommendations and plans for celebrating that anniversary and would be requested to report to the Assembly in the very early part of its twenty-fourth session.

4. In the absence of any objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts these recommendations.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 32

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects

**REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(A/7455)**

AGENDA ITEM 33

Report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

**REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(A/7411)**

5. Mr. LANNUNG (Denmark), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee: I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly two reports of the Special Political Committee. The first report [A/7455] deals with agenda item 32. Before the Committee were two reports [A/7131 and A/7396] of the Special Committee on peace-keeping operations. Five meetings were devoted to consideration of that item. A twelve-Power draft resolution [A/7455, para. 5] was submitted to the Committee and subsequently revised—in the words of its sponsors—"to make it more widely acceptable". The draft resolution was adopted on 18 December by a vote of 85 in favour to none against, with 3 abstentions. That draft resolution, as recommended by the Special Political Committee for adoption by the General Assembly, is set forth in paragraph 8 of the Committee's report.

6. The second report [A/7411] concerns agenda item 33. This year's report [A/7213] was the nineteenth annual report of UNRWA. For the first time [612th meeting] the Secretary-General addressed the Special Political Committee during the consideration of the subject. The Secretary-General stressed the need for a renewal of UNRWA's Mandate and for generous contributions to meet the additional requirements resulting from the increased hardships for many newly displaced persons and refugees following the June 1967 hostilities. He also emphasized that a long step would have been taken towards reducing those hardships if the displaced persons and refugees could return to their former homes or the camps they had occupied.

7. In conclusion, the Secretary-General stated his belief that all would agree that the twenty-year-old tragedy of the Palestine refugees demanded that the United Nations should live up generously to its humanitarian responsibility towards them.

8. The Committee was also greatly assisted in its consideration of this item by the statements and advice of the Commissioner-General, Mr. Laurence Michelmore, to whom all speakers in the Committee paid a tribute for his able leadership of UNRWA.

9. The Special Political Committee considered the item at twenty meetings and heard some fifty delegations during the general debate. Four draft resolutions were submitted. The first was a United States draft resolution [A/7411, para. 6] dealing with the renewal of UNRWA's mandate. The second was a six-Power draft resolution [ibid., para. 7] calling for the return without delay of those inhabitants who had fled the areas since the June 1967 outbreak of hostilities. The third was a seventeen-Power draft resolution [ibid., para. 8] concerning humanitarian assistance by UNRWA to persons in the area needing continuing aid as a result of the June 1967 hostilities. The fourth was a five-Power draft resolution [ibid., para. 9] concerning a custodian for Arab refugee property in Israel.

10. At the conclusion of the general debate the Committee decided to give priority to the six-Power draft resolution. On 11 December it adopted that draft resolution by a roll-call vote of 91 to 1, with 9 abstentions; and the United States draft resolution by a roll-call vote of 101 to none, with 1 abstention. On 12 December the seventeen-Power draft resolution was adopted by a roll-call vote of 88 to none. On 13 December the five-Power draft resolution was rejected by a roll-call vote of 44 against, 42 in favour and 27 abstentions.

11. Accordingly, the Special Political Committee recommends to the General Assembly the three draft resolutions contained in paragraph 17 of its report [A/7411].

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

12. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): We shall now consider the recommendations of the Special Political Committee on agenda items 32 and 33.

13. I invite members of the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution submitted by the Special Political Committee under agenda item 32 [A/7455, para. 8].

The draft resolution was adopted by 101 votes to 2, with 3 abstentions [resolution 2451 (XXIII)].

14. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): We have thus concluded our consideration of agenda item 32.

15. I shall now invite members of the Assembly to vote on the three draft resolutions submitted by the Special Political Committee under agenda item 33 [A/7411, para. 17].

16. I put draft resolution A to the vote.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 100 votes to 1, with 6 abstentions [resolution 2452 A (XXIII)].

17. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I put draft resolution B to the vote.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 105 votes to none, with 3 abstentions [resolution 2452 B (XXIII)].

18. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I put draft resolution C to the vote.

Draft resolution C was adopted by 106 votes to none [resolution 2452 C (XXIII)].

19. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I call on the representative of Israel, who wishes to speak on a point of order.

20. Mr. COMAY (Israel): My delegation wished to vote against draft resolution A. Through a technical error, our vote was not recorded.

21. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): The Assembly has thus concluded its consideration of agenda item 33.

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)

22. Mr. PEON DEL VALLE (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): The Mexican delegation wishes to express its views on the general question of decolonization in order to demonstrate once more the constant concern and sincere interest it has always felt with regard to the fate of those peoples which have not yet been able to enjoy their right to full political, social and economic self-determination.

23. This would seem to be a particularly appropriate moment for delegations who wish to do so—and I hope it will be all of them—to express their ideas and their various

points of view on the universal phenomenon of colonialism. In view, however, of the limited time now available to the Assembly, I shall confine my remarks to a few short and limited considerations, based on the experience gained from United Nations activities in the matter.

24. A kind of "anti-colonial law" seems to be emerging in the United Nations, a law which is typical of, though not exclusive to, the Organization, since it is in fact the heritage of all mankind and of civilizations all over the world. This law is unquestionably based on the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories are paramount, as stated in the Charter.

25. This is how this aspect of "United Nations law" is evolving. We should welcome this development, but our gratitude and satisfaction at this course of events do not justify any indifference or inattention to the steps being taken by our Organization, but should rather inspire keener interest in the fundamental aspects of the colonial question—I would rather say in the progress of anticolonialism—as well as in the methods and practices adopted by this Organization in pursuit of its humanitarian goals in the future.

26. It is now important to see how far these objectives are being achieved and becoming a reality. In this connexion, I should like to refer to a particularly authoritative opinion, that of Mr. Tomeh, the representative of Syria, who was Chairman of the Fourth Committee last year. In closing the work of the Committee for 1967, he said:

"First, there was a great possibility and an equally great necessity for the Fourth Committee to make a reassessment, a re-evaluation, a reconsideration of its work and of its methods." [1756th meeting, para. 34.]

He then called for thought on how those methods might be improved, emphasizing that:

"that was all the more important because in the realm of possibilities there was always a greater achievement than in the realm of actual accomplishment." [Ibid.]

27. Although progress has since been made in the decolonization process in some fortunate instances, about which we have already expressed our satisfaction, Mr. Tomeh's views not only hold good today, but have perhaps acquired even greater relevance in the light of our growing experience.

28. While on the subject of the Fourth Committee, Ambassador Solomon's chairmanship of that Committee during the current session of the General Assembly has secured the maximum degree of co-operation between delegations that could be expected. But the possibility of improving our methods of work with a view to achieving a greater degree of agreement must remain open. I therefore consider that it is our collective duty to keep this question under review; this is a constant and ever-present requirement in the discharge of our responsibilities.

29. Both during our discussion and in connexion with the various decisions and other recommendations of the General Assembly on colonial matters, it is obvious that the most serious difficulties have resulted from the conflict or clash between the principles or other standards which are

successively invoked. It would be unnecessary, and indeed impertinent, to quote specific examples before an audience like the General Assembly, but it might be appropriate to say that, throughout our work, there has been a clash between various principles which, because they embody purposes laid down in or arising from the Charter, constitute standards which Member States accept as being virtually inviolable.

30. It is evident that in all such cases, the problem results from the number of purposes laid down in our Charter, quite apart from differences of opinion among Member States on ways and means of achieving agreed goals. When such conflicts arise, the impression might be created that the Assembly wishes to make some standards subordinate to others in all present cases and even in all future cases, different though they may well prove to be. I do not think that in many important cases this possible impression accurately reflects the facts. Since it is difficult to define the nature and scope of the principles themselves, it is necessarily also difficult to express firm value judgements on their relative order of importance.

