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Agenda item 23

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

(Covering its work during 1966)

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CHAPTER II

MEETINGS HELD IN AFRICA

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## CHAPTER II\*

## MEETINGS HELD IN AFRICA

## INTRODUCTION

1. In its report to the General Assembly at its twentieth session, the Special Committee envisaged, as part of its programme for 1966, the possibility of holding another series of meetings in Africa during that year, in view of the great importance of the work that its previous visits to Africa had enabled it to carry out. This programme was approved by the General Assembly in operative paragraph 7 of resolution 2105 (XX). Within the context of the programme thus approved, the Governments of the United Republic of Tanzania, the United Arab Republic, Ethiopia, Somalia and Algeria extended invitations to the Special Committee (A/AC.109/147-150 and 152) to hold meetings at their respective capitals during 1966.

2. During the discussions on the organization of work which took place at its meetings held between 8 March and 6 May 1966, a wide measure of support was expressed by members of the Special Committee for the holding of a series of meetings in Africa. Several members expressed the view that the holding of such meetings would enable the members of the Committee to study closely the situation in certain Territories, the attitudes of the administering Powers concerned and the extent to which the provisions of previous resolutions had been implemented. It would, moreover, facilitate the appearance before the Committee of petitioners who would otherwise find it impossible to travel to New York.

3. At its 400th meeting on 4 April 1966, the Special Committee considered and, after discussion, approved, by 20 votes to none with 3 abstentions, a recommendation in this regard which was contained in the twenty-second report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.265/Rev.1). By approving this recommendation, the Committee decided to hold a series of meetings in Africa during 1966 and to travel to Africa for that purpose not later than the middle of May.

4. At its 408th and 409th meetings on 26 April, the Special Committee considered further recom-

mendations on the subject which were contained in the twenty-third and twenty-fourth reports of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.270 and 275). The Committee also had before it a report by the Secretary-General on the administrative and financial implications of the Working Group's recommendations (A/AC.109/L.271). The Committee at its 409th meeting decided to adopt the reports of the Working Group, on the understanding that the reservations expressed by some members would appear in the record. By adopting these reports, the Committee decided that it would accept the invitations extended to it by the five Governments, and that the duration of its meetings in Africa would be for a period not exceeding six weeks. The Committee decided at the same time that these meetings should begin at Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania, on 23 May 1966, and subject to the convenience of the Governments of Somalia, Ethiopia, the United Arab Republic and Algeria, it would hold meetings thereafter at Mogadiscio, Addis Ababa, Cairo and Algiers respectively. Reservations were expressed by some members regarding the duration of the visit and the number of capitals to be visited.

5. In reaching these decisions, the Special Committee took account of a statement made by the Chairman at the same meeting setting out the recommendations of the Working Group concerning the items to be taken up at the various capitals, subject to the agreement of the host Governments. These recommendations were as follows:

Dar es Salaam: Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland;

Mogadiscio: French Somaliland, Mauritius and the Seychelles;

Addis Ababa: South West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, Ifni, Spanish Sahara and French Somaliland;

Cairo: Aden and Oman;

Algiers: Angola, Portuguese Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe and dependencies, the Cape Verde Archipelago, Equatorial Guinea (Fernando Póo and Río Muni).

\* Previously issued under the symbol A/6300 (part II).

The Chairman also informed the Committee that in making these recommendations, the Working Group envisaged that the hearing of petitioners would take precedence over the substantive consideration of the above-named items.

6. In a letter dated 7 May 1966 (A/AC.109/159), the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations informed the Chairman of the Special Committee that the United Kingdom Government would not be able to be represented in the Committee at its meetings in Africa. Also contained in the letter was an invitation to members of the Committee to hold informal discussions in London with representatives of the United Kingdom Government, on their way to Dar es Salaam. After a discussion at the 411th meeting concerning the letter, the Chairman of the Special Committee addressed a reply on 13 May 1966 to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom expressing the regret of the majority of the members at the prospect of the United Kingdom not participating in the Committee's meetings in Africa, and appealing to it to reconsider its decision. The Chairman also informed the United Kingdom that the Committee's itinerary did not provide for travel by way of London and that consequently the opportunity for the proposed discussions in London would regrettably not occur (A/AC.109/160). In a reply dated 17 May 1966, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom informed the Chairman that the decision of the United Kingdom Government concerning its non-participation in the Special Committee's meetings in Africa had been taken only after the most serious consideration of all the issues involved and that, accordingly, the United Kingdom Government was unable to change that decision (A/AC.109/162).

7. In a telegram dated 3 June 1966, the Permanent Representative of Uruguay to the United Nations informed the Chairman of the Special Committee that his delegation was unable, for reasons beyond its control, to participate in the Special Committee's debates during its visit to Africa. He expressed support for the work of the Committee and gratitude to the various host Governments for their invitation (A/AC.109/173).

8. On 14 May 1966 the Chairman on behalf of the Special Committee issued a *communiqué* on the Committee's meetings in Africa which was widely disseminated in the five host countries. The text of this *communiqué* is appended to this chapter (annex I).

9. Members of the Special Committee,<sup>1</sup> accompanied by the representative of the Secretary-General and other members of the Secretariat, arrived at Dar es Salaam on 22 May 1966. The Special Committee met in Dar es Salaam from 23 to 31 May 1966 at the Msimbazi Community Centre; it arrived in Mogadiscio on 1 June, and met from 2 to 4 June 1966 at the Parliament Building; it arrived in Addis Ababa on 5 June and met from 6 to 9 June 1966 at Africa Hall; it arrived in Cairo on 10 June and met from 11 to 15 June 1966 at the headquarters of the League of Arab States; and it arrived in Algiers on 17 June and met from 17 to 22 June 1966 at the Club-des-Pins Conference Hall.

10. During its stay in Africa, the Special Committee held forty plenary meetings, and the Sub-Committee on Petitions twelve meetings. The Special Committee heard thirty-two groups of petitioners and circulated thirty-nine written petitions, excluding requests for hearings.

11. At the opening of its meetings in Dar es Salaam, Mogadiscio, Addis Ababa, Cairo and Algiers respectively, the Special Committee was addressed by H.E. Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, second Vice-President, on behalf of the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, by H.E. Hagi Hussein Abdirizak, Prime Minister, on behalf of the President of Somalia, by H.E. Mr. Ketema Yifru, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on behalf of His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Ethiopia, by H.E. Mr. Mahmoud Riad, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the President of the United Arab Republic, and by H.E. Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the President of the Revolutionary Council and Head of the Government of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria. The Special Committee also had the honour of being received by the Head of State or Government at each of the five capitals.

12. In accordance with the decision taken by the Special Committee at its 403rd meeting, representatives of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) attended the Committee's meetings in Dar es Salaam and Addis Ababa as observers. On 17 May 1966, the Administrative Secretary-General of that organization addressed a letter to the Chairman in which he welcomed the Committee to Africa and offered it the co-operation and assistance of his organization (A/AC.109/165). Following another decision taken by the Committee at its 440th meeting on 11 June 1966, to grant a request addressed to the Chairman by the Acting Secretary-General of the League of Arab States (A/AC.109/182), a representative of that organization attended the Committee's meetings in Cairo in an observer capacity.

13. In accordance with a decision taken by the Special Committee at its 424th meeting on 30 May 1966, to grant a request addressed to the Chairman on behalf of the Government of Czechoslovakia (A/AC.109/164 and 166), a representative of that Government attended the meetings in Africa as an observer. Following other decisions taken by the Committee at its 428th and 433rd meetings on 2 June and 6 June 1966 concerning requests addressed to it on behalf of the Government of Somalia (A/AC.109/169 and Add.1), a delegation of that Government attended the meetings of the Special Committee in Mogadiscio and Addis Ababa in an observer capacity. Further, in accordance with a decision taken by the Committee at its 440th meeting on 11 June 1966, to grant a similar request from the Government of the United Arab Republic (A/AC.109/180), a representative of that Government attended the meetings in Cairo as an observer. Finally, representatives of the Governments of Algeria and of Spain attended the meetings in Algiers as observers following a decision taken by the Committee at its 448th meeting on 17 June 1966 to grant requests made to it by those Governments (A/AC.109/184 and 185).

14. At its 426th meeting, on 31 May 1966, the representative of Czechoslovakia with the consent of the Special Committee made a statement on the question of Southern Rhodesia. At the 428th and 430th meet-

<sup>1</sup> A list of the representatives present at the African meetings is annexed to this chapter (annex II).

ings on 2 and 3 June 1966 the representative of Somalia in accordance with a decision taken by the Committee concerning a request submitted by his Government (A/AC.109/172), participated in its consideration of French Somaliland. At the 435th and 436th meetings on 7 June 1966, the representatives of Mauritania and Morocco, in accordance with decisions taken by the Committee to grant requests submitted on behalf of their respective Governments (A/AC.109/174 and 175) participated in the discussions on Ifni and Spanish Sahara. The representative of Spain, whose request for permission to participate in these discussions (A/AC.109/176) was granted by the Committee at the 435th meeting, subsequently submitted a letter withdrawing his request (A/AC.109/176/Add.1). At the 441st to 447th meetings held between 11 and 15 June 1966, the representative of the United Arab Republic following a decision taken by the Committee to grant a request made on behalf of his Government (A/AC.109/181) participated in the discussions on the questions of Aden and Oman. Finally, at the 451st, 452nd and 454th meetings held on 20 and 21 June 1966, the representative of Spain, in accordance with a decision taken by the Committee concerning a request submitted on behalf of his Government (A/AC.109/185) participated in the discussion on the question of Equatorial Guinea (Fernando Póo and Río Muni).

15. Following consideration of the relevant items, the Special Committee adopted resolutions on the questions of Southern Rhodesia (chapter III, paragraph 1097), South West Africa (chapter IV, paragraph 306), Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland (chapter VII, paragraph 237), Aden (chapter VI, paragraph 382), Equatorial Guinea (chapter IX, paragraph 79), and Territories under Portuguese administration (chapter V, paragraph 675), as well as a consensus concerning the question of Ifni and Spanish Sahara (chapter X, paragraph 116). An account of the Special Committee's consideration of these items is contained in chapters III, VII, IX and X of the present report.

16. With regard to the question of French Somaliland, the Special Committee decided at its 432nd meeting held on 4 June 1966 that following the hearing of petitioners and statements by representatives it would conclude consideration of the item upon the resumption of its meetings in New York. As regards Mauritius and the Seychelles, the Committee decided on the proposal of the Chairman at the 447th meeting on 15 June 1966 to defer consideration until the resumption of its meetings in New York. On the question of Oman, the Committee similarly decided at the same meeting, that following the hearing of petitioners it would defer consideration until the resumption of its meetings in New York.

17. In the light of its discussions on the above-mentioned items, the Special Committee also adopted a resolution concerning the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) with regard to colonial Territories considered by it in Africa in 1966 (see paragraph 619 below). It also adopted by acclamation a resolution expressing its appreciation to the host Governments (see paragraph 626 below).

## A. MEETINGS HELD AT DAR ES SALAAM, UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

### *Opening of Meetings*

#### *Address by the Second Vice-President on behalf of the President of the United Republic of Tanzania*

18. The Second Vice-President of the *United Republic of Tanzania* greeted members on behalf of the President and Government of Tanzania and expressed his country's view that the work of the Special Committee was fundamental to the whole purpose of the United Nations. Some considered the Special Committee less important than other United Nations bodies directly concerned with the affairs of peace and war; but Tanzania fully recognized its significance in that it was dealing with colonialism and therefore with the principle of human equality in the world and subsequent threat to universal peace and order. Africans were convinced that peace among peoples based on the injustice of colonialism was impossible. No group of world citizens would agree for ever to be governed by other people. Therefore Africans would resort to arms, if necessary, to achieve their freedom. The role of the Special Committee was to endeavour to obviate the need to fight by fostering a situation in which the peoples of each nation governed themselves in accordance with their own wishes and needs. The members of the Special Committee should therefore be working themselves out of a job.

19. He expressed strong disagreement with the view that it was a waste of money for the Special Committee to travel in Africa when it could not visit the colonial Territories themselves.

20. The depth of African emotion over freedom from all interference was not understood in the sophisticated and developed countries of Europe and America. In Africa, however, the Special Committee could not fail to grasp the importance of its activity, for it would meet people who had to deal with the day-to-day results of colonialism and Tanzanians who were trying, with inadequate resources, to guard their frontier against the colonial forces of Portugal. The Special Committee would also meet many political refugees from colonialism and hear them in their own environment, which would make it easier to judge their conviction and sincerity. Although the Special Committee could not visit the colonial Territories themselves, Africa was so much one in its history and traditions that an understanding of conditions in newly independent Africa was a sound basis for a grasp of the reality of continuing colonialism.

21. Since the Special Committee's previous visit, there had been only limited progress away from colonialism in Africa, and there had been one overwhelming setback to the cause of justice and humanity. That situation could not be allowed to continue and words alone would not put matters right. The Special Committee had come to listen to petitioners; afterwards it would pass resolutions and report to its parent body. If nothing further happened no progress would have been made and the situation would have deteriorated with the passage of time. Action must result because colonialism was a festering sore which, as long as it remained, poisoned the whole body.

22. African States were recovering from a period in which their peoples had been humiliated and denied the most elementary rights to prepare themselves for the efficient service of their country. Africans were

having to learn the arts of administration and economic development as they practised them, since before independence their destinies were decided for them and their training was designed to make them good Englishmen, good Frenchmen or good Belgians. Africans had to eliminate that poison from the body of their society at the same time as they demanded of the people a degree of activity beyond anything needed in the developed countries.

23. Africans did not wish to be obliged to resort to arms. They wanted freedom for Africa to enable it to live in friendship with the whole world, and an orderly transfer of power from the colonial authorities to the peoples of the States concerned.

24. Africans would be very patient, subject to formal recognition by the colonial Powers of the principle that all States under their jurisdiction would attain independence on the basis of majority rule. But if that principle was not conceded and if work did not begin on the transfer of power, Africans would be forced to prepare themselves for a war of liberation. They hoped that the work of the Special Committee would help to make it unnecessary for any African peoples to take up arms.

25. He welcomed the prospect that the British Territories of Bechuanaland and Basutoland would receive their independence during 1966. But he would like the Special Committee to examine the reality of that transfer of power. If the United Nations was satisfied with the situation, then Tanzanians would congratulate those peoples, and the Committee, on that new accession to freedom in Africa.

26. But those countries were almost completely surrounded by the Republic of South Africa. The Special Committee and the United Nations as a whole should therefore be vigilant in order to ensure that those countries maintained their sovereignty. Although the situation in South Africa was not the direct concern of the Special Committee, it was relevant to all discussion concerning the southern part of Africa. The course which South West Africa would take to freedom would be very much affected by the forthcoming judgement of the International Court of Justice and by the subsequent action taken by the Security Council. But no member of the Special Committee could doubt the reality of the oppression under which South West Africa was suffering, or that the situation would be brought to an end. The Special Committee had the responsibility of trying to make the transition to freedom a constructive rather than a destructive one.

27. The problem of the Portuguese Territories was of direct concern to the Special Committee, which had to make the world realize two things: that Portuguese colonialism continued only because of the support which Portugal received from her allies in Europe; and that therefore the whole relationship between Africa and Europe would be affected by developments in the freedom struggles of the Portuguese colonies.

28. In all the colonial Territories to which he had referred the situation was the same as when the Special Committee had visited Africa previously, or a little better.

29. But in Southern Rhodesia the situation was, of course, very much worse. Tanzania wanted Southern Rhodesia to be independent on no other basis than majority rule. It had called upon the United Kingdom Government to defeat the illegal régime and give a pledge that Southern Rhodesia would become inde-

pendent only on the basis of majority rule. In view of the commitments of all members of the United Nations, Tanzania did not regard those demands as unreasonable. But they had not been fulfilled; nor was there any real evidence to suggest that they would be. Instead there had been a gradually increasing list of economic sanctions by the United Kingdom Government, coupled with appeals to the rest of the world not to trade with the illegal authorities. Only after five months had the United Nations been asked to authorize any real action—and that was only with regard to oil shipments to one particular port. Africans were assured only of intense diplomatic activity in which the racist Government of South Africa and the colonial Government of Portugal were asked to co-operate with the United Kingdom authorities. Their willingness to do so was attested by the fact that six months after the unilateral declaration of independence the Smith authorities were still in control. Another serious fact was that the only assurance received from the United Kingdom Government was that it would not grant independence on any other basis than majority rule.