31. In such cases, or rather in such circumstances, I do not think the General Assembly endeavours to establish any general, hard and fast classification or grading of principles of such significance and complexity. In the circumstances to which I have referred, it simply considers itself called upon to deal with a specific problem and it cannot shirk its responsibility.

32. There is a great difference, however, between such action and between the General Assembly as a whole adopting the inductive or legislative method. This takes the form of protracted discussion which, though unintentionally, in its turn serves to sharpen differences of opinion, to increase the distance between positions originally less irreconcilable and to introduce new complications. One possible change which might be considered in order to improve the working methods to which I have been referring might therefore be to discontinue the practice, which is unnecessary and sometimes dangerous, of including in draft resolutions specific references to earlier agreements, the validity of which is not being questioned, since they have not been revoked. For example, the practice of "reaffirming" earlier resolutions seems to me to require special consideration in each specific case.

33. I promised that I would speak briefly on this occasion, and I fear that I have already taken too long. I shall therefore not continue. It is of course impossible to say the final, or even the penultimate, word on this subject.

34. Before ending, however, I take this opportunity, while on the subject of dependent Territories in general, to say how much we appreciate the valuable co-operation given us in the Fourth Committee by Mr. Djermakoye, the Under-Secretary-General for Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories at all times and particularly after his interesting introductory statement at the beginning of this main Committee's work this year.

35. Mr. EL BOURI (Libya) (*translated from French*): Since its inception, the United Nations has shown a special interest in the process of decolonization and in the

reaffirmation of the right of peoples to self-determination. The role of the United Nations in the historic process of liquidating colonialism derives from the letter and the spirit of the Charter. The principle of self-determination of peoples is one of the foundations of the whole edifice. The new world visualized by those who drew up the Charter cannot be brought into being without the complete elimination of the consequences of injustice and of the exploitation of man by man.

36. International co-operation and world peace, which are fundamental objectives of our Charter, will always remain a dream if justice, equality and the freedom of peoples do not prevail over selfishness and anachronistic national interests.

37. The foundation of our Organization is the greatest event in the history of our century. The emancipation of peoples is the cornerstone of the United Nations. It is evident that the process of decolonization has made considerable headway: since the signing of the Charter in San Francisco, over sixty former colonies have been admitted to the United Nations as sovereign and independent Members.

38. The colonized peoples have for centuries been exposed to untold suffering, humiliation, human exploitation, bondage, racial discrimination and the plundering of all their resources. The accession to independence of hundreds of millions of formerly oppressed men and women has opened a new era in the history of mankind. Much of that success is due to the efforts of the United Nations. The question of the former Italian colonies, and especially Libya, was among the first tests which faced the United Nations. Resolution 289 (IV) of 21 November 1949, by which the General Assembly recognized the independence of Libya, despite the strong opposition of the colonial Powers, was the Organization's first victory along the hard road of the liberation of enslaved peoples.

39. Indeed, we cannot overlook the fact that a large proportion of the debates and activities of the United Nations since the adoption of the Charter, have been devoted to the liquidation of colonialism in the world and to the elimination of all its manifestations and consequences in the social, economic and human fields. It was to further this historic trend that the General Assembly adopted the Declaration of Human Rights and other resolutions designed to rehabilitate man and abolish all forms of discrimination among human beings. Lastly, resolution 1514 (XV) was a triumph for the international community in its struggle for the emancipation of peoples. The success of this struggle has been recently demonstrated by the accession to independence of Southern Yemen, Nauru, Mauritius, Swaziland and Equatorial Guinea, which now occupy their seats among us as sovereign members of the Organization.

40. Nevertheless, as the Secretary-General pointed out in the introduction to his annual report:

“... it is a matter of deep regret that nearly eight years after the adoption of the historic declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, there has been no significant movement towards peaceful resolution, in accordance with the Charter, of

the remaining major colonial questions”. [A/7201/Add.1, para. 147.]

41. The rearguard of colonialism and racism is concentrated in southern Africa, the richest part of the continent, where it is waging its last battles in the belief that it can perpetuate a situation that has been overtaken by events and condemned by all mankind and under the illusion that it can halt the course of history and hold man back in his tireless pursuit of happiness and progress.

42. Portuguese colonialism is certainly the most obsolete and least defensible. The Portuguese régime is desperately clinging to the vestiges of its own former splendour, to the point of trying, through an incredible aberration, to treat those prosperous areas of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, situated thousands of miles away from Portugal, as extensions of its metropolitan European territory. It is the same system that other colonial Powers had adopted, under the illusion that they could deceive the colonized peoples and perpetuate their exploitation, and that they were ultimately forced to abandon.

43. Portugal, itself an under-developed country, is waging a classic and costly colonial war against peoples which refuse to continue to live under its domination. Today it is encountering the fierce resistance of peoples thirsting for freedom. The measures adopted by the United Nations have so far proved ineffective and, as the Secretary-General said in the introduction to his annual report;

“... further international measures are required to assist the people of these Territories to attain their goal of freedom and independence and to make the Portuguese Government a willing partner in this undertaking.” [Ibid., para. 152.]

44. President Salazar's disappearance from the Portuguese political scene has brought no change in that country's policy of defiance of United Nations principles and resolutions. Indeed, President Caetano, Mr. Salazar's successor, declared in the National Assembly on 28 November 1968 that Portugal would not change its policy in its African Territories. According to *Le Monde* of 29 November 1968, he explained that the maintenance of the Portuguese presence in Africa “is due not, as many seem to think, to the personal intransigence of Dr. Salazar, but to the fact that no other attitude is possible”.

45. The situation in Southern Rhodesia has made no progress during the past year. The European population continues to exert all its efforts and to employ every means of brutal repression in order to oppress indefinitely 4 million Africans and to use for its own purposes and convenience the human and material resources of the country. It would take too long to enumerate through what measures, each more unjust than the other, that minority emigrants have been able to occupy the richest land and to concentrate all the country's power and wealth in its own hands, to the point of reducing the people of Zimbabwe to the role of suppliers of cheap labour.

46. It is useless to repeat that the economic sanctions decided upon by the Security Council [see resolutions 217 (1965), 232 (1966) and 253 (1968)]—which it was

said would achieve their purpose—today appear inadequate and ineffective.

47. The illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia, in violation of all the principles and resolutions of the United Nations, has executed several African nationalists and has pursued a policy of repression and racial discrimination. It still remains the full responsibility of the Government of the United Kingdom, as administering Power, to put an end to the rebellion and to re-establish a constitutional régime in the Territory, enabling the majority of the population freely to determine their own destiny, without any discrimination.

48. The situation in Namibia has been further aggravated by the measures adopted by the South African Government. After the General Assembly terminated the Mandate and placed the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations [see resolution 2145 (XXI)], the Pretoria Government refused to allow the United Nations Council for Namibia to enter the Territory in order to carry out the tasks assigned to it. It has arrested, tried and sentenced numerous Namibians under retroactive legislation. Finally, in order to consolidate its illegal hold over the Territory and to transform the former Mandate into outright annexation, it promulgated, on 6 June 1968, an act designed to create separate homelands in order to destroy the integrity of the Territory and to facilitate its annexation.¹ This negative attitude and the South African Government's contempt for all the resolutions of the United Nations, as well as all the illegal measures which it has adopted, justify the fear, emphasized in the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia, of "the distinct likelihood of the outbreak of violence and racial war on an unprecedented scale." [A/7338 and Corr.1, para. 44.]