30. He did not believe that Africans minded how the Smith régime was defeated, as indeed it would have been on 11 November 1965 had the United Kingdom Government sent troops to uphold its sovereign rule. But if the British refused to quell the rebellion, then surely the United Nations should act regardless of British wishes. Under Chapter VII of the Charter the Security Council could make economic sanctions mandatory on all Member States. And if some of those States refused to co-operate then the sanctions would be applied against them too. Africans could not agree to leaving four million people under the effective control of a racist and privileged white minority, and whatever the cost they would have to reject that extension of oppression in Africa.

31. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that the Special Committee would have an opportunity of seeing some of the difficulties faced in Tanzania and the great efforts which its people were making to overcome them. He also hoped that members would sense something of the excitement and challenge of developing in independence—for that excitement and that challenge had become part of daily life in Tanzania. He believed that an appreciation of those factors would help the Special Committee to understand the importance of its work, and perhaps to devise some way forward out of colonialism.

#### *General statements*

32. *The Chairman* thanked His Excellency Vice-President Kawawa for his very important address. The Special Committee was particularly grateful to the Vice-President for the warmth of his welcome, and had been extremely touched by the hospitality and friendship displayed since its arrival in Dar es Salaam. It was also grateful for the Vice-President's assurances of support in its work.

33. The beautiful city of Dar es Salaam, which had set a shining example in African liberation struggles, was a most fitting background to the beginning of the Special Committee's work in Africa. The achievements of Tanzania since independence had fired the imagination of all men of goodwill.

34. He renewed his thanks to the Vice-President for having taken time from his busy schedule to open

the session, and expressed the hope that the efforts deployed would contribute significantly to the liquidation of the last bastions of colonialism—a problem with which both Africa and the United Nations were most deeply concerned.

35. The representative of the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* expressed the thanks of the people, delegation and Government of the Soviet Union to the Government and people of Tanzania for their fraternal welcome. The United Republic of Tanzania was a young and courageous country and was situated close to the Territories where the vestiges of colonialism still prevailed. He expressed his appreciation for the important address made by Vice-President Kawawa and paid a tribute to the courage and dynamism of that young African nation which, together with other fraternal Governments, was struggling to liberate those who were still oppressed in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, the Territories under Portuguese domination, and the United Kingdom Protectorates. The storm raised by the national liberation movement must continue, for there were unfortunately a number of African Territories where the vestiges of colonialism still existed. The monopolies established in southern Africa sought only to enrich themselves and therefore supported racism. The international monopolies which reaped the profits of such exploitation were therefore equally guilty, since they prolonged an inadmissible situation. The countries of NATO which supported Salazar by providing him with aircraft, weapons, instructors and industrial equipment were thus assisting the racist régimes. During the previous session of the General Assembly important decisions had been taken against colonialism and imperialism: the international monopolies which were hampering the freedom of still dependent Territories had been severely condemned. The Special Committee, which owed its existence to the desire of peoples to achieve freedom, should seek all ways and means capable of bringing about the independence of the oppressed peoples and take energetic decisions that could be rapidly applied. The procedures to be adopted by the Special Committee in order to apply those decisions would be determined by the nature of each particular problem. The Committee should concentrate on questions such as the immediate implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; the provision of genuine assistance to peoples struggling for independence, and the participation of the United Nations specialized agencies in such efforts; the setting of target dates for the attainment of independence by colonial Territories, and so forth.

36. The Special Committee should emphasize the utilization of military bases by the colonial countries against the peoples, in particular the use of Ascension Island against the people of the Congo, the island of Guam against the Viet-Nameese people, and so forth. A productive and fruitful action should be undertaken in order to put an end to such aggression.

37. He opposed the view that the Special Committee could serve no useful purpose in Africa; on the contrary, he was convinced that the presence of the Special Committee in Africa would give new impetus to the struggle that had been undertaken. The Soviet Union, a socialist State, had eradicated the enslavement of man by man and abolished social classes; it would defend, as it had always done, those who were struggling for freedom and were the victims of the policies of the imperialists. The Soviet Union would support

the freedom fighters by every means at its disposal; it insisted on independence for all countries under foreign domination and would stand by them in order to bring about the final liberation of the African continent.

38. The United Nations must adopt sanctions against South Africa and Southern Rhodesia in order to compel them to comply with the decisions of the General Assembly.

39. The representative of *India* expressed the gratitude and appreciation of his Government, his delegation and himself personally to the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania for its generous invitation to the Special Committee to hold some of its meetings in Dar es Salaam. Members had sensed the warmth and affection of the friendly people of Tanzania, and he extended to them the best wishes of his delegation for their continued well-being and prosperity.

40. Bordering on several Non-Self-Governing Territories, Tanzania occupied a unique position in the brave struggle against colonialism and had a major role to play in helping the freedom fighters of those territories. His delegation was extremely satisfied with the contribution Tanzania had made, and was making, to that worthy cause. The locating of the headquarters of the Liberation Committee of Eleven of the Organization of African Unity in Dar es Salaam was in itself recognition of Tanzania's special position. His delegation wished to pay a tribute to one of the most outstanding personalities of Africa, His Excellency Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, President of the Republic, and to his Government and people.

41. India enjoyed the most friendly relations with Tanzania and greatly esteemed Mr. Nyerere for his qualities of leadership, for his devoted efforts to raise the living standards of his people and for his success in building up a truly multiracial society. The signing of the Friendship and Scientific, Economic and Technical Co-operation Agreement between Tanzania and India was, in the words of Mr. A. M. Babu, Tanzanian Minister for Commerce and Co-operation, "not the beginning but the continuation of the age-old friendly relations between India and Tanzania". His country was proud of Mr. Babu's tribute that, through its co-operation, India was aiding not only Tanzania's economic development but also the economic emancipation of colonial Africa.

42. The Second Vice-President had reminded the Special Committee, in his inspiring address, of the continued urgency of the problem of colonialism. Mr. Kawawa's enlightening words would guide the Committee in its discussion. India's attitude towards colonialism had been consistent and forthright. India had always stood for the emancipation from subjection by alien powers of peoples who, for varying periods of history, had not known freedom. India would continue to display the same uncompromising forthrightness fearlessly and disinterestedly. His people's conscience and principles were not for sale.

43. His delegation deeply regretted the absence from the Special Committee of the representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. In view of the clear acceptance which the United Kingdom had already given to the principles underlying the purpose of the Special Committee, it would have been preferable if the United Kingdom representative had remained associated with its deliberations.

44. The representative of *Mali* thanked the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania for the very warm and very African welcome which they had given the Special Committee. He also thanked Vice-President Kawawa for his address and for his Government's interest in the work and objectives of the Special Committee. He recalled that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which had been adopted in 1960, had given rise to a new hope: the immediate liberation of millions of human beings who were still living under the yoke of colonialism and imperialism. With a view to the practical implementation of that resolution, the Special Committee had already made recommendations to the colonial Powers; but the time for statements of principle was past. The Special Committee should decide on the adoption of specific measures in order to hasten the accession of dependent Territories to freedom, in accordance with resolution 2105 (XX). Mali, for its part, suggested the following: (1) that the Committee should proceed to hear the petitioners from the national liberation movements, since in most cases they were unable to come to New York; (2) that working groups should be set up to consider the agenda items. The working groups would propose practical measures regarding the Territories in question; they might set a target date for the accession to independence of Territories still under foreign domination. That would be in keeping with the spirit of operative paragraph 9 of resolution 2105 (XX), which read as follows:

“Requests the Special Committee, whenever it considers it appropriate, to recommend a deadline for the accession to independence of each Territory in accordance with the wishes of the people”. He thanked the Tanzanian Government for the assistance it was giving to the African liberation movements. In addition, he requested the Secretariat to keep the Special Committee informed of the results of the Security Council debate on the question of Southern Rhodesia, in order to assist the Special Committee in its work.

45. The representative of *Iran* conveyed the greetings of the Iranian people and Government to the United Republic of Tanzania and expressed his country's gratitude to the President for enabling the Special Committee to hold meetings in Dar es Salaam, where it had a unique and important opportunity of meeting and conversing with the representatives of thousands of people who had taken refuge in Tanzania—a land of the free. The location was important because it would help the Special Committee to find ways and means of bringing about the rapid elimination of colonialism. Vice-President Kawawa had been quite right when he had said, in his inspiring statement, that peace was not possible if it was based on the injustices of colonialism. Peace and quiet would come to Africa only when colonialism was completely eradicated from the continent. Then the energies and efforts at present being spent on regaining independence would be released for improving conditions of life in Africa. For under colonialism Africans had been materially and spiritually deprived.

46. The progress made in Tanzania during the year since his previous visit was clear evidence of what a people could do when master of its own destiny. Under the dynamic and wise leadership of President Nyerere, great progress had been made in the economic, social, educational and political development of the country. Of particular significance was its great

experience in democracy, which would serve as a guideline for the newly independent countries.

47. He pledged the full support of his delegation for all measures likely to promote the liberation of the Zimbabwe people, the inhabitants of South West Africa, people under Portuguese subjugation and all other peoples still languishing in colonial bondage.

48. The representative of *Bulgaria* expressed the sincere gratitude of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the Government and people of Tanzania for their invitation and for their contribution to the work of the Special Committee. The young Tanzanian people inspired admiration since they were in the front ranks of those who were struggling against colonialism and neo-colonialism. The address by Vice-President Kawawa was further proof of the Tanzanian contribution to the struggle for the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism in Africa. The United Republic of Tanzania could rely upon the assistance and friendship of all those who were struggling against imperialism, including Bulgaria.

49. He whole-heartedly endorsed the Special Committee's visit to Africa and believed that the work which the Committee would do during its stay would be the most important of the year. The twentieth session of the General Assembly had adopted resolutions which represented a great step forward. The Special Committee should see to it that they were applied without delay, for the time had come to give full effect to resolution 1514 (XV). In the course of the visit to Africa members of the Committee would make contact with the representatives of the oppressed peoples; they should ask themselves how they could help them effectively. As far as Southern Rhodesia was concerned, for example, the recent debates of the Security Council had shown that the United Kingdom did not hesitate to enter into negotiations with Ian Smith and to work out a compromise with him. Bulgaria, for its part, had supported the draft resolution which had been submitted by the African members of the Council and which had called upon the United Kingdom to use force against the racist Smith régime and upon the Council to apply the measures provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter. The Special Committee should request that the United Kingdom should suspend the 1961 Constitution in order to restore the rights of the people of Zimbabwe, convene a constitutional conference, and set a date for the independence of Southern Rhodesia. As far as Portugal was concerned, Bulgaria had supported all the United Nations resolutions aimed at the application of sanctions against the colonial Salazar régime with a view to restoring the legitimate rights to independence of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea. The representatives of the liberation movements could be certain of the assistance and co-operation of the Bulgarian people.

50. He thanked Vice-President Kawawa and assured him that the Bulgarian delegation was well aware of the special responsibilities of the United Nations towards South West Africa and the Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. Resolution 1514 (XV) should be implemented without delay. The Special Committee should be guided by the noble principles of the United Nations and by the desire to preserve world peace. However, the Bulgarian delegation unreservedly endorsed the wise words of Vice-President Kawawa that “peace among

peoples based on the injustice of colonialism was impossible”.

51. The representative of *Yugoslavia* expressed his thanks to the Government and people of Tanzania for inviting the Special Committee to Dar es Salaam. He emphasized the prominent role played by Tanzania in the struggle against colonialism and the policy of apartheid. He stressed that the remaining colonial problems were extremely serious, and more especially so as there were no changes for the better in the positions of the colonial Powers.

52. He expressed his delegation's opinion that the Special Committee's visit to Africa would enable the members to get closely acquainted with the problems, and expressed the belief that this would bring about more effective work by the Committee.

53. He extended the thanks of his delegation to the Vice-President, Mr. Kawawa, for his inspiring address, and expressed the best wishes of Yugoslavia to the Government and people of Tanzania.

54. The representative of *Australia* thanked the Special Committee's kind Tanzanian hosts for their welcome and hospitality. He expressed the respects of the Australian delegation to President Nyerere, vital teacher and leader of a vital people, thanked Vice-President Kawawa for his welcome and thanked Ambassador Malecela for all he had done and was doing.

55. There was a fellow feeling between Tanzanians and Australians as members of the Commonwealth, sharing many common inherited institutions and ideas. His country had also been a colonial Territory. It also had experienced the excitement of the period of transition to and after independence and had found that time was necessary to meet many of its problems. But it was exciting. Round him now in Tanzania he could feel the excitement of new development. Australians did not profess to know a great deal about Africa. But there were Africans in his country—not a great many, it was true, but among some 12,000 other students from developing countries (mainly Asian) they were bringing much that was good to Australia and, he believed, taking much that was good away. Through them Australia had become aware of the fact that the future of Africa was in good hands. As an individual he was conscious of a dream coming true on this his first visit to Africa south of the Sahara, and sensed an atmosphere of new hope in Africa.

56. The representative of *Poland* expressed the thanks and gratitude of his delegation to President Nyerere and the Government and people of Tanzania for the invitation extended to the Special Committee. Indeed, the welcome accorded to it was a token of the country's willingness to assist the United Nations in the struggle against colonialism and racism.

57. He had had the privilege of representing Poland in 1962 on the Committee of Seventeen, which had met in Dar es Salaam, and had again visited the capital in 1965 to serve on the same enlarged Committee. It was gratifying to see the progress achieved by Tanzania in all fields of national development since independence. The Polish Government and people welcomed the political, economic and social attainments of Tanzania and wished them every further success in their aspirations and a happy and prosperous future.

58. Vice-President Kawawa's address would inspire those wishing to hasten the end of colonialism

and racism at a time when concern was deepening over open and disguised forms of oppression by colonial and neo-colonial forces. Poland had always given staunch support to national liberation movements in Africa and other parts of the world. The Special Committee had always sought to adopt recommendations for peaceful solutions to the problems posed by colonialism. Blame for the situation in Southern Rhodesia, in Territories under Portuguese domination, in South West Africa and in Aden, as well as in other dependent Territories, rested with the colonial Powers, which had consistently refused to comply with the decisions of the Special Committee, the General Assembly and the Security Council. The racial discrimination, oppressive measures and direct military action undertaken by Portugal, South Africa and the Smith régime, together with the assistance given them by the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and other countries in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), showed that the colonial Powers were determined to preserve white domination in the parts of Africa in question and to further the interests of foreign companies and trusts exploiting the peoples of the whole region. That policy was fraught with tragic consequences and dangers to peace and security. The Polish delegation therefore believed that any decisions or recommendations adopted by the Special Committee with regard to the Territories in question should make concrete provision for early dates for eliminating colonial régimes and dismantling military bases. The time had come to fix, in consultation with the peoples of the dependent Territories, target dates for the granting of independence to every such Territory in line with the freely expressed views and aspirations of the inhabitants. The claim often advanced by defenders of the so-called “free world” that dependent peoples were immature and unready to assume self-government was discordant with the spirit of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which recognized the right of all peoples to self-determination. Recent developments had made it clear that unless mandatory measures provided for under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter were taken, the existence of colonial régimes would lead to a further deterioration of the international situation and to armed conflict. Finally, he endorsed Vice-President Kawawa's statement that the sooner the United Nations acted, and acted effectively, the better for all concerned.

59. The representative of *Iraq* thanked the Government and people of Tanzania for the cordial and spontaneous welcome extended to the Special Committee.

60. Vice-President Kawawa had rightly emphasized the special position and esteem enjoyed by the Special Committee in Tanzania and in all other freedom-loving countries. In that connexion he quoted an extract from the Vice-President's address to the effect that sooner or later, in default of other ways of achieving their freedom, subjugated countries would fight for it; that it was the role of the Special Committee to obviate such fighting by fostering a situation in which the peoples of each nation governed themselves in accordance with their own wishes and needs; and that the members of the Special Committee should therefore be working themselves out of a job.

61. In the light of what the Vice-President had said, he regretted the absence of the United Kingdom

delegate. Member States had an obligation to abide by resolutions of the various organs of the United Nations. That was especially true of the major Powers, which should continue to demonstrate their good faith to the rest of the world.