49. The Special Committee's report [A/7200/Rev.1] draws attention to two inter-dependent factors underlying the tragic situation in southern Africa: first, the defiance of all United Nations resolutions by South Africa, Portugal and the minority in power in Southern Rhodesia, and second, the foreign, economic and financial interests in those Territories. Indeed, it is inadmissible that certain Powers, which are the authors of the Charter of the United Nations, should hesitate to extend their full co-operation to the Organization and should, by their negative attitude, encourage the racist régimes of southern Africa to continue their nefarious policies of contempt for the United Nations and for world public opinion. As the Secretary-General has said, 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.]

50. It is no secret that the foreign economic interests of certain Powers play a considerable part in the continued contempt shown by the administering Powers of the

Territories in question for the legitimate claims of the indigenous inhabitants of southern Africa.

51. The valuable report on the activities of foreign interest impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, submitted to us by the Special Committee [A/7320 and Add.1], provided clear evidence of the scale of foreign investments in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the Territories under Portuguese administration.

52. The foreign companies are earning huge profits and have every interest in maintaining the *status quo* in the Territories concerned, because the continuation of their exploitation depends, above all, on the availability of cheap African labour. In order to maintain the *status quo* in these territories, they naturally support the administering Powers which refuse to acknowledge the legitimate claims of the peoples fighting to liberate themselves from this new form of colonization. The use of armed force has always accompanied economic exploitation, which is a characteristic feature of the colonial system.

53. How can Portugal maintain an army of 120,000 to 150,000 men in a state of war and spend approximately \$280 million a year on military operations in Africa without being supported, financed and encouraged by the Powers interested in the exploitation of the African Territories under its administration? Thanks to the armaments supplied by NATO Portugal can continue to conduct and intensify its repressive operations in these Territories to the point of forcing hundreds of thousands of Africans to leave their burnt and destroyed villages and to seek refuge in neighbouring countries.

54. In Southern Rhodesia, the illegal régime is also intensifying its repression of the African nationalists. The Special Committee's report reveals that the régime has succeeded in obtaining weapons and military equipment despite the embargo imposed by the Security Council in November 1965 [see resolution 217 (1965)].

55. The fact that causes us the greatest concern is the understanding between the régimes of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and their military co-operation, especially in the fight against the African nationalists. This escalation of repressive measures and the alliance between those three countries represent a serious and growing threat to peace and security in Africa and throughout the world and pave the way for a racial war of incalculable consequences.

56. Portugal and South Africa must look around them and refrain from pursuing a policy so much at variance with the evolution of peoples and with the commitments they assumed in signing the Charter of the United Nations. They must not live on illusions and believe that they will be able to exploit indefinitely scores of millions of human beings thirsting for freedom. Will they be able to rely indefinitely on the support which certain interested Powers are giving them today or upon their weapons and their military might? Can South Africa, situated at the southern tip of Africa and thousands of miles away from Europe, foresee the future of its children in a hostile continent and in a country where the majority of the population is frustrated and humiliated?

¹ *Development of Self-Government for Native Nations in South-West Africa Act*, No. 54 of 1968

57. It is certainly in the interest of South Africa, Portugal, the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and their associates to spare Africa further suffering and tribulations and to comply with the requirements of modern times by contemplating a solution compatible with their economic interests and the sacred principle of self-determination and liberation of peoples. They must follow the example of the former colonial Powers which, after the accession to independence of their former colonial territories, have continued to maintain excellent relations with them, their sincere economic co-operation being beneficial to both parties.

58. The recent experiences of the peoples which have acceded to independence give us the comforting conviction that freedom cannot be indefinitely denied to those who are clamouring for it. No lasting peace can be established in this world as long as there remain places where ethnic or racial minorities attempt to persecute and oppress millions of human beings and as long as we fail to put an end to this new form of imperialism, greedy for expansion and drunk with hate, which seeks to replace the older forms.

59. Mr. ALLOUNI (Syria): When the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was solemnly adopted by this Assembly eight years ago, the world heaved a sigh of relief and was at last reassured that thereafter the conscience of mankind would not tolerate the enslavement of peoples. The stage was set for the dismantling of an outmoded system and its replacement by what humanity has yearned for—a world composed of sovereign, free and equal societies. That is what our Charter calls for, and that is the only road to peace and justice in this world.