62. The struggle undertaken by Tanzanians for the cause of independence in Africa and all over the world had won the admiration of freedom fighters and peace-loving countries. He felt sure that the Special Committee's meetings would further the cause of freedom and hasten the process of decolonization. Nothing would delight his delegation more than the winding up of the Special Committee once the colonized peoples of the world had regained dignity and freedom for the benefit of all mankind.

63. The representative of *Syria* thanked the people and Government of Tanzania for their generous hospitality. In the field of international relations, Tanzania had distinguished itself, under the leadership of its President and the guidance of such able men as Ambassador Malecela, by its constant and vigilant stand against colonialism. Loyal to the principles and resolutions of the United Nations, it ever strove to translate the ideals of that organization into action. The Vice-President of Tanzania, in his address to the Special Committee that morning, had stated that the African continent sought justice above all since only by its attainment would the need to fight be removed. So long as justice had not been secured, the struggle of the freedom fighters was not only a right but a duty and should command the support of every nation professing belief in the principles of the United Nations and in the freedom of all mankind. The Republic of Tanzania was to be congratulated upon its admirable record in that connexion.

64. As the representative of Mali had said, the time had come for the Special Committee, and the United Nations as a whole, to pass from general principles to effective action. Those who still subjugated vast numbers of peoples in Africa and elsewhere, should be made to realize that a clear choice lay before them: either they had to recognize the cause of emancipation or they would be faced with a mortal fight which would ultimately lead to their defeat. The Vice-President of Tanzania, Mr. Kawawa, had rightly described as fundamental the important task of the Special Committee, faced as it was with the explosive situation existing in such areas as Southern Rhodesia, the Portuguese-dominated colonies, Aden and Oman. Those facts should now guide the Special Committee in its action.

65. The representative of the *United States of America* joined previous speakers in expressing her delegation's appreciation for the generous welcome extended to the Special Committee by the Vice-President of Tanzania, Mr. Kawawa, and for the hospitality offered by the Government and people of Tanzania. As he had stated, it was to be hoped that the time would come when the Special Committee would no longer need to meet, having secured the right to self-determination, through universal suffrage, for all the remaining dependent Territories.

66. The United States Government had frequently expressed the view, which she wished to take the opportunity of reiterating at that stage, that only by the expression of a free and informed choice could any people achieve the government it desired. No nation could rest content until the peoples of Southern

Rhodesia, South West Africa, the Portuguese Territories and dependent Territories elsewhere had all, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, freely selected the governments of their choice.

67. It was to be hoped that the Special Committee would take advantage of its proximity to the Territories referred to in its agenda to acquaint itself directly with the difficult and complex problems being experienced daily by the peoples concerned. In view of the unhappy lot of those peoples, the Special Committee should devote itself to reasoned consideration of their problems rather than to provocative accusations or sterile polemics.

68. As the Vice-President had said, the people of Tanzania, unlike those of Southern Rhodesia and other Non-Self-Governing Territories with which the Special Committee was concerned, were able to develop their own society and economic and political institutions. In view of the spirit of enthusiasm with which its people were pursuing those tasks and their pride of achievement, the United States delegation considered that the choice of Tanzania as the starting point for the Committee's African tour had been extremely fortunate.

69. In conclusion, she said that the Government and people of Tanzania were to be congratulated upon the remarkable progress achieved in developing a modern and active economy.

70. The representative of *Tunisia* recalled that whenever the Special Committee went to Africa, the Tanzanian Government always invited it to hold part of its session on the hospitable soil of Tanzania; in spite of all the problems of development faced by it, Tanzania did not lose sight of its duty and responsibility in respect of the liberation of the peoples still under the colonial yoke. He therefore thanked the Government and people of Tanzania for having been kind enough to offer their warm and fraternal hospitality once more to the Special Committee.

71. The Tunisian delegation's views of colonialism had been stated on several occasions in the Special Committee and in other international bodies. The Tunisian Government was in favour of the liberation of all countries still under foreign domination and would spare no effort to carry out the measures which would be adopted with a view to obtaining tangible results in that field.

72. The representative of *Venezuela* thanked the Government and people of Tanzania for the warm welcome which they had accorded the Special Committee. He hoped that the Committee would do constructive work and obtain satisfactory results.

73. The representative of *Ethiopia* associated his delegation with the expressions of appreciation extended by previous speakers to the Government and people of Tanzania. He also wished to pay tribute to the people of Tanzania for their sacrifices and achievements in the struggle against colonialism, both in Africa and elsewhere. It was with satisfaction that he could testify, as Ethiopian Ambassador in Tanzania, to the remarkable progress which that country had made under the able and dynamic leadership of President Nyerere.

74. In his opening address, the Vice-President of Tanzania, Mr. Kawawa, had clearly outlined the tasks which lay before the Special Committee. As he had said, until the septic sore of colonialism had been removed from Africa, there could be no security for

the continent. It was the firm belief of the Ethiopian delegation that the Special Committee could, during its forthcoming tour, do much to bring the eradication of colonialism closer to realization. By helping and encouraging the freedom fighters, now locked in a mortal struggle with the ruthless forces of oppression, the Special Committee could, as the representatives of the moral conscience of all mankind, greatly advance the cause of justice and the rule of law, both of which were the hallmarks of international society.

75. The representative of *Italy* expressed his delegation's appreciation to the Government of Tanzania for their hospitality and thanked the Vice-President, Mr. Kawawa, for his kind words of welcome. The Special Committee, which had already had the privilege of meeting in the congenial atmosphere of Dar es Salaam in 1965, would benefit from its renewed contact with the realities of the African scene and would be enabled to make sure and genuine progress towards the goals on which all were agreed.

76. With regard to the substance of the Special Committee's work, the Italian delegation fully agreed with the Chairman that it should demonstrate the increasing concern of the United Nations with regard to the position of the peoples under colonial administration and strengthen its own capacity to help those peoples in their struggle for self-determination and independence. The statements to be made by the petitioners would be particularly valuable: the information they could furnish on the situation in their respective Territories, as well as their views with regard to the best methods of attaining the objectives set forth in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), would greatly assist the Special Committee in its deliberations and would, at the same time, provide the petitioners with further encouragement. In the light of those factors, the Italian delegation wished to pledge its full and loyal co-operation in the Special Committee's work which, it was confident, would be fruitful.

77. The representative of *Denmark* thanked the Vice-President of Tanzania for his cordial welcome and excellent analysis of his Government's views on the problems of colonialism. The Danish delegation was grateful to the Government of Tanzania for its generous invitation to the Committee to hold a part of its current session in Dar es Salaam. Those who had attended the Special Committee's previous session would remember the warm hospitality already extended to the Special Committee by the Government and people of Tanzania as well as the excellent arrangements which had been made in that connexion. The Danish delegation, which was well aware of the active role played by Tanzania in the fight against colonialism and of the energy and zeal with which it was dealing with the internal problems of a newly independent country, looked forward to learning of the progress made during the past year.

78. As far as the Special Committee's work in Africa was concerned, it was a source of concern to his delegation that little or no progress had been recorded with regard to the situation in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and the Portuguese colonies. However, it was to be hoped that the Special Committee, which would have the opportunity of discussing those serious problems in detail, would prove worthy of the confidence of the African peoples, in word and in deed. Both the Chairman and the repre-

sentative of Italy had rightly observed that one of the Special Committee's most important tasks was to demonstrate the deep concern of the United Nations regarding the problem of colonialism. To do so, the Special Committee should agree not only upon the general principle, that colonialism should be brought to an end as soon as possible, but also upon the way in which that objective could be achieved. That would of course necessitate concessions on all sides but, in the opinion of the Danish delegation, it would serve the common cause, namely, the effective fight against colonialism.

79. Lastly, he expressed the hope that the Special Committee's session in Africa would be fruitful and that a spirit of co-operation would prevail between all delegations.

80. The representative of *Madagascar* said that the Malagasy Government was against colonialism; its views on the question had already been stated on several occasions and were well known. He would comment on the agenda items as they were considered.

81. He thanked the Tanzanian Government for having been kind enough once again to invite the Special Committee to hold part of its session in Tanzania.

82. The representative of *Sierra Leone* said that every delegation would certainly wish to study the important and thought-provoking statement made by the Vice-President of Tanzania in his opening address to the Special Committee.

83. The problems of colonialism still remained and every effort was being made to liberate the countries concerned, despite great odds. Sierra Leone had supported those efforts in all the organs of the United Nations and had maintained its stand unequivocally, both in the Organization of African Unity and in other international bodies. He would comment in detail upon his Government's policy as the Special Committee dealt with each Territory in turn. It was to be hoped that those freedom fighters who had had to flee their countries would find succour and that the Special Committee would, as a result of its deliberations, move nearer to a solution of the problem of colonialism.

84. Expressing his delegation's appreciation to the Government and people of Tanzania, he said that their hospitality was well known to the Special Committee which had met in Dar es Salaam the previous year. It was to be hoped that the Special Committee's current session would meet with greater success than it had in 1965.

85. The representative of the *Ivory Coast* expressed thanks to the Tanzanian Government for the kind invitation which it had extended to the Special Committee and for its warm welcome. He expressed his gratitude to the Vice-President of Tanzania for his wise observations, which the delegation of the Ivory Coast would not fail to take into account in the work that the Special Committee was to undertake.

86. The representative of the *United Republic of Tanzania* said that his delegation was gratified that it had been possible for the Special Committee to hold its first meeting in Tanzania's capital city.

87. Since much of his Government's policy with regard to the problem of colonialism had already been outlined by the Vice-President of Tanzania, he merely wished at that stage to assure the Special Committee that their expressions of appreciation would be con-

veyed to those concerned. He also wished, on behalf of the Tanzanian delegation, to welcome all members of the Special Committee to Tanzania. Their presence in Dar es Salaam was a reminder of the work which remained to be done in the struggle to free the African continent. Once independence had been achieved, the talents and ability expended in that connexion—and as exemplified by the Special Committee itself—could be used in other fields of human progress, particularly in Africa which had for so long been exploited.

88. During their stay in Tanzania, members of the Special Committee might experience certain inconveniences. His Government would however make every effort to minimize such difficulties, in so far as the limited resources of a developing country allowed.

89. Lastly, he expressed the hope that all members of the Special Committee would enjoy their stay in the United Republic of Tanzania.

*Anniversary of Africa Freedom Day celebrated on  
25 May 1966*

*General statements*

90. The representative of *Venezuela* speaking on the occasion of the anniversary of Africa Freedom Day, recalled that the previous year, at Lusaka, he had expressed the hope that there would be no need for the Special Committee to go back to Africa because Africa would celebrate Africa Unity Day a completely free continent; in other words, as President Kaunda had so eloquently expressed the hope, Africa would celebrate the unity of a continent entirely liberated from the colonial yoke. Africa Unity Day had come and that hope was far from being realized. President Kaunda could not yet dry his tears, for millions of his brothers were still suffering under foreign domination. But colonialism had been judged and condemned. Nothing and nobody could prevent the sentence being carried out. The course of history was irreversible. Colonialism must disappear and would disappear from all the places where it still persisted. The peoples of Africa who were still subject to a colonial régime had, like all the peoples of the earth, an inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The day was not far off when that right would be recognized. African unity, which had started so well, could not be completely achieved so long as there were still peoples on the African continent subject to foreign domination. The Latin American peoples, who had paid a very high price in human life and economic well-being for their independence, who were still fighting to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism in the Americas, unconditionally supported their African brothers in the fight to recover their national dignity and their freedom. They hoped that in the very near future Africa Unity Day could be celebrated in a continent composed solely of free and independent States, where racial inequality had disappeared, where relations between men were founded on respect for human rights, and where harmony, the symbol of unity and prosperity, would prevail.

91. The representative of the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, speaking on behalf of the Bulgarian, Polish and Soviet delegations, greeted the peoples of Africa who were today celebrating Africa Unity Day.

92. At their historic meeting at Addis Ababa in May 1963, the Heads of State and Government of the independent African countries had decided to cele-

brate, on 25 May each year, the anniversary of the liberation of Africa. It had been their intention to remind all the African peoples, whether they were already free or were still subject to the yoke of the oppressor, of the tasks which lay before them. It was for Africans to sweep the last vestiges of colonialism from Africa as soon as possible. For the members of the Conference at the Addis Ababa summit, it had been self-evident that no African people could be considered entirely free so long as any part of the African continent still groaned under the colonialist boot.

93. In the past few years Africa had undergone a radical transformation. Many African countries had acceded to independence. A number of names that the African people had learned to hate had been expunged from the map of Africa. It was now the turn of the countries situated in the south of the continent. It was through their territory that colonialism's last line of defence was drawn, and it was in their territory that colonialism was now digging its own grave. The ever more bitter struggle that the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea were waging for their freedom showed the whole world that the fate of colonialism was sealed.

94. All men of good will rejoiced at the successes scored by the African peoples in their struggle against colonialism and imperialism. The peoples of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and Poland, like those of the other socialist countries, had proved to the Africans the firmness of their friendship, and were more than ever ready to give them aid and assistance.

95. On that day when the peoples of Africa were celebrating the liberation of their continent, and when all those who were fighting for the freedom and independence of that continent shared their joy, the Soviet, Bulgarian and Polish delegations paid a tribute to the sacred struggle which the Africans had undertaken for the complete liberation of their ancestral land, part of which was still subject to foreign domination, and for the development of their country in peace, freedom and progress. Those delegations hoped that the African peoples and the Organization of African Unity would meet with further successes in their noble enterprise: the union of all the forces of the African continent in the fight against imperialism and colonialism to promote peace and social progress.

96. The representative of *Iran* said that that day—Africa Day—was the third anniversary of the founding of the Organization of African Unity, which was the instrument of African solidarity, and it was the second such occasion on which the Special Committee had had the good fortune to be present on African soil in pursuit of the same aims as the OAU.

97. Speaking on his own behalf and on that of the Asian countries represented on the Special Committee, he extended hearty congratulations to the OAU. During its very short existence it had done much to assist liberation movements everywhere in Africa, and had been instrumental in promoting inter-African co-operation. It was fast becoming a centre for co-ordinating the activities of African nations in solving economic, social, cultural or humanitarian problems, in accordance both with the charter of the OAU and with the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter. The OAU, unlike many similar organizations, was more than a mere institution: it was a living concept and a reflection of strong African sentiments

for a larger union transcending ethnic and national boundaries.

98. Speaking on his own behalf, he said that Africa, in its drive for unity, was much more advanced and forward-looking than the other continents, since an African, in addition to his loyalty to his own country, passionately regarded himself as an African. Such a sentiment was a vital ingredient for eventual unity on a continental scale, and it was that spirit that had brought the OAU into being. It was the same spirit that would help the organization to surmount the obstacles put in its path by those interested to see it discredited, and finally the same spirit that would in the end root out Smith and his kind, notwithstanding temporary setbacks, and bring about the freedom and independence of all Africans.

99. The representative of *Iraq* on behalf of his own delegation and that of the Syrian Arab Republic, said that he would be expressing the feelings of all Arabs in speaking on that auspicious day, which symbolized the hopes and aspirations of the people of the great African continent.

100. The Arab nation was bound to Africa by innumerable links, more than half the Arab world being in fact on African soil and the remainder geographically near it. Both Arabs and Africans had suffered—and indeed some were still suffering—from colonial domination. They were counting on all the help the United Nations could give to gain their freedom, dignity and independence. History, religion and culture had also brought Arabs and Africans together and moulded their common heritage and common interests.

101. The struggle of the African people in Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola and the rest of the colonies in Africa was being watched with great interest and admiration in the Arab world, with no less an interest, in fact, than in the liberation of the rest of the Arab world.

102. On that great occasion, he invoked the mood of the great American poet, Walt Whitman, whose belief in the brotherhood and common interests of man had inspired his poem that began with the lines:

“I celebrate myself  
And sing myself,  
And what I shall assume  
You shall assume,  
For every atom  
Belonging to me  
As good belongs to you”.

103. The celebration of Africa Day was not confined to the great continent of Africa, but was shared in by all freedom-loving nations and by humanity and large.

104. The representative of the *United States of America* speaking on behalf of her own delegation and the delegations of Australia, Denmark and Italy, extended the warmest congratulations to the Organization of African Unity and to independent African States. Africa Day was a fitting reminder of the phenomenal development of independent States during the past two decades.

105. It also gave pause to reflect that the right of self-determination and of people freely to express their wishes and govern themselves as they saw fit, had yet to be universally recognized. The Organization of African Unity could make an increasing contribu-

tion to such universal recognition wherever there was repression of those rights. Its role was of the greatest importance to the African countries and to those others, such as hers, which had a strong interest in Africa's future.

106. The African continent had great human and natural resources, and great potential for economic development, and her country, together with others, was privileged to be contributing technical and economic assistance and educational aid.

107. One important key to Africa's economic future lay in increased co-operation between nations, which the OAU was in a position to further. Co-operation in social and cultural affairs was also a significant area in which the OAU was able to make an important contribution.

108. She congratulated those members of the Special Committee who represented African countries, and conveyed to the people of Africa through them the warmest good wishes of all Americans and of all the delegations on whose behalf she was speaking.

109. The representative of *Yugoslavia*, speaking on behalf of his Government, people and delegation, warmly greeted the people of Africa on their historic anniversary.

110. He stressed the importance of the OAU and its international role which had been recognized by the resolution passed by the General Assembly on the subject in 1965. He expressed the hope that there would be a large measure of meaningful co-operation between the OAU and the United Nations. His delegation had supported the proposal for the Special Committee's visit to Africa, and had voiced its expectation that the visit would offer large possibilities for promotion of co-operation between the Special Committee and the OAU.

111. He emphasized that Yugoslavia had very friendly relations with African independent countries, and stood firmly in support of those that had not yet attained independence.

112. He conveyed warmest wishes for the further success of the OAU and for the prosperity and better future of Africa.

113. The representative of the *United Republic of Tanzania* said that for the sons and daughters of Africa, Africa Day was a day on which to celebrate, meditate and resolve. It gave Africans cause to meditate on two aspects: the freedom that had been gained in the liberated States, and their championship of the cause of liberating from colonial subjection and apartheid those States still afflicted by it. Only a decade ago, colonial exploitation had been running roughshod over the continent. The African people had stood with courage, notwithstanding the overwhelming odds against them, to liberate their continent and enjoy their legitimate rights of freedom and independence. Many of their struggles against their well-armed oppressors had been crowned with success. Those countries that had won their independence were now working to consolidate it.

114. The second factor—the cause of liberation of the countries still under subjection—was brought sharply into focus by the Special Committee's presence in Africa. Millions of brother Africans were being oppressed by the racist minorities of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, who would have been defeated but for the military and economic aid received from their allies in spite of the many resolutions that had been passed by

the United Nations. Free Africans must therefore once again reiterate their unqualified support for the just struggle of their brothers in South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and other countries. The day should be one of rededication and renewed pledge of support for the charter of the Organization of African Unity to enable the final goal of a united Africa to be reached: a day to remind all the colonizers in Africa that their departure was long overdue and there was nothing the free African States could not do to get them out. It was however, the desire of all Africans to live in friendship with the rest of the world, so long as it could be based on freedom and equality.

115. *The Chairman* said that it was not a matter of accident that the Special Committee was meeting in Africa on Africa Day. It was symptomatic of the fact that Africa had arrived in the United Nations.

116. Speaking on his own behalf, as a proud and humble son of Africa, he expressed the hope that the future would be brighter than the past, and that the patience and resilience of the African people would be able to find full expression in the years ahead, enabling them to contribute towards fundamental human values.

#### *Closing of meetings*

##### *General statements*

117. *The Chairman* said that the Special Committee had come to the end of its deliberations in Dar es Salaam. New ideas and fresh information had been provided by the petitioners; the Committee had had the advantage of co-operation from the OAU, and it had adopted a resolution (A/AC.109/167) representing an important contribution to the solution of the problem of Southern Rhodesia. It had listened with interest to petitioners from Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique and South West Africa, whose testimony would no doubt be of assistance to the Special Committee in its task of hastening their advancement and independence.

118. On behalf of the Special Committee, he expressed his deep gratitude to the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania for their cordial hospitality and for their many personal acts of kindness.

119. *The representative of the Secretary-General*, on behalf of the Secretariat, expressed his deep gratitude to the Special Committee's hosts for their generous hospitality and for the many facilities provided. He was particularly thankful to Mr. Malecela, Mr. Fom and other members of the Tanzanian delegation who had gone out of their way to facilitate the Secretariat's work.

120. *The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania* on behalf of the President, the Government and people of Tanzania, said how happy his country had been to play host to the Special Committee. Its action sprang from its sincere belief in the work of the United Nations and in the need for decolonization.

121. He hoped that the Special Committee's work in Dar es Salaam and elsewhere in Africa would prove fruitful and that the resolutions adopted would be implemented. His own country would do its utmost to carry out those decisions so that fellow Africans still under the yoke of colonialism could be freed and enabled to join the United Nations.

## B. MEETINGS HELD AT MOGADISCIO, SOMALIA

### *Opening of meetings*

#### *Address by the Prime Minister on behalf of the President of Somalia*

122. *The Prime Minister of Somalia* said that he had great pleasure in welcoming the Special Committee to Mogadiscio on behalf of His Excellency President Aden Abdulla Osman and the Government and people of the Somali Republic. The Somali people were especially honoured to be able to serve as the Committee's hosts. Somalia owed a debt of gratitude to the United Nations for, under its trusteeship, it had been able to follow a smooth and steady path from colonial subjection to sovereign independence. If Somalia could in any way assist the Committee in its task of implementing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it would have done something towards repaying that debt.

123. *The Somali people* felt honoured to be the Special Committee's hosts because they had a deep sense of the historic significance of its work in Africa—work which proved that the concept of colonialism had been condemned. Millions of people on the African continent, who had formerly been subjected to humiliation and indignity to serve the economic and political interests of the colonial Powers, were now free to work out their own destinies. As a people ruthlessly divided by the colonial Powers and a nation still suffering from that division, the Somalis were particularly conscious of the importance of the Special Committee's task. They were aware, too, that the struggle against the remaining enclaves of colonialism might prove to be the most bitter of all. The Somali people joined in the Committee's concern for the plight of those who still had to fight for freedom, and the Committee could rest assured of their complete support in its endeavour.

124. *The Special Committee's visit* and the presence in Mogadiscio of the petitioners reminded him of the days when he had himself addressed the United Nations Trusteeship Council as a petitioner. He had spoken on behalf of Somalia at a time when its course towards independence was still being chartered and he therefore knew full well the value of such hearings: they provided an opportunity for viewpoints to be presented personally; they gave encouragement to those who were struggling for their freedom and they stimulated world-wide interest in the cause of liberty. The fact that the Special Committee could hold some of its meetings in Africa had enhanced the value of the hearings. Through its findings, the Committee would be in a position to present to the United Nations General Assembly a more complete picture of the situation prevailing in each of the remaining colonial Territories. Furthermore, the extensive itinerary arranged for its visit enabled petitioners from the remotest areas to obtain a hearing.

125. Ideally, the Special Committee should visit the Territories themselves. The reason why that had not been possible, however, was well known: the Governments administering those Territories had much to hide, and a visit from the Committee would have finally disproved the false propaganda circulated about them. Throughout those areas, and particularly in those controlled by South Africa and Portugal, the colonial Powers would have the world believe that

the indigenous people under their rule were satisfied with their lot and that economic betterment meant more to them than the attainment of political and social equality. Such claims were demonstrably false. A great and unjust gap existed between all African workers and white immigrant settlers—a gap which was maintained by the denial to Africans of their political and social rights.

126. Time and again, history had shown beyond doubt that the search for national identity through the process of self-determination was an inexorable trend followed by all people as part of their natural development. When that natural right was denied, social unrest and turmoil were the inevitable consequences. Unhappily, that unrest had already manifested itself in many colonial Territories and, in some, had led to grave and bloody conflicts.

127. In his opinion, the most important point was that the United Nations General Assembly stood committed, by a majority decision, to ensure the speedy progress towards self-government of all peoples under colonial rule. If Member States were allowed to flout that decision and if they were to be supported and encouraged by powerful industrialist countries, which placed economic interest above the principles of the United Nations Charter, then there would be justification for the charge that the United Nations had failed in its purpose—which would be sad indeed.

128. It was not his intention, however, to end on a pessimistic note. The United Nations had already achieved much for the liberation of the colonial peoples and the Special Committee was continuing to propose practical and far-sighted solutions to the pressing colonial problems of the age. It might take time, and it would certainly take determination on the Committee's part, before its recommendations were implemented. But the irresistible forces of freedom which had radically transformed the map of Africa over the past decade were by no means spent. He was confident that the Committee's presence in Africa would be an encouragement to those forces and would ensure that they would continue to operate with the same degree of intensity until all Africans were free.

#### *General statements*

129. *The Chairman* expressed appreciation to the Prime Minister and to the President, Government and people of Somalia for their generous invitation to the Special Committee to hold a part of its session in Mogadiscio.

130. The warm welcome extended to the Special Committee on its arrival at Mogadiscio, which was both a reflection of traditional African hospitality and an expression of the Somali people's uncompromising stand against colonialism, had made its members even more aware of the trust placed in them and in the United Nations.

131. It was gratifying to note the progress which Somalia had made in all fields since it had attained independence, and the Prime Minister had graciously referred to the assistance which the United Nations had rendered in that connexion. In turn the Government and people of Somalia could be assured that, in discharging its mandate, the Special Committee had derived inspiration from the United Nations contribution to Somalia's independence.

132. As the Prime Minister had rightly pointed out, ideally the Special Committee should visit colonial

Territories themselves. Unfortunately, however, that had not been possible owing to lack of co-operation from the administering Powers, and the Committee was therefore holding its meetings in Africa as close as possible to the various centres of the colonial struggle. It hoped in that way to acquire more direct knowledge of the aspirations of the colonial people while at the same time demonstrating once again the Committee's solidarity with them and its determination to spare no effort in assisting their countries to attain independence.

133. It was in that spirit that he wished to inform all representatives of national liberation movements, as well as all African peoples suffering under the colonial yoke, that the Special Committee's visit to Mogadiscio was yet another expression of the United Nations firm determination to liquidate colonialism without delay. Admittedly, despite the efforts made, progress had been slow. However, in keeping with the principles of the Charter, the United Nations sought to achieve its objectives primarily by persuasion. Therefore, if the efforts of the United Nations had not been as fruitful as might be desired, it was the colonial Powers which were to blame, since they refused to co-operate with the Committee.

134. Lastly, reiterating his thanks to the Prime Minister, the President, the Government and the people of Somalia, he said that the Special Committee would make every endeavour to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

135. The representative of *Italy* associated his delegation with the Chairman's expression of thanks to the Government and people of Somalia, which occupied a special place in the heart of all Italians. The common efforts of Somalia and Italy, during the years of trusteeship administration, had not been in vain, and the task of bringing Somalia to independence had been fulfilled to the satisfaction of the United Nations.

136. As the Chairman had said, the Special Committee had come to Africa to demonstrate the increasing concern of the United Nations for the position of the colonial peoples and to strengthen its own capacity to help them in their struggle for independence. While in Mogadiscio, it would consider the problem which was so important to the people of Somalia.

137. He had been impressed by the idealism and sense of responsibility underlying the words of the Prime Minister of Somalia, which would be borne in mind by the Special Committee when the time came for it to submit its recommendations to the General Assembly. The Committee could not always promise prompt solutions, since that was neither in the nature of the problems themselves nor of the United Nations, which sought to work through conciliation and mediation rather than through force. However, the Government and people of Somalia could rest assured that the Committee's deliberations would be guided by the sense of responsibility and justice which had always characterized its work. The results achieved would not betray the trust which the Somali people had placed in the United Nations.

138. The representative of the *United Republic of Tanzania* thanked the Government and people of Somalia for their timely invitation to the Special Committee to meet in Mogadiscio and expressed appreciation to the Prime Minister for his words of welcome. The enthusiasm with which the Committee had been

received upon its arrival in Mogadiscio had revealed that the spirit prevailing in Africa would ultimately lead to the annihilation of colonialism.

139. The position of Tanzania with regard to colonialism was well known: it was the duty of all Africans to secure the liberation of those Territories which were still being exploited and suppressed by the colonialists and as his delegation had repeatedly stated, there could be no real freedom for Africa until that was done. Tanzania supported the struggle for independence not only of Africans, but of all peoples who, during the course of history, had been subjugated by colonialists. The Committee's meetings in Mogadiscio was a page in the history of the fight against colonialism, just as the struggles in Algeria, Kenya and the Congo had been. Ultimately, the people of Africa would win; they would not only attain their own freedom but would also reinforce that of all men throughout the world, and strengthen the United Nations founded, as it was, upon the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

140. It was of great value to the Special Committee in its work to be able to meet on African soil, where the immediacy of the problems was felt and for that reason Tanzania had offered to be host to the Committee for a part of its session in Africa.

141. Lastly, he expressed the conviction that the revolutionary spirit would further the interests of African liberation.

142. The representative of *Iraq*, expressing his delegation's appreciation to the Government and people of Somalia, said that from time immemorial, Arabs and Somalis had lived side by side, sharing the same ideals and aspirations. Great spiritual values linked them together and their characteristics had been shaped by a common heritage. In recent years, the struggle against colonialism had bound them even closer together in sympathy and understanding. The Iraqi delegation had been greatly impressed by the warmth with which the Special Committee had been received, by the hospitality and courtesy of the Somali people and by the atmosphere of cordial co-operation which prevailed. It was mindful of the positive role played by Somalia, in close co-operation with the Arab States as well as in the OAU and other bodies, in the decolonization and emancipation of all subjugated peoples.

143. The representative of *Ethiopia* expressed his delegation's thanks and appreciation for the welcome and hospitality extended by the Government and people of Somalia.

144. The people of Ethiopia regarded the people of Somalia as brothers and sisters and entertained the warmest feelings towards them. Consequently, they regarded the differences dividing the two countries as a temporary phase which would pass and be forgotten in time, for the bonds of brotherhood uniting the two peoples were as strong as they were varied.

145. Some six years earlier, he had the honour of attending Somalia's independence celebration as a member of the official Ethiopian delegation, and he remembered the joy which he had shared with the people on their attainment of freedom and independence in the beautiful city of Mogadiscio. The entire Ethiopian nation had shared in the Somali people's happiness, since their Independence Day on 1 July 1960 marked not only the successful culmination of the struggle waged by the peoples of the two countries for the eradication of colonialism in their part of Africa but

also the beginning of a new era in the relations of Somalia and Ethiopia—an era of equal independent status as two neighbouring African States, with all the duties and responsibilities which that involved for the inhabitants of both countries towards each other as well as towards the international community as a whole. Ethiopia took legitimate pride in the humble role it had been able to play, both at the United Nations and in other international organizations, in bringing about that happy situation.

146. However, in all frankness, he felt bound to refer to the events of the previous day. Needless to say, his delegation had been pained and saddened by the demonstrations which had taken place.

147. First of all, he wished to refer to some pertinent parts of the Special Committee's terms of reference, since a certain amount of confusion and misunderstanding seemed to exist in the minds of certain people in Mogadiscio as to the purpose and objectives for which the Committee had been created. Its terms of reference, as contained in General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) of 27 November 1961, read *inter alia* as follows:

[*"The General Assembly*]

"1. *Solemnly reiterates and reaffirms* the objectives and principles enshrined in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960;

"...

"4. *Requests* the Special Committee to examine the application of the Declaration, ... and to report to the General Assembly ...;

"5. *Directs* the Special Committee to carry out its task by employment of all means which it will have at its disposal within the framework of the procedures and modalities which it shall adopt for the proper discharge of its functions."

148. It was evident therefore that the relations between two independent States, or the disputes that might exist between them, did not come within the purview of the Special Committee. All references and illusions made by the demonstrators to the existing border dispute between Ethiopia and Somalia, or between Somalia and Kenya, therefore, should be dismissed as irrelevant to, and without any bearing on, the work of the Committee.