60. For eight years, however, our labours in this Organization have failed to bring us to the ultimate goal. While we do not deny that great progress has been made and that as a result of this glorious evolution in the relations of nations the ranks of this Assembly have been enriched by new independent States, we have still much at hand which is a source of profound concern. Millions of people continue to struggle for their freedom, and the shackles of colonial rule continue to frustrate development in many lands. My delegation has already voiced its opinion in the Fourth Committee on the situation which obtains in Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese Territories, as well as in Rhodesia, in Namibia and in other parts of the dependent world. In all these situations we are confronted with obdurate resistance to the call of reason and a clear refusal to abide by the overwhelming decisions of the various organs of the United Nations.

61. We know that these policies of resistance will eventually give way or be crushed by the inexorable trend of history and the march of humanity towards freedom; yet we cannot look with equanimity at the futile prolongation of an agonizing interlude. We often ask ourselves, why does Portugal or South Africa offer blind resistance to this trend and thus incur the opprobrium of the world? They know, as well as we do, that in this era marked by the consecration of liberty, sovereignty and equality among nations, large or small, the world cannot tolerate the coexistence of slavery, discrimination or paternalism. And the isolation of Portugal and South Africa from the rest of the world will grow stronger and the struggle against them more fierce until they realize the folly of their stand.

62. I have stressed the situation obtaining in the Portuguese Territories and Namibia, because they are the major colonial problems which still face our Organization. But there are other areas of the world which also call for comment. If those smaller areas continue to suffer from colonial rule, the blame lies solely with the obstructionist manoeuvres of the colonial Powers which often refuse to co-operate with the United Nations in order to hasten the process of decolonization.

63. Syria on many occasions has expressed its complete solidarity with all peoples fighting against colonialism and colonial domination, with the intent of achieving their national independence. We firmly believe in the strict respect for the right of each people to choose its own destiny and its own path of development and the form of organization best suited to its aspirations and desires, and we have constantly urged the adoption and complete implementation of the United Nations resolutions designed to abolish colonial exploitation and racial discrimination, and the immediate application of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)—the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Syrian Arab Republic will unreservedly lend its support to any further measures leading to the full implementation of that resolution and will be ready to consider any proposal for this purpose.

64. My delegation would like to say at the outset that it would be very useful to organize a special programme of activities in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration—a programme which might include the holding of an international conference to consider the best ways and means of accelerating the achievement without further delay of the objectives laid down in the Declaration. For that purpose my delegation will support the establishment of a special committee composed of the members of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, together with other members to be nominated by the President of the General Assembly, to examine and submit to the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session appropriate recommendations on the various aspects of the aforementioned programme.

65. The Syrian Arab Republic's attitude of condemnation of colonialism in all its forms is well known, as witnessed by its unequivocal stand in United Nations bodies and in particular in the Special Committee of Twenty-Four. That is why we are concerned at the slow rate at which the liquidation of the last vestiges of colonialism is proceeding and at the continued existence of colonial domination of certain peoples, and at the danger which this situation might constitute for international peace and security. During the deliberations of the Fourth Committee at this session, my delegation had the honour and the privilege to take the lead, together with many Asian and African countries, in the adoption of scores of resolutions which condemn all manifestations of colonialism, old and new. On more than one occasion we affirmed our solidarity with the peoples of colonial Territories fighting for liberation and national independence and sovereignty.

66. We believe that the activities of foreign economic and other interests are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial

Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination, and in all other Territories under colonial domination. We are very disturbed to observe that the colonial Powers are still maintaining military bases in many colonial Territories, and others are in the process of building new ones, in negation of relevant resolutions of the General Assembly in that connexion. In that connexion we urgently request the colonial Powers to refrain from the establishment of those bases. Their existence is in no doubt and will interfere with the liberation of the peoples in colonial Territories in the exercise of their legitimate right to freedom and independence.