149. The events at the airport and in the streets of Mogadiscio the previous day were only a small example of what misguided and ignorant people could do when they were actively incited. In his opinion, the demonstrations which had taken place had brought nothing but disgrace to the name of Africa. He said that more in sorrow than in anger. It was to the eternal shame of the leaders of Somalia that such great names as Haile Selassie and Jomo Kenyatta, two illustrious sons of Africa, revered and respected all over the world, had been defiled with impunity in the streets of Mogadiscio. It was also a measure of the distortion and misrepresentation inculcated in the minds of the demonstrators that they had shouted against the name of such a great and outstanding liberal European leader as General de Gaulle, while nothing had been said against Verwoerd, Salazar and Ian Smith, the real enemies and oppressors of the African people.

150. As for the oft-repeated declaration concerning the so-called division of the Somali people and the

reference to the existence of people of Somali origin and the Somali ethnic group in Ethiopia and Kenya, his delegation wished to stress again that it had no intention of being dragged into irrelevant and pointless discussions of that kind.

151. Such worn-out phrases and *clichés* had become so threadbare that they could hardly disguise the real aim and objective of the Government of Somalia—namely, its desire for expansion and for territorial aggrandizement at the expense of neighbouring States.

152. High sounding words, lofty concepts and terms like “self-determination”, “unification”, “independence” and “freedom” were recklessly prostituted in Somalia to mean, in stark reality, territorial expansion and aggrandizement for the realization of which the Somali Government incited innocent nomads and shepherds in remote areas to murder, loot and plunder.

153. That policy of the Government of Somalia had been exposed and condemned by the entire body of African and international public opinion. Formal resolutions and declarations had been adopted by conferences of African Heads of State and by the conference of the Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries to the effect that all African States should respect the boundaries which they had acquired at the time of independence. His delegation saw no useful purpose, therefore, in bringing up a dead issue during the Special Committee’s visit to Mogadiscio.

154. Instead of obstinately clinging to a bankrupt and discredited policy, his delegation ventured to suggest to the host Government that it should muster enough courage to renounce once and for all its futile ambition for expansion and should clear the way for fruitful co-operation and friendly relations between the two neighbouring African States. He appealed to them from the hall of their own Parliament building which they had so kindly put at the Special Committee’s disposal, to awaken to reality.

155. In that connexion, the Ethiopian Government challenged the Government of Somalia to work as it did for the wider unity of pan-Africanism or even of East Africa, instead of harping on so-called “Somali unity”—a concept which was not only too narrow in scope to be of any use in the requirements of modern Africa, but also contained outmoded and dangerous elements of tribalism and racism.

156. The Ethiopian delegation believed that the two countries had much to gain from co-operative and friendly relations which would be conducive to peace and stability in the area. His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie I, had time and again brought that fact to the attention of the Somali leaders but so far to no avail. However, Ethiopians were a patient people and could wait. Time was on their side.

157. The question of Djibouti had been one of the preoccupations of the *Somali News*, the Government newspaper, and to a certain extent of the demonstrators. Since it was on the Special Committee’s agenda, and a matter in which his delegation was vitally interested, he intended to participate fully in the debate when it came up for discussion. The view of his Government on the matter was well known to the Committee and his delegation reserved the right to make a detailed statement on its stand at the appropriate time. At that stage, however, he only wished to make it clear that Ethiopia totally rejected any claim on that Territory by Somalia.

158. With regard to the question of Mauritius and the Seychelles, which were also on the Special Committee’s agenda for its meetings in Mogadiscio, the Ethiopian delegation would have concrete proposals to make when the time came to consider draft resolutions. Until that time, however, his delegation merely wished to welcome the coming independence of Mauritius and to express the hope that the people of Seychelles would be able to follow suit in the near future.

159. In conclusion, he reiterated his delegation’s appreciation to the Government and people of Somalia for their invitation to the Special Committee and for the kind consideration they had shown.

160. *The Chairman* said that he regretted that the representative of Ethiopia had insisted upon making a controversial statement upon matters outside the Special Committee’s purview. It would assist the Committee in its work if, in the future, representatives would confine themselves to questions on the agenda.

161. The representative of *India* thanked the President, Government and people of Somalia for their invitation to the Special Committee to hold some of its meetings in Mogadiscio.

162. India enjoyed most friendly relations with Somalia; both belonged to the group of economically developing countries in the vanguard of the fight against colonialism, and they were joined in the common endeavour to raise the living standards of their peoples. India had, within the limits of its resources, sent such trained technical personnel as doctors, engineers and teachers to help Somalia in its development. His Government’s contribution was a token of the genuine friendship existing between the two countries.

163. The Prime Minister’s fine address was an important contribution to the work of the Special Committee. Recalling Mr. Abdirizak’s personal appearance before the Trusteeship Council years ago as a petitioner, the representative of India stated that his appearance before the Special Committee as Prime Minister of his country showed the interest of the Somali Government in the struggle against colonialism.

164. In conclusion, he extended his delegation’s warm greetings to the people of Somalia and best wishes for their continued well-being and prosperity.

165. The representative of *Afghanistan* expressed his thanks to the Prime Minister for his inspiring address, and his gratitude to the Government and people of Somalia for their warm welcome and for enabling the Special Committee to hold some of its meetings in Mogadiscio.

166. The people of Afghanistan and Somalia were bound by common aspirations and strong spiritual ties, which made it all the more rewarding for his delegation to work in the young republic of great traditions.

167. The representative of *Australia* thanked the Government and people of Somalia for the memorable welcome extended to the Special Committee, and expressed his appreciation of the opening address of the Prime Minister, whose words would provide inspiration and guidance along the road to an Africa free of colonialism and united in human dignity.

168. The representative of *Syria* said that his delegation fully associated itself with the statement made by the Chairman in response to the Prime Minister’s opening address.

169. The first words of welcome the Special Committee had heard on its arrival in Mogadiscio, "*As-salaam aleikum*" (Peace be upon you!), were a symbol of faith in peace built upon justice, human brotherhood, and the eradication of all forms of colonialism and exploitation of man by man, faith in the imminence of absolute equality and justice everywhere, and especially in Africa, and faith in the true emancipation of man and of his assumption of the dignified role long denied him as an active builder of true progress and restorer of values and ideals.

170. The representative of the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* expressed his sincere thanks to the President of the Republic of Somalia and to the Somali Government and people for the warm welcome which they had extended to the Special Committee.

171. The Somali Government had once again expressed a desire for the immediate implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in all countries still under the colonial yoke. Almost all the countries of Africa and Asia had been freed from colonial domination except for a few, particularly in Africa, where millions of human beings continued to be exploited and humiliated. That was why the Special Committee had decided to hold its session in Africa. He was convinced that the Special Committee's work in Somalia would constitute a further step towards the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism in Africa. The Soviet Union was the friend of the peoples who were struggling for freedom and had always supported the courageous efforts of the African peoples to obtain their independence.

172. The representative of *Tunisia* thanked the President of the Republic of Somalia, the Prime Minister and the Somali people for having so cordially welcomed the Special Committee to Mogadiscio. Their touching hospitality was further proof of the trust which they had placed in the United Nations. He had been particularly impressed by the address of the Prime Minister of Somalia, who had so ably expressed his country's aspirations. The role that Somalia had played on various occasions in the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the specialized agencies was a particularly promising sign for its future.

173. The representative of *Sierra Leone* said that his delegation associated itself with the Chairman's expression of thanks to the Prime Minister.

174. Somalia itself had been under United Nations trusteeship and was therefore in a unique position to understand the feelings of oppressed peoples. The invitation to the Special Committee to come to Mogadiscio had been no mere accident, but a symbol of the Somali pledge to uproot colonialism and of the faith of the Somali people in the United Nations. Sierra Leone shared that faith and would continue to exert itself to the utmost in the task of wiping out all forms of oppression in Africa and elsewhere.

175. His delegation thanked the Government and people of Somalia for their invitation to the Special Committee. Awareness that Somalis placed their African above their national identity made his delegation feel at home with close friends with whom it could work steadfastly towards the goal of decolonization and peace in Africa.

176. The representative of *Iran* expressed his delegation's gratitude to the President, the Government

and people of Somalia for their invitation to the Special Committee to hold a part of its session in Mogadiscio. The welcome extended to the Special Committee was an expression of the deep-seated confidence of the people of Somalia in the United Nations.

177. His delegation had been highly impressed by the wise and inspiring statement by the Prime Minister, which was a further indication of the confidence which the Government and people of Somalia placed in the United Nations. The hospitality extended to the Special Committee was symbolic of the high values for which Somalia had been known throughout history; for it was history that bound the peoples of Somalia and Iran in ties of friendship, religion and culture.

178. The representative of the *United States of America*, speaking on behalf of her country, thanked the people and Government of Somalia for their invitation to the Special Committee. The gratifying esteem of Somalia for the United Nations had been demonstrated by the Prime Minister's fine address of welcome and by the arrangements made for the Committee's work in Mogadiscio.

179. Somalia had a long and close association with the United Nations. As the Prime Minister had pointed out in his address, Somalia exemplified the assistance the international community could give towards the orderly transition of government to the people.

180. It was a source of pride that the United Nations was giving technical assistance for the social, economic and educational development of a proudly independent Somalia.

181. As a member of the United Nations Trusteeship Council, the United States was happy to be able to contribute to the development of Somalia's agriculture, port facilities, civilian security forces and—perhaps most important of all for the country's future—schools and teacher-training facilities.

182. In conclusion, she extended the congratulations and best wishes of the United States to the Government and people of Somalia for their further progress.

183. The representative of *Venezuela* endorsed the remarks which the Chairman of the Special Committee had made in response to the interesting address by the Prime Minister of Somalia. He thanked the Government and people of Somalia for the warm and unforgettable welcome they had given the members of the Special Committee. He paid a tribute to the courageous Somali people, who had succeeded in obtaining their independence and were now striving to maintain their position in the international community.

184. Venezuela was familiar with many of the problems that confronted Somalia today, some of them relating to sovereignty and to the inalienable rights of their two peoples. That was the legacy which had been left by the colonial era and which must disappear. The Venezuelan delegation had accordingly welcomed the Chairman's decision to allow members of the Somali delegation to participate as observers in the Special Committee's work. He was convinced that that delegation's participation would help the Special Committee to make progress toward its goal, viz., the final eradication of colonialism.

185. The representative of *Bulgaria* thanked the President of the Republic of Somalia and the Government and people of Somalia for the warm welcome they had extended to the Special Committee. He further expressed sincere thanks to the Prime Minister of

Somalia for his warm words of welcome, which fully demonstrated the trust which the Somali Government placed in the Special Committee. Somalia was in the forefront of the African countries that were waging an effective struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. It was actively participating in the work of the United Nations and of the Special Committee, whose principal task was to ensure the full and immediate implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

186. Since its accession to independence, Somalia had made considerable progress and was endeavouring, despite numerous difficulties, to raise the level of living of its people. There was no need to recall that Bulgaria, as a socialist country, stood solidly behind the African countries in their struggle to eliminate the remaining bastions of colonialism in Africa. Very friendly relations already existed between Bulgaria and Somalia, which day by day were strengthening their economic, cultural and other ties in the interest of their two peoples. He wished the Government and people of the Republic of Somalia every success and thanked them for their active co-operation with the Special Committee as well as for the remarkable manner in which they had organized the Committee's activities at Mogadiscio.

187. The representative of *Madagascar* thanked the Somali Government for having invited the Special Committee to hold part of its session on the hospitable soil of Somalia. He was particularly proud to be able to convey to the Government and people of the Republic of Somalia the good wishes of his own Government, which had always resolutely defended the sacred principle of self-determination and would continue to do so.

188. He was convinced that the attempts being made to suppress the legitimate aspirations of the peoples still under the colonial yoke would boomerang against their authors instead, for the peoples already liberated would not permit their brothers to continue to be exploited indefinitely by foreign Powers. It was not enough to condemn colonialism; in addition, and above all, it must be eradicated from the African continent. Peace and co-operation among the members of the international community would be only empty words so long as the exploitation of one people by another had not completely ceased.

189. He was convinced that the African countries and all those who believed in the value of human dignity would continue to unite their efforts in order to eliminate colonialism completely and promote an era of fruitful co-operation based on equality and objectivity.

190. The representative of *Mali* thanked the Government and people of the Republic of Somalia for the very fraternal and very warm welcome they had given the Special Committee. The Republic of Somalia had confidently and vigorously tackled the difficult problems occasioned by development, and each step was a victory over imperialism and colonialism.

191. The invitation addressed to the Special Committee and the warmth of the welcome extended to it clearly demonstrated the desire of the entire Somali people to co-operate with the United Nations. Moreover, Somalia was endeavouring to hasten the liberation of the millions of Africans still subject to colonial domination and imperialism. Colonialism was already con-

demned; it must disappear from Africa so that all the peoples of that continent could unite their efforts in the fight against under-development.

192. The representative of the *Ivory Coast* wished to add his thanks to those of the speakers who had already expressed their gratitude to the Government and people of the Republic of Somalia for the kind invitation which they had extended to the Special Committee. In spite of all the problems of economic development with which it had to contend, the Republic of Somalia had not hesitated to invite the Special Committee to hold part of its session at Mogadiscio and had spared no effort to make its stay in that beautiful city as pleasant as possible.

193. Somalia thus demonstrated once again the importance which it attached to the United Nations in general and to the Special Committee in particular, and its sympathy with the peoples of the Territories still under colonial administration. For its part, the Ivory Coast was in favour of self-determination for those peoples and of the progressive and orderly transfer of power to their representatives. His country would spare no effort to make the noble ideals set forth in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) a reality.

194. The representative of *Denmark* associated himself with the Chairman's appreciation of the address by the Prime Minister and expressed his delegation's gratitude for the welcome and hospitality extended to the Special Committee. Indeed, that welcome was clear evidence of Somalia's interest and confidence in the United Nations. Smaller countries should recognize in the United Nations the only true prospect for peace and well-being. As the Prime Minister had said, by visiting Africa the Committee was better able to appraise the situation; and the experience would encourage the Committee in its determination to strive for rights and freedom everywhere.

195. The representative of *Poland* associated his delegation with the Chairman's reply to the opening address by the Prime Minister, and thanked the Government and people of Somalia for their invitation to the Special Committee to hold some of their meetings in yet another peace-loving independent African country. His delegation was also deeply touched by the warm welcome, hospitality and facilities extended to the Committee.

196. As Poland and Somalia were bound by ties of friendship and co-operation he was particularly happy to visit Mogadiscio. Somalia had been one of the co-sponsors of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; and the Prime Minister's address was an expression of the noble aims enshrined in the United Nations Charter and of the firm determination of the people to continue to join in the efforts of the international community, and of the Special Committee in particular, in bringing colonialism to a rapid and unconditional end. Poland considered that the uprooting of colonialism in Africa and elsewhere was an act of historical justice. It had become increasingly clear that the existence of colonialism—which by its very nature was aggressive—and the stubborn persistence of the colonial powers in oppressing, exploiting and subjugating dependent peoples was a flagrant violation of the legitimate rights and aspirations of peoples to freedom and independence, an obstacle in the way of international co-operation and a threat to world peace. Poland had therefore lent consistent support to the

just struggle of dependent Territories to throw off the fetters of foreign domination.

197. In conclusion he renewed his Government's thanks to the people of Somalia for their warm welcome and hospitality and extended to them his most cordial wishes for their well-being and prosperity.

198. The representative of *Chile* said that he wished to add his thanks to those which the Chairman had extended to the Government of the Republic of Somalia. He had been very impressed by the warm welcome which the Special Committee had received upon its arrival at Mogadiscio and by the interest which the Somali people took in the work of the United Nations in general and of the Special Committee in particular. The interesting speech made by the Prime Minister had been further proof of that.

199. The cordial invitation of the Government of Somalia had given the Special Committee an opportunity, on the one hand, to become acquainted with that country, which was striving to improve the living conditions of its inhabitants, and, on the other hand, to continue the Committee's task of decolonization on the occasion of its further visit to Africa. Chile, which at one time had also lived under the colonial system, attached particular importance to the struggle against colonialism and every form of oppression. The Chilean Government was following with interest the progress which Somalia had made since its accession to independence and offered it its best wishes for success.

200. The representative of *Yugoslavia* associated his delegation with the statement made by the Chairman in reply to the inspiring address by the Prime Minister. He also expressed his Government's gratitude to the President, Government and people of Somalia for their invitation to the Special Committee to hold some of its meetings in Mogadiscio.

201. The fact that Yugoslavia enjoyed friendly relations with Somalia enhanced his delegation's satisfaction at being in Mogadiscio. He believed that the Special Committee's work there would lead to further positive results in the process of decolonization in Africa and elsewhere, and that it would enable members of the Committee to become better acquainted with the people of Somalia and their efforts on behalf of economic and social reconstruction.

202. In conclusion, he expressed his country's best wishes to the Government and people of Somalia in the efforts they were making to build prosperity and a better future for their beautiful country.

203. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of *Somalia*, acknowledging the remarks made by members, welcomed the Special Committee as champions of freedom and friends of peace. The people and Government of the Somali Republic wished the Committee success in its search for the truth with regard to the great problem facing the Committee—a problem which in fact was facing the whole world. His Government was aware of the Committee's responsibility, and was fully prepared to assist in the serious task, particularly in the case of French Somaliland, in which it was easier for his Government to express its opinion in detail, since it was one of the three Somali Territories still under foreign domination.

204. The city of Mogadiscio was the capital of two former colonies—Italian Somaliland and British Somaliland. On 1 July 1960, the two Somalilands had achieved their independence and unification. The desire for unity of Somalis living in the two former

colonies had been entirely spontaneous. Having fought for their freedom and unification against Britain and Italy, they had always supported and would continue to support men and women fighting for liberty and justice. It was their belief that unless justice prevailed, there would be no permanent peace for mankind. The causes of injustice must first be eliminated and a solid foundation laid—a foundation based on the principles of equity and self-determination—as a basis for world peace, which, without that basis, would be built on shifting sands. The Special Committee symbolized the dawn of the new era. Its work would contribute to the liberation of millions of human beings who remained under the shackles of colonial rule in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, French Somaliland, Southern Arabia, South West Africa, Portuguese Guinea and other parts of the world. The facts of the recent history of the human struggle for freedom, and the events that had taken place in Africa, Asia and Latin America gave great hopes that the world was moving towards liberty and that colonialism in all its forms was doomed.

## B. Closing of meetings

### General statements

205. The representative of the *United Republic of Tanzania*, speaking on behalf of the Afro-Asian group and Yugoslavia, thanked the Government and people of the Somali Republic for their warm hospitality and above all for having helped the Special Committee to further its aims—the eradication of colonialism and the liberation of man in Africa and elsewhere.

206. While resolution 1514 (XV), adopted by the General Assembly in 1960, had been a positive step forward, none had over-estimated it, and—in the Somali Prime Minister's words—the struggle against the remaining enclaves of colonialism might prove to be the bitterest of all.

207. The problem of colonialism had to be attacked from all angles, but always with a single aim: the defeat of colonialism and the elimination of the exploitation of man by man. The struggle for freedom and independence was also one for peace, for so long as colonialism existed there would be no real peace in the world.

208. The apartheid policy in South Africa and South West Africa, the annihilation policy of Portugal and the butchering of Africans in Southern Rhodesia were crimes against humanity. Yet it was common knowledge that, while the forces committing those atrocities were vile and criminal in themselves, they were the tools of imperialism, which would stop at nothing to plunder Africa's resources and exploit the African working people. The studies made by the Special Committee had shown that foreign financial monopolies were impeding the attainment of freedom and independence by the people of those Territories. It was therefore inevitable that the fight against colonialism should involve a clash of interests, with a resulting threat to peace.

209. The Afro-Asian group and Yugoslavia categorically condemned colonialism. They adhered to the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and would continue their efforts to secure the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

210. There were two main ways by which colonialism could be eliminated. The first way was that of

persuasion, which had been followed, for example, in the case of South West Africa. That had been the course which the United Nations had chosen to follow; it had led to the establishment of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, the Trusteeship Council and, finally, the Special Committee. By that method, the colonial Powers were daily urged to give up their colonies and to lay down a programme for their independence; but the conditions for their independence were laid down in resolution 1514 (XV). So far, the method of persuasion had not been very successful.

211. Then there was the second way: a bitter struggle, the history of which would be written in the blood of the freedom fighters.

212. He was sure that all peace-loving people would prefer to take the first course of action, but the colonial Powers would not see reason. Their lack of co-operation had already shaken the faith in the United Nations of many Africans. It would be indeed regrettable if the Special Committee, for example, came to be regarded as merely a resolution-passing body.

213. As experience had shown, the accumulation of frustration eventually left subjugated people with no alternative but to fight to the bitter end. That had happened in Algeria, Kenya and many other parts of the world, and was in fact happening in Mozambique, Angola and elsewhere in Africa at the present time.

214. He was sure that he was expressing the sentiments not only of the Afro-Asian members of the Special Committee and Yugoslavia but also of the peace-loving people of Somalia, when he warned the colonial Powers to recognize the inevitable and to avoid bloodshed. Africans were determined to free their brothers, whatever the cost; they would fight to the bitter end. The colonial Powers could not change the course of history.

215. He assured the freedom fighters who had appeared before the Special Committee of support in their legitimate struggle, and urged them to maintain their unity of purpose and action. As President Nyerere had said, "You, our brothers under the colonial yoke, must fight or else you will be cowards. And those of us who are independent must help you even if this means shedding blood. If we do not do so we will be cowards."

216. He called on the people of Somalia to remember that Africans could not rest until all Africa was free from colonialism. They were determined to defeat the forces of apartheid, wipe out Portuguese colonialism, crush the racist minority régime in Zimbabwe and eradicate French colonialism in French Somaliland. The freedom fighters should continue to wage their wars, and their friends would do everything possible to see that the United Nations helped them to gain their lost freedom. Freedom was indivisible and could not be isolated from peace.

217. In conclusion, on behalf of the Afro-Asian members of the Committee and Yugoslavia, he again thanked the President, the Government and the people of Somalia for their cordial hospitality. Their enthusiasm would serve to remind the colonial Powers how eager Africans were for their continent to be free.

218. The representative of *Chile*, speaking on behalf of the Venezuelan and Chilean delegations, thanked the Government of the Somali Republic for having invited the Special Committee to hold a part of its ses-

sion at Mogadiscio. He assured it that Venezuela and Chile would spare no effort to ensure that the lofty ideals of the United Nations triumphed throughout the world.

219. He also thanked the President of the Somali Republic and the Somali people for having received the Special Committee with a friendliness and warmth which it would never forget.

220. The representative of *Ethiopia* joined the representatives of Tanzania and Chile in thanking the Government and people of Somalia for the hospitality extended to the Special Committee.

221. The words which had been exchanged between himself and the Foreign Minister of Somalia would not interfere with personal and official brotherly relations. Indeed those exchanges were but a demonstration of the open-mindedness with which Ethiopia and Somalia approached their common problems. The differences were only a temporary phase which would be forgotten; for the existing bonds of friendship were eternal. His delegation would take home happy memories of hospitality, new friendships and renewed acquaintances. He hoped that those acquaintances would bloom into a wider and greater friendship.

222. Finally, he expressed his delegation's gratitude to the Somali Government and voiced the hope that Ethiopia and Somalia would flourish in friendship and freedom for the sake of the whole of Africa.

223. The representative of *Poland*, speaking on behalf of the delegations of Poland, the USSR, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, thanked the Government and people of Somalia for their kindness and hospitality.

224. The meetings of the Special Committee had always been inspiring, and he felt that progress was being made towards the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. He had been struck by the determination of the African peoples, as borne out in the Prime Minister's stirring address, to strive towards freedom and independence. The stubbornness of the colonial Powers in opposing those just aspirations was fraught with danger. The Special Committee had the obligation to support the right of all peoples to self-determination, and the best way to reminding the imperialist forces of that commitment was to show a united front against colonialist oppression.

225. The representative of *Italy*, speaking on behalf of the delegations of Australia, Denmark and the United States, and also of his own delegation, expressed appreciation to the President, the Government and the people of Somalia for their hospitality and warm welcome. The members of the Special Committee had had the opportunity, during their brief but enjoyable stay in Mogadiscio, to admire the progress made by Somalia during its six years of independence and had also been able to make further progress in the important task entrusted to them by the United Nations, in accordance with the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. He extended to the Government and people of Somalia sincere wishes for their future happiness and prosperity.

226. The representative of the Secretary-General, speaking on behalf of all members of the Secretariat, expressed gratitude to the Government and people of Somalia for their generous hospitality and for all the facilities made available during the Special Committee's

visit to Mogadiscio. The Ministers of the Government, the Chief of Cabinet in the Prime Minister's Office and the Somali Ambassadors who had attended the Committee's meetings in Mogadiscio, to name but a few, had been among those who had eased the Secretariat's task and made its stay in Mogadiscio so enjoyable.

227. *The Chairman* expressed gratitude, on behalf of all members of the Special Committee, to the President, the Government and the people of Somalia. The Committee's visit to Mogadiscio, which had been most constructive, had deepened its understanding of the significance of the colonial peoples' struggle to regain their independence and had demonstrated the concern, both of the United Nations and of the Special Committee, for those peoples. Possibly the most important aspect of the United Nations work, as evidenced by the Committee's visit to various African capitals, was its involvement in the question of decolonization. The warm welcome extended to the Committee by the Somali people was of special significance since, as the Prime Minister had so graciously observed, Somalia owed its independence largely to the work of the United Nations. Moreover, as a result of its visit to Mogadiscio, the Committee had been able to gain further information from the petitioners about the situation in French Somaliland and in Aden.

228. He joined previous speakers in expressing the earnest hope that the Special Committee would make a substantial contribution to the speedy attainment of independence by the colonized Territories.

*Statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia*

229. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia, thanking the Chairman and members of the Special Committee for their kind words of appreciation, said that the Government and people of Somalia had been privileged to act as the Committee's host, albeit for only a brief period. During its meetings in Mogadiscio, the Committee had been able to learn of the aspirations of the peoples of French Somaliland and South Arabia, although it was to be regretted that the petitioners from the Seychelles and Mauritius had been unable to appear.

230. The Special Committee's arrival in Mogadiscio had been a cause of rejoicing since it had provided the people of French Somaliland with the opportunity to express their views without fear or favour. Furthermore, all Somalis had a special regard for the United Nations, under whose guidance their country had emerged from trusteeship administration to sovereign independence, and they were grateful for the assistance which that Organization continued to render. Somali people still under foreign rule were confident that their representations would receive full consideration by the Committee which, they believed, would not be influenced by outside pressure but would be motivated only by its awareness of the inalienable right of the people of French Somaliland to self-determination and independence. The Committee's arrival in Africa had been long awaited by the millions who still suffered under colonial domination, since it was a symbol of the freedom and dignity of mankind and represented the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

231. Lastly, he thanked the Special Committee, on behalf of the people and Government of Somalia, for the patience and understanding shown during its de-

liberations in Somalia and wished it every success in its humane endeavours to liberate those still under foreign domination. He also expressed appreciation to the Chairman for allowing observers from Somalia to participate in the Committee's meetings in Mogadiscio and Addis Ababa. Somalia was anxious to contribute to the cause of freedom and would spare no effort to further the liberation of all subjugated peoples.

C. MEETINGS HELD AT ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

*Opening of meetings*

*Address by the Minister for Foreign Affairs on behalf of His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Ethiopia*

232. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia, welcoming the Committee to Addis Ababa, expressed the hope that its deliberations would prove fruitful and constitute a further step towards the liberation of the still-dependent peoples and territories.

233. He read out a message of the Special Committee from His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I:

"On behalf of Ourselves, Our Government and the Ethiopian people, We are pleased to welcome once more distinguished members of the United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

"The importance of this Committee cannot be over-emphasized. Its intrinsic value lies in its attempt to foster the achievement by the United Nations of one of the fundamental human rights, which is to lead peoples and countries still under colonial yoke to freedom and independence. We are all cognizant of the fact that the struggle for freedom must and will always end in victory. Freedom being the aim of this Committee, it shall be achieved. There is no question as to whether freedom should be attained, but rather how best it should be reached. Thus, the main concern of this Committee becomes to suggest ways and means to achieve this end as best it could.

"It is in its choice of means that the Committee encounters monumental problems. We are conscious that there are opposing forces at work: on the one hand the forces which unceasingly search for freedom, and on the other, the forces of oppression which attempt to deter freedom. A typical example of such conflict of forces is the unlawful Government in Southern Rhodesia. Except for such proponents of injustice like South Africa and Portugal, all freedom-loving States have condemned this racist and minority Government. We trust that a majority rule will take over in Zimbabwe. But how and when? It is here that the Committee has to apply itself and suggest means. Since the measures that have been tried to force down the illegal Government seem to be ineffective, this Committee will have to consider other methods, methods that we can perhaps adopt in concert. No matter how hard the choice may be, We are confident that the members of this Committee will fulfil the noble task entrusted to them.

"We know that as long as there are men who believe that one race is superior to the other and that they can lead the destinies of other men by any means, there shall be no peace. As long as there is going to be groundless irredentism and inter-

ference in other States' internal affairs, there is still not going to be peace. It is only by adhering to the principles set out in the Charters of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity that we can achieve our aims, and that our unity will grow stronger. On Our part, We assure you that We will never tire in our endeavours to free our brethren who are still under the yoke of colonialism.

"We are aware that the job you are charged with is not easy, but We hope and pray that God will guide you during your deliberations."

234. Adding his own expression of appreciation for the Special Committee's work, he said that Ethiopia—a Member of the United Nations and of the Special Committee since their inception—had always done its utmost to contribute towards fruitful deliberations. Having itself had five years' experience of harsh colonial domination, it had never hesitated to give moral and material aid to peoples struggling for independence, and its delegation would continue to give effective support to the Committee's work.

*Statement by the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity*

235. The Administrative Secretary-General of the *Organization of African Unity* said that he was proud to be able to associate his organization with the many people, who, from Dar es Salaam, via Mogadiscio to Addis Ababa, had welcomed the Special Committee to Africa and expressed, in addition to their own pleasure, Africa's fervent hopes for the full success of its decolonizing mission.

236. At Addis Ababa, where the OAU had its headquarters, the staff of the Organization's Secretariat particularly welcomed the Special Committee's happy decision to make yet another pilgrimage to the source, which would enable it to grasp the extreme gravity of the situation created in Africa by the survival of colonial rule, and the imperative need to put an end to the colonial and racist adventures against which all African people and their leaders had been forced to rise in protest.

237. He wished to express to the United Nations, through the Special Committee, the faith and confidence of the OAU, but also the impatience and legitimate anxiety of the African peoples at the slowness with which the process of peaceful decolonization was taking place under the auspices of the international community. The OAU fully realized that for the United Nations, almost six years previously, the problem of decolonization had been solved in principle by the adoption of the historic Declaration of 14 December 1960 on the granting of unconditional independence to all territories and all peoples still living under foreign domination. The adoption of that Declaration, and the establishment in 1961 of a Special Committee to find the quickest and most effective ways and means of giving effect to the decolonization policy thus defined, had aroused throughout the world, and particularly in Africa, immense hopes and a special fervour which was obviously both sincere and profound.

238. The OAU, an instrument of concerted co-operation among the independent States of Africa, had been conceived and organized in the same spirit of confidence and fervour that typified Africa's feelings towards the United Nations, its Charter, its various agencies and, of course, the Special Committee. The African Heads of State and Government had given ab-

solute priority to decolonization, for liberation was the prerequisite for the fulfilment of all the aspirations of the African Governments and peoples. That profound truth had been solemnly reaffirmed throughout the continent only a few days earlier, on African Liberation Day commemorating the third anniversary of its signing of the OAU charter.

239. Because the task of liberation was one of the OAU's fundamental objectives and constant concerns, and because co-operation between, on the one hand, the OAU and, on the other hand, the United Nations in general and the Special Committee in particular had functioned perfectly in the course of the past year, the OAU proposed to change the form of its contribution to the Addis Ababa deliberations in 1966.

240. He and his staff placed themselves at the Special Committee's disposal, not only for attendance as observers at the discussion that would take place on each agenda item, but also for participation in any other exchange of views that might be thought desirable on matters of common concern to the Special Committee and the OAU. His organization was ready to co-operate with the Special Committee as fully as possible in view of the close solidarity linking Africa to the international community in the task of decolonization, to which the OAU was devoting its best efforts.