67. Again, my delegation, while proposing the organization of a special programme of activities in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration, and the holding of an international conference to examine the achievement of the objectives laid down in the Declaration, will also request the Special Committee to continue to examine the compliance of Member States with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and with other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization, particularly those relating to the Territories under Portuguese domination, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia.

68. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): We have just heard the last speaker on the list of those who wished to speak in the debate on agenda item 23.

69. I now call on the representative of Somalia, who wishes to introduce draft resolution A/L.560.

70. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): Before introducing the draft resolution contained in document A/L.560, may I be permitted to draw attention to two corrections that have been made to the text at present before the Assembly. In operative paragraph 14 the words "visiting groups" have been replaced by the words "visiting missions". In operative paragraph 15 the words "in consultation with the regional groups" which appear in line 4 of the English text, have been deleted. Arrangements will be made for a revised document containing those corrections to be circulated to members in due course.

71. The draft resolution that I am privileged to introduce on behalf of its co-sponsors does not differ in substance from resolution 2326 (XXII), which was adopted last year by the General Assembly with a vote of 86 in favour and only 6 against with 17 abstentions. The reason is simple. Colonialism is still rife in many parts of the world, despite the adoption by the United Nations of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the recommendations which the General Assembly made last year are still valid and necessary at present to bring about a speedy and unconditional end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

72. There is no need for me to describe in detail those recommendations since they are spelled out in the clearest possible terms in the draft resolution and have been underscored in the report on recommendations of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, and ably and elo-

quently stated in the Assembly on 16 December [1742nd meeting] by the representative of Tunisia, who is Chairman of the Committee, and by its Rapporteur.

73. It is an unfortunate commentary on our times and on this Organization that in this age, when all Governments publicly advocate the granting and enjoyment of fundamental human rights and freedom for all peoples, they permit the continuation of conditions that hold several million people in various parts of the world in colonial bondage. The reasons for this unhappy situation lie in the disregard by the colonial Powers concerned of the pertinent United Nations resolutions and in the reluctance of several Member States to co-operate with the United Nations in the application of the solutions described in those resolutions.

74. All forms of resistance by the inhabitants of the colonial Territories have been met with the sternest measures, including military operations and the forcible imposition of racist policies. Regrettably, those measures have been made possible in many cases by assistance which those colonial Powers receive from Member States of this Organization with which they have either a military or an economic alliance. That is clearly demonstrated in the situation prevailing in the southern part of Africa, where an *entente* exists between the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia.

75. The draft resolution makes mention of the situation confronting the smaller Territories. The relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee to the Assembly [A/7200/Rev.1] deal with the peculiar problems arising from the small size and population of those Territories and, in some cases, their geographical isolation and limited economic resources.

76. While the co-sponsors agree with the contention that the interests of the inhabitants must always remain paramount, what is equally important is that the inhabitants must be allowed to determine their interests, and not have them determined by others, and that their wishes concerning their future must be fully respected.

77. In that connexion the administering Powers should be required not only to establish the necessary constitutional organs within the Territory, through which the people can express their wishes freely and without pressure, but to facilitate the task of the United Nations by allowing visiting missions from the Special Committee to enter colonial Territories in fulfilment of the Committee's particular responsibilities.

78. The provision in the draft resolution calling for the removal of all military bases from colonial Territories requires little comment. In the opinion of many Members of this Organization, the existence of such bases contributes nothing to the welfare or interests of the inhabitants. In fact, they often operate to their detriment. The bases have been used as a springboard to suppress the struggle of the colonized people for independence, while the preoccupation of the colonial Power in maintaining such bases, in support of military dispositions and activities elsewhere in the world, has invariably entailed the subordination of the true welfare of the subjugated population to the interests of the governing Power.