241. He was glad that the Special Committee had decided to include in its agenda the question of the liberation of the small Territories that were still dependent, the colonial enclaves scattered all over the African continent. The OAU was as concerned about the fate of those small Territories as it was about the fate of the big colonies, for a question of principle was involved. The decolonization to which the OAU aspired and for which it was working should cover all the African Territories, large or small, rich or poor. The African peoples would not be fully satisfied on that score until the last square inch of African soil had been withdrawn from non-African authority.

242. In that connexion he considered it his duty to bring to the Special Committee's knowledge a fact that had just been pointed out to him by the secretariat of the OAU Liberation Committee at Dar es Salaam: the Comoro Islands had been omitted both from the list of small African Territories on which the Special Committee intended to concentrate its attention, and from the general list of dependent Territories drawn up by the Committee. The OAU was sure that, if such an omission had been made, it could only be the result of a clerical error or an unintentional oversight, and the organization would be grateful if the Special Committee would make the necessary correction. It was quite clear that the Comoros were among the off-shore islands of Africa and, under the Special Committee's terms of reference, its competence extended to all dependent Territories, whatever the legal ties which bound those Territories to the colonial Powers occupying them.

243. The salient feature of the current situation in Africa was the aggravation of the threat to international peace and security constituted by the survival of colonialism and by the strengthening, during the past year, of the alliance formed between Portugal, South Africa and the Rhodesian settlers in order to consolidate their hold over the entire southern part of the African continent and to ensure the perpetuation of colonial and racist domination there. It was

a known fact that that unholy alliance of the most backward régimes of oppression—all three of which had been unanimously condemned, on several occasions, by the United Nations—nevertheless had its accomplices among the powerful. Those accomplices were the forces—individuals, companies or States—which had made investments in the south of the continent, which lived by the exploitation of African wealth in that region, and which thus bore a large share of responsibility for the deterioration of the situation and for the bloody tragedy besetting the peoples of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese domination. The need now, so far as decolonization was concerned, was not for resolutions but for solutions.

244. The colonial wars forced on the African peoples, the many acts of oppression, the various forms of vexation and humiliation which almost everywhere, had driven their African victims to take up arms, all went to show how, in the current phase of decolonization, the threat presented by colonialism to international peace and security in Africa had worsened. The situation necessarily raised the question of the responsibility borne by the great Powers which under the United Nations Charter, were the guardians of world peace. The Special Committee should devote a considerable share of its efforts to stressing that responsibility on the part of the great Powers, in order to induce them to extinguish, before it was too late, the fires that colonialism and its allies were busily lighting all over Africa.

245. All the foregoing strengthened the OAU's conviction that the Security Council should act on its specific responsibilities in the drama which was unfolding in Africa, and which might well plunge the world into a blood-bath. It was generally known that the material interests which were directly or indirectly supporting the colonialist and racist régimes in Africa were also paralysing the Security Council and had so far prevented it from meeting the expectations of the oppressed African peoples. Nothing, however, not even the repeated disappointments caused by the recent Security Council debates on Southern Rhodesia, could altogether extinguish the hope of seeing the United Nations face up to its responsibilities in Africa.

246. It should be remembered that complicity and inaction in the face of aggression by fascist Italy against the African people of Ethiopia had started the League of Nations on the fatal down grade which was to bring it swiftly to an inglorious fall. The United Nations should ponder that example, and the Security Council should avoid bringing upon it the fate of the League of Nations.

247. The Special Committee could and should play a great role in that regard by insisting against all opposition that, in view of the scope and gravity of the problems presented by colonialism and racism, the Security Council should come and meet in Africa in order to understand more clearly, in contact with African realities, that it simply must act and act quickly. It was doubtful that academic debates in New York, whatever faith and courage were shown by the Africans and their friends, would make the Security Council change its attitude. Perhaps, however, a session of the Security Council in Africa might bring about the desired change before it was too late.

### *General statements*

248. *The Chairman* expressed the Special Committee's deep appreciation for the encouraging address by the Minister for Foreign Affairs on behalf of His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Ethiopia. The long, bitter but successful struggle by His Imperial Majesty and the Government and people of Ethiopia to safeguard the independence of their country, as well as their devotion to the objectives of the United Nations Charter, would be a source of inspiration to the Committee.

249. He also expressed gratitude for the open-handed welcome and hospitality offered to the Special Committee. The history of such hospitality went back to biblical times, and it was truly African in its generosity. Many members had the privilege of visiting Ethiopia on previous occasions, of forming close fraternal ties with its people; their pleasure on the present occasion was shared by those who were visiting Ethiopia for the first time.

250. It had been with whole-hearted gratification that the Special Committee had accepted the invitation of the Government of Ethiopia to hold some of its meetings in Addis Ababa. That that was the third such invitation testified to the importance the Ethiopian Government attached to the Committee's work, while its presence for the third time in Addis Ababa was in its turn evidence of the esteem in which the Committee held the continuing contribution of the Ethiopian Government towards the total and speedy elimination of colonialism.

251. It was fitting that the Special Committee should be meeting in Africa Hall where, in May 1963, the charter of the OAU had been signed, and which had witnessed a large number of important and far-reaching OAU decisions aimed at the liberation of all Territories still under colonial rule in Africa. He was confident that the Committee would be stimulated by the example of the OAU and would in its turn make further effective contributions to the application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

252. The work of the Special Committee in Africa had so far been constructive. Further testimony had been heard of the grave deterioration of the situation in Southern Rhodesia and of the reprehensible failure of the United Kingdom Government to take effective steps to end the rebellion of the racist minority régime and to establish democratic conditions on the basis of one man, one vote, with a view to the speedy granting of independence. An important resolution (A/AC.109/167) had been adopted which, if implemented, would lead to the liquidation of the colonial régime in Southern Rhodesia.

253. Further evidence had also been heard of the intolerable conditions under which the peoples of Angola and Mozambique were suffering, of the criminal acts being carried out by the Portuguese, and of their flagrant refusal to apply the principle of self-determination.

254. Valuable testimony had been given concerning Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, which emphasized the need to ensure that their progress towards independence should be unconditional and in accordance with the aspirations of the people.

255. Petitioners had also been heard concerning French Somaliland and had provided valuable infor-

mation which should assist in objective consideration of the question.

256. He was confident that the Special Committee's deliberations at Addis Ababa concerning South West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, Ifni and Spanish Sahara, and French Somaliland would yield positive and fruitful results.

257. *The Chairman*, replying to the statement by the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, recalled the Special Committee's resolution of 18 June 1965 (A/6000/Rev. 1,<sup>2</sup> chap. II, para. 463) expressing the hope that the co-operation between it and the Organization of African Unity would be intensified, and General Assembly resolution 2011 (XX) of 11 October 1965 adopted at its twentieth session on the same subject. In the light of those resolutions the Committee could be especially gratified by the presence of the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU, whose outlining of his organization's position regarding the various problems of decolonization in Africa had been very impressive. The Committee attached great importance to the collaboration with the OAU in the attainment of the common objective of the total and speedy elimination of colonialism.

258. The representative of *Denmark* expressed his delegation's gratitude to His Imperial Majesty and the Government of Ethiopia for having invited the Special Committee to Addis Ababa, the capital of a proud people with a long and glorious history, and centre of the activities of the OAU.

259. Although economic and political unity in Africa was still perhaps a remote goal, the Special Committee had had daily evidence that the free Africans were united in their fight for the freedom of their brothers under colonial rule. He expressed the hope that the long and hard struggle, like that of the world-famous Ethiopian marathon runner, would lead to a successful conclusion, and conveyed the best wishes of his Government for a bright future in peace and prosperity.

260. The representative of *Iran* associated his delegation with the thanks that had been expressed to His Imperial Majesty and the Government and people of Ethiopia. He was greatly impressed by the progress that had been made during the year since his last visit. New buildings and roads had been constructed and new aerial routes opened up, while political, social and cultural evolution had continued apace. Ethiopia had carried on the struggle for the independence of subjugated peoples in other countries, and was bringing the fruits of liberty to its own people on the principle of justice and prosperity for all. The message of His Imperial Majesty would be a source of great inspiration to the Committee, as would the statement by the Secretary-General of the OAU.

261. The representative of the *United Republic of Tanzania* expressed his delegation's thanks to His Imperial Majesty and to the Government and people of Ethiopia for the cordial invitation extended to the Special Committee, and for the wise inaugural statement.

262. Ethiopia's safeguarding and defence of its independence had been a source of inspiration to the United Republic of Tanzania. Strong bonds of friendship existed between the two countries, stemming from their desire for advancement in their own countries and

from their hopes for the development of the continent. His delegation was happy to be in Africa Hall, the seat of the OAU. He expressed his delegation's appreciation of the statement by the Secretary-General of that organization, its confidence that his endeavours would meet with increasing success, and its strong support for his suggestion that the Comoro question be placed on the Committee's agenda.

263. The representative of the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* thanked His Imperial Majesty the Emperor and the Government and people of Ethiopia for their kind invitation. The Special Committee had already met at Addis Ababa the previous year and had adopted some very important recommendations, which had served as a basis for the decisions taken by the General Assembly at its twentieth session. One of the most practical measures had been the establishment of direct contact with the OAU representatives who had participated in the work of the Special Committee. Such contact should be frequent, so that the existing links between the United Nations and the OAU might be tightened, the struggle against colonialism made more effective, and resolution 1514 (XV) applied.

264. He thanked Mr. Diallo Telli for his significant address. He, for his part, hoped that African unity would be strengthened still further in order to wage a more effective struggle against the remaining vestiges of colonialism.

265. The representative of *Afghanistan* associated himself with the thanks expressed by other members of the Committee of His Imperial Majesty and the Government of Ethiopia for their hospitality, and also to H.E. Mr. Diallo Telli for his inspiring address.

266. The representative of *Venezuela* thanked His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I and the Ethiopian Government and people, who had once again enabled the Special Committee to get into touch with African realities and to return to Addis Ababa, that bastion of freedom and independence.

267. The representative of *Mali* thanked His Imperial Majesty the Emperor and the Ethiopian Government and people for their invitation and their warm welcome. His delegation was happy to be in Addis Ababa, that great capital and symbol of African unity, which had raised so many hopes. The message from His Imperial Majesty, which the Ethiopian Minister for Foreign Affairs had kindly read to the members of the Committee, would be a source of inspiration to all delegations.

268. He was also glad to have heard the indignant voice of Mr. Diallo Telli, the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU, who had spoken feelingly about the liberation of millions of Africans now languishing in poverty and oppression.

269. The representative of *India* expressed his gratitude to His Imperial Majesty the Emperor and to the Government of Ethiopia for their generous invitation, and recalled the unique position and significant contribution of Ethiopia in the struggle against colonialism, and the many ties and shared ideals it had with his own country.

270. The representative of *Poland* joined previous speakers in expressing appreciation to the Government and people of Ethiopia for their hospitality and warm welcome. The message delivered by the Ethiopian Foreign Minister, on behalf of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie, would guide and encourage the Special Committee in its deliberations.

<sup>2</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23.*

271. Poland and Ethiopia were bound by ties of friendship, as evidenced by the official visit in December 1965 of the Chairman of the Council of State in his country to Ethiopia. During that visit, the two nations had reiterated their support for the struggle for freedom of such countries as Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. They had also condemned all racial discrimination and had urged the full implementation of the Security Council's resolutions on Southern Rhodesia.

272. He expressed appreciation for the address by the Secretary-General of the OAU and said that it had always been his delegation's firm conviction that the Committee's objectives could best be achieved if it joined its efforts with those of the OAU.

273. The representative of *Tunisia* thanked the Government and the people of Ethiopia for their hospitality and all their efforts to enable the Special Committee successfully to complete its decolonizing mission. He also expressed gratitude to the Minister for Foreign Affairs for his inaugural statement and for the message from His Imperial Majesty, Emperor Haile Selassie I, which he had been good enough to convey to the Special Committee and which would be a source of inspiration to the Committee throughout its deliberations.

274. In addition, he unreservedly supported the ideas expressed in the statement made by Mr. Diallo Telli, the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU, which reflected the profound aspirations of millions of Africans still groaning under the colonial yoke. The attitude of the Tunisian Government would be moulded by the principles of the United Nations Charter and would be based on the pertinent resolutions adopted on decolonization.

275. He agreed with the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU, and with other speakers, that it was very unfortunate that the question of the Comoro Islands had not been included in the Special Committee's agenda and he hoped that the omission would soon be remedied. He welcomed the fact that there was close co-operation between the United Nations and the OAU, since both pursued a common ideal, namely, liberation of peoples under colonial domination and improvement of their lot.

276. The representative of *Bulgaria* also thanked his Imperial Majesty, Emperor Haile Selassie I, and the Ethiopian people for their generous invitation to the Special Committee.

277. The Bulgarian Government, which unreservedly supported African peoples in their attempt to storm the last bastions of colonialism, attached very great importance to the Special Committee's current session in Africa. The fact that the peoples of Africa had chosen Addis Ababa, in which the United Nations had also set up several international organizations, as the site for the headquarters of the OAU, clearly demonstrated their gratitude to Ethiopia, a country which had continually fought to free the oppressed peoples of Africa.

278. He was particularly grateful to Mr. Diallo Telli, the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU, for his confidence in the Special Committee. He agreed with him that the burning colonial problems in Africa called not for resolutions but for solutions, and that effective measures must be taken against the racist, colonialist and minority régimes of South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia. He also approved of the Administrative Secretary-General's suggestion that

meetings of the Security Council should be held in Africa with a view to settling the dangerous situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, South West Africa and the Portuguese colonies, a situation which was a threat to peace in Africa and in the entire world.

279. The representative of *Chile* expressed his gratitude to His Imperial Majesty, Emperor Haile Selassie I, for having invited the Special Committee to hold a part of its session in Ethiopia.

280. Chile had welcomed the establishment of the OAU in 1963, and that organization had already achieved very satisfactory results. It was unfortunate that such an organization, which should devote itself solely to improving the economic, social and cultural conditions of the African peoples, had to concern itself with such problems as colonialism, which ought not even to exist in the contemporary world, since freedom belonged by right to all without distinction.

281. He had listened with interest to the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU, who had given a very comprehensive picture of the situation in his statement. He welcomed the close co-operation between the United Nations and the OAU, which enabled the OAU to participate in the work of the Special Committee. Despite many efforts, the results achieved to date had hardly been outstanding, owing to the resistance of certain Members of the United Nations which did not respect the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

282. The representative of the *Ivory Coast* thanked His Imperial Majesty, Emperor Haile Selassie I, for his wise message which the Minister for Foreign Affairs had transmitted to the Special Committee. That message was further proof of the persevering and conciliatory efforts which His Imperial Majesty had made, both at the United Nations and in the OAU, to foster peace between peoples. He also thanked the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU for a clear and precise statement which he would certainly bear in mind during the work of the Special Committee.

283. The representative of *Syria* paid a tribute to the Government and the people of Ethiopia for their contribution to the liberation and the unity of Africa, and expressed appreciation of their hospitality.

284. He supported the statement made in the preceding meeting by the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU and wished that organization success in its task of liberating oppressed peoples.

285. The representative of *Yugoslavia* expressed his delegation's gratitude to His Imperial Majesty the Emperor, to the Government and people of Ethiopia for their hospitality, and to Mr. Diallo Telli for his important statement.

286. The representative of *Sierra Leone* was gratified by the warm welcome extended by His Imperial Majesty the Emperor and by the Government and people of Ethiopia. Addis Ababa was the birth-place and headquarters of the Organization of African Unity and a source of inspiration in the struggle for freedom and independence.

287. The representative of *Iraq*, recalling the long-standing ties of Ethiopia with the Arab world, thanked His Imperial Majesty the Emperor and the Government of Ethiopia for their warm welcome and Mr. Diallo Telli for his statement.

288. The representative of *Italy* said that the presence of the Special Committee in Addis Ababa for the third time in five years constituted a tribute to the people of Ethiopia for their outstanding contribution to decolonization. He thanked His Imperial Majesty the Emperor, the Government and the people of Ethiopia for their generous hospitality.

289. The representative of the *United States of America* deemed it an honour and a privilege to be present in Addis Ababa, and recalled the long-standing ties between her own country and Ethiopia.

290. The representative of *Australia* wished first to offer to His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie I, and to the great and ancient land of Ethiopia, the homage of his delegation's deepest respects and its gratitude for the kindnesses extended to the Committee. It was most fitting that the revitalized heart of Africa should pulsate so strongly from a country which had not gone the way of many ancient civilizations, but was building firmly on a magnificent past. A beautiful symbol of that fresh vigour was Africa Hall itself. He had listened with the greatest respect to the message which His Imperial Majesty had graciously sent to the Committee, and had noted the words of the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia and the Secretary-General of the OAU. The Australian delegation would faithfully place all those communications before its Government.

291. Associating himself with those who had expressed appreciation of the statement by the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU, the representative of *Ethiopia* said that his delegation whole-heartedly shared his view on the need for speedy elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism in Africa, and deeply appreciated the tremendous efforts that the OAU was making. That organization and the Special Committee had common aims and objectives, and the forthright statement was an important contribution to the Committee's work.

292. Responding to the representatives' expressions of appreciation of the welcome they had received, he said that, as His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I had said, they had only returned to their own home, and it was a great joy for the Ethiopian Government and people to welcome them again. As a country that had had to fight for its very existence against marauding foreign Powers through its long and chequered history, Ethiopia had an interest in seeing colonialism banished from the earth.

293. He hoped that the facilities put at the Special Committee's disposal by his Government would assist in its work.

294. The peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, South West Africa and other oppressed Territories were awaiting the day of deliverance, and looked to the Special Committee with hope and expectation. The Committee could look back with pride at the successes it had achieved, but as long as colonialism and the exploitation of man continued, there was no room for complacency. His delegation was determined to continue the work with renewed vigour during the Committee's remaining sessions in Africa.

#### *Closing of meetings*

*Statement by the representative of the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity*

295. The representative of the *Organization of African Unity* said that he would convey the encouraging

words of the Chairman and members of the Special Committee to his organization's Administrative Secretary-General, who regretted that owing to unavoidable circumstances he was unable to be present at the closing meeting. He was gratified to hear of the Committee's desire for closer liaison with the OAU, whose representative in New York maintained close contact with it, as well as with the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

296. The one important aim of the OAU was the total liquidation of colonialism and racism from the continent—a *sine qua non* for the strengthening of African unity. The struggle would be pursued unremittingly by Africans until the whole continent was free. History and experience had shown that nothing could hold back the march of freedom: the freedom fighters would overcome all obstacles and win the support of all decent men and women.

297. He regretted that the Committee had been unable to discuss the question of Comoro in accordance with the wishes of the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU, but hoped it would find it possible to do so during its later meetings. He expressed the hope that the Committee's discussion in the next two African capitals it was to visit would be as fruitful as those in Addis Ababa.

#### *General statements*

298. *The Chairman*, on behalf of all members of the Committee, expressed gratitude to his Imperial Majesty and the Government of Ethiopia for their kind invitation to the Special Committee; for all the facilities put at its disposal, which had contributed in such large measure to the success of its work; for their generous and gracious hospitality; and for the privilege of another opportunity to strengthen contacts and friendship with the people of Ethiopia. He also expressed gratification at the collaboration of the OAU through its Administrative Secretary-General, whose participation had been of great benefit.

299. It could be said with assurance that the misgivings of one or two members concerning the advisability of the Special Committee's meetings held in Africa had proved groundless. If evidence were needed, it was only necessary to examine the results so far achieved by the Committee and the resolutions adopted; that morning, for instance, it had adopted a highly important and constructive resolution on South West Africa recommending, *inter alia*, that the Security Council should make it obligatory for all States to implement the measures contained in General Assembly resolution 1899 (XVIII). In so doing it had discharged one of the tasks specifically assigned to it by the General Assembly in paragraph 5 of resolution 2105 (XX), which requested the Special Committee to apprise the Security Council of developments in any Territory examined by it which might threaten international peace and security, and to make suggestions that might assist the Council in considering appropriate measures under the United Nations Charter.

300. The Committee had also adopted that morning a resolution concerning Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland (see chap. VII, para. 237), aimed first at ensuring that the progress of the Territories towards independence should be based on the free expression of the people in conformity with resolution 1514 (XV); secondly, at securing territorial integrity and sover-

eighty; and thirdly, at improving their economic situation. Those resolutions, together with the discussions that had taken place concerning Southern Rhodesia, Aden, Ifni and Spanish Sahara were adequate justification for the Committee's visit to Africa. He was confident that the meetings in Cairo and Algiers would yield similar fruitful and valuable results.

301. Members would leave Addis Ababa with very happy memories of their stay, and invigorated and inspired by the work being done both in the development of the great capital and by the OAU.

302. The *representative of the Secretary-General*, on behalf of all members of the Secretariat, expressed deep gratitude to His Imperial Majesty and the Government of Ethiopia for all the facilities placed at their disposal and for the generous hospitality extended to them. Special thanks were due to Mr. Mekasia, and his colleague Mr. Deressa, for their assistance and personal kindness, as well as to the officials of the OAU and the Economic Commission for Africa for their co-operation.

303. The representative of *Ethiopia* said that his Government was grateful to the Special Committee for having accepted its invitation, and strongly believed that its visit had greatly advanced the cause for which it had been established. The resolutions it had adopted had undoubtedly brought encouragement to the many people all over the world still struggling to win freedom and independence, and the petitioners had been left with no doubt as to where the sympathies of the Committee lay. Those were no mean achievements.

304. Colonialism was a scourge that continued to bedevil humanity, and Ethiopia deplored the situation that had made the creation of the Committee an urgent necessity. The fact that even in the latter half of the twentieth century—a period that had witnessed a high degree of practical human achievement—a large proportion of the family of man was suffering deprivation and indignity, was a sad commentary on civilization. His Government therefore looked forward to the day when the Committee's existence was no longer necessary, when the nations would enjoy equally the fruits of freedom and when the exploitation of man by man would be a thing of the past. The fact that the achievement of that aim might be a slow and frustrating process should serve as a challenge and spur the Committee into making ever greater efforts.

305. He hoped that members had enjoyed their stay in Addis Ababa, and wished them success in their work in Cairo and Algiers. It would be his delegation's pleasant duty to convey their expressions of appreciation to His Imperial Majesty and the Government of Ethiopia.

#### D. MEETINGS HELD AT CAIRO, UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

##### *Opening of meetings*

##### *Address by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Republic*

306. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the *United Arab Republic* said that President Gamal Abdel Nasser had asked him to transmit his greetings to the Special Committee and welcome it to the United Arab Republic. The President also conveyed his best wishes for the fulfilment of the Committee's noble efforts to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and to end colonialism in the world. The President was confident that mem-

bers would continue their great mission with the persistence and determination they had always displayed. Meanwhile the President wished them a happy stay among the people of the United Arab Republic.

307. It was the Foreign Minister's privilege to welcome the Committee on behalf of the Government and people of the United Arab Republic. He expressed his country's gratitude for the decision to meet in Cairo and appreciation of the Committee's constructive new practice of holding meetings close to Territories still under colonialism in Africa and the Arabian Peninsula.

308. The ending of all forms of colonialism was vital to the maintenance of international peace. The United Arab Republic therefore appreciated the Committee's noble and essential efforts, which had helped to raise the morale of peoples subjected to colonialism and given them fresh hope of freedom amidst the continuing acts of oppression. Those efforts had also consolidated the struggle of oppressed peoples to attain their right to self-determination, develop their political systems and exploit their economic resources in order to reach a dignified standard of human prosperity in complete freedom from discrimination.

309. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples represented a landmark in the history of the international Organization and a most constructive step forward. Moreover, the efforts of the Committee had considerably contributed to forming a trend of world public opinion hostile to colonialism. That trend had reinforced the will to struggle and sharpened the awareness of peoples striving to recover their freedom. He wished to assure the Committee of the determination of the Government and people of the United Arab Republic to continue to support peoples struggling against all forms of colonialism.

310. His country had followed with great interest and appreciation the Committee's deliberations in Dar es Salaam, Mogadiscio and Addis Ababa, and had no doubt that the African peoples would attain their noble and legitimate objectives in Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and other African Territories still under the yoke of colonialism. The United Arab Republic was equally convinced that the forces of colonialism and racialism would soon surrender in the face of the great African struggle and the values it represented. Meanwhile colonial powers had to recognize the force of the African national struggle and the value, accomplishments and role of the African man. They also had to reckon with the decisions of the Organization of African Unity, which represented both a framework and an instrument of the independent African States for the attainment of the honourable objectives of freedom and construction throughout the African continent.

311. The people of the United Arab Republic attached the greatest importance to the questions of Aden and Oman, which the Committee was to discuss. The question of Aden and the Aden Protectorates had already passed the stage of mere adoption of resolutions. The challenge lay rather in taking the necessary action to carry out the United Nations and Special Committee resolutions; and it was the duty of the United Kingdom Government to abide by and fully implement those resolutions, as well as to embark upon a policy of co-operation with the Special Committee for that purpose.

312. He was confident that the Committee fully realized the extent of the aggression and armed intervention to which the people of Oman had been subjected. The General Assembly had already taken positive steps at its twentieth session, when it had recognized the legitimate right of the people of Oman to self-determination and the withdrawal of foreign forces from their territory. He was also confident that the Committee, in fulfilling its United Nations mandate to examine the cause of the struggling people of Oman, would take the decisions and steps necessary for putting an end to armed aggression against the people of Oman and enabling them to recover true sovereignty and enjoy their inherent right to development and progress.

313. The people of the United Arab Republic stood with all Arab and African peoples in watching the work of the Special Committee with great hopes and expectations. Its meetings in Cairo and other African capitals would surely be crowned with success, thereby crystallizing its noble and vital task of ending colonialism.

*Address by the Acting Secretary-General of the League of Arab States*

314. The Acting Secretary-General of the *League of Arab States* welcomed the Special Committee to the Arab League's headquarters on behalf of the League of Arab States and thanked it for inviting the League to attend as an observer the meeting of that body, which reflected the noble aims of the United Nations for the liquidation of imperialism and the liberation of humanity from imperialistic aims and dangers.

315. That same aim was also the corner-stone on which the Arab League was founded and for the realization of which it had worked during the whole of its twenty-one years of existence. If the revival of unity was considered to be the ultimate goal of the Arab nation, then freedom could be regarded as the foundation of unity and at its core. That was why the League of Arab States, and its members had struggled for the cause of liberating the Arab nation. Victory for the cause of freedom in Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Sudan, Kuwait and Algeria had eventually been achieved. Those countries had become full members of the League of Arab States and of the United Nations.

316. With great faith and purpose, the League and its members were now struggling against British imperialism in the Arabian Peninsula. British imperialism had imposed tyrannic rule over the Occupied South, Oman, Muscat and the Emirates of the Gulf, thus flagrantly disregarding the United Nations and violating its Charter and its principles and the resolutions of both the General Assembly and of the Special Committee.

317. Imperialism was still clinging to outdated measures reminiscent of the past two centuries and was resorting to suppression, intimidation and annihilation. In so doing, imperialism disregarded the sufferings, casualties and sacrifices of the people and ignored the fact that that area of the Arab nation embodied one of the oldest civilizations of the world. The Arab nation and the other free nations of the world would in no way agree to the presence of imperialism, which imposed its outrageous exploitation and tied the people to its yoke, thus leading to large-scale ignorance and

poverty in the area. Imperialism also constituted a threat to the security of the region and to the peace of the world. It must be borne in mind, at the present juncture, that imperialism had been liquidated in all Asian countries and only remained in the Arab area. It was high time for imperialism to depart from other African States. Cloaked in new shapes, imperialism desperately tried to resume its former power, but its attempts were doomed to failure for they struck deep at the nature of the evolution of life and the maturity of the human conscience.

318. It might not be out of place, in that connexion, to recall what had been taking place in the Arab areas 140 years ago, when British imperialism aligned itself with backwardness against the Arab people; or to recall the protracted nationalist struggle throughout that dark age, which reached a decisive stage with the inception of the Liberation Front, its sacred war against imperialist aggression and the historic feats of heroism it achieved in the last four years; or of imperialist machinations to subvert those movements. The most outstanding example of such machinations had taken place in 1959, when the United Kingdom had embarked upon the foundation of the so-called "Federation of South Arabia", its puppet and the medium for exercising its imperialist powers in the Occupied South. That was exemplified again by the subversive conferences of the United Kingdom, which that country falsely called constitutional. The next conference of that kind would take place in August 1966 between the United Kingdom on the one hand and its puppet in the area on the other. In reality that will mean a conference between the United Kingdom and itself.

319. Attention should also be drawn to the acts of intimidation and tyranny in Muscat, Oman and the Gulf. Those acts had been exposed and publicized thanks to the Special Committee, which had upheld liberty and would continue to uphold it during the present discussion on the two questions.

320. However, he wished to stress the fact that British imperialist danger in the Arabian peninsula was of the same nature, though it took on different forms. It threatened not only the Arabian Peninsula, but also the whole Afro-Asian world. Imperialism would never be eradicated unless its bases were dismantled in the Arab area.

321. Only a week ago he had read the twenty-sixth pamphlet of the Adelphi Papers, entitled *Sources of Conflict in the Middle East*. There was nothing more significant and eloquent than that paper in revealing the United Kingdom's underlying objective of imperialism in the Arabian Peninsula and in focusing light upon the bases from which aggression was directed against the people.

322. That document needed no comment; it would suffice to quote a few paragraphs from it. For example:

"Britain has bases for land, sea and air forces at Aden and Bahrain, linked by a chain of four air stationing posts and supplemented by smaller landing strips in the South Arabian Federation and the Eastern Aden Protectorates. The bases support a mixed land force of infantry, armour and artillery, a small naval force of escorts, minesweepers and landing craft and an air element including interceptor-ground attack aircraft, reconnaissance bombers, transport aircraft and a few helicopters. Britain

is formally bound to defend the South Arabian Federation (including Aden) as well as the Protectorates which remain outside the Federation. In the Persian Gulf area, Britain is also formally bound to defend Bahrain against attack from within the Gulf, to defend Qatar against attack by sea, to defend the Trucial State of Fujairah against any aggression. . . . In addition to these formal commitments, Britain considers itself, and is widely considered, to have a general moral commitment to defend all those States in the Gulf for whose international relations the British Government remains responsible. The main routes by which Britain communicates with and reinforces the bases in the area are by sea through the Suez Canal or by air over Turkey and Iran to Bahrain. Both routes are also important in sustaining the British military presence in the Indian Ocean area and South-East Asia."<sup>3</sup>

323. The document contained accounts indicating a rapprochement between the United States and the United Kingdom concerning that imperialist military plan. Reference was also made to the Western strategic belt, which aimed at the containment of the Soviet Union and the countries parties to the Warsaw Pact, thus forming a defensive-offensive force to face Soviet expansion. The document went on to say:

"British bases and commitments in southern Arabia and the Persian Gulf . . . [help to promote Western influence in the Middle East and to deter any local belligerence. . . . They] help to keep open a strategic route to British positions in the Indian Ocean and South-East Asia, and may thus be said to contribute to the containment of any advance by a communist Power into those areas. But their primary purpose is a more local one: to safeguard the flow of Middle East oil, to prevent or check conflict in their own immediate area and to provide a base for British military intervention in other areas close at hand."<sup>4</sup>

324. The document also mentioned the danger originating from Arab nationalism and its power, and uncovered imperialistic plots against the emerging Arab countries in the area. Imperialism feared that force, which constituted a threat to its aggressive aspirations.

325. The document then stated, in a manner reminiscent of the fossilized imperialist mentality, that Curzon's Declaration of 1903, which stipulated that "The peace of these waters must be maintained . . . and the influence of the British Government must remain supreme", still held good in 1966 so far as the Occupied South and the Gulf were concerned, thus completely disregarding twentieth century developments.

326. He begged indulgence for his lengthy quotations, for he regarded them as unequivocal evidence uncovering the latest British machinations directed against the liberation movement of the Occupied South, and evidence of the unyielding British attitude in Muscat, Oman and the Gulf Emirates. Those statements showed the far-reaching effects of the battle and revealed the truth sought after by the Committee.

327. He also wished to disclose three main parallel aspects of the same imperialist policy followed in

South Arabia and to indicate the stand taken by the League of Arab States on those issues.

328. In the cause of the Occupied South, the Arab League, during its first seventeen years of existence, had resorted to every diplomatic means at its disposal to deal