79. Members will appreciate the reasons why it is important that the people still under colonial rule should be kept informed of the provisions of the Declaration and of the measures being taken by the United Nations to give those provisions practical expression. For that reason, the draft resolution endorses the recommendation of the Special Committee which calls upon the Secretary-General to take concrete measures through all the media at his disposal to give widespread publicity to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, and it also calls upon the colonial Powers to co-operate with the Secretary-General in promoting the large-scale dissemination of information in the Territories under their control.

80. Finally, I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to operative paragraph 15, which speaks of the appointment of a preparatory committee to plan a programme of activities in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration. The tenth anniversary will be an appropriate occasion by which we can take stock of our achievements and failures in the goals we have set ourselves under the Declaration, and direct our energies accordingly. While the draft resolution would leave the formulation of such a programme to the preparatory committee, my delegation cannot resist making mention of the idea advanced by the representative of Tunisia, who suggested that a United Nations conference on decolonization would prove to be an ideal instrument by which we could marshal ideas and plan a course of action for the future.

81. The draft resolution suggests that the preparatory committee should consist of all the members of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, and nine others to be nominated by the President.

82. I have thus introduced the draft resolution [A/L.560] now before the Assembly, and I trust that it will find the same measure of support which a similar resolution on this item received last year.

83. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I now call on the representative of the Soviet Union, who wishes to submit an amendment to the draft resolution [A/L.560].

84. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The General Assembly has before it a draft resolution submitted by the group of Afro-Asian countries on the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [A/L.560].

85. On behalf of the group of Socialist States, I should like to state at the very outset that these States are prepared to support that draft resolution. I speak on behalf of the following delegations: Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, Hungary, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Poland and the Soviet Union. At the same time, it seems to us that the General Assembly should strive, constantly and resolutely, to sharpen its weapons against the violators of the Declaration and should recommend that States take steps to promote the attainment of the objectives set forth in the Declaration. In our opinion, such steps should include the approval by the General Assembly of a special decision

condemning the practice of using mercenaries to suppress national liberation and independence movements. It is a matter of common knowledge that the forces of colonialism and imperialism are employing every possible method to suppress these movements; where they find direct interference inconvenient, they use mercenaries—those professional murderers, with whose assistance they try to arrest the process of national liberation in the colonies and to restore colonial régimes in independent African and other countries.

86. As you are aware, the Security Council has already condemned the use of foreign mercenaries against the Democratic Republic of the Congo [*resolutions 226 (1966), 239 (1967) and 241 (1967)*] and called upon States to take measures to stop their activities.

87. We consider that the General Assembly, for its part, should adopt an appropriate recommendation on this subject. It should call upon States to take urgent and necessary steps to ban the activities of mercenaries in their territories, including the enactment of legislation declaring the recruitment and training of mercenaries a punishable offence and prohibiting their citizens from enlisting as mercenaries for employment in the struggle against the movement for national liberation and independence.

88. As was shown by the recent discussion in the Fourth Committee on the question of the Portuguese colonies, such a decision by the General Assembly would be warmly welcomed by national liberation movements and would be in keeping with the interests of those States that have suffered from the activities of mercenaries in the past and might also do so in the future.

89. For these reasons, and being desirous of helping the national liberation movement by every possible means, the group of Socialist delegations on whose behalf I have the honour of speaking formally submits for consideration by the General Assembly the following amendment to the draft resolution on the question of implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [A/L.560].

90. We propose that the following operative paragraph 8 should be inserted after operative paragraph 7 of the draft resolution:

“8. Declares that the practice of using mercenaries against movements for national liberation and independence is a punishable crime and that mercenaries themselves are criminals and outlaws and calls upon the Governments of all countries to adopt laws declaring the recruitment and training of mercenaries in their territories to be punishable crimes and prohibiting their citizens from accepting employment as mercenaries.”

91. We hope that this amendment will meet with due understanding and support in the Assembly.

92. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): The amendment that has just been submitted will be circulated as document A/L.561.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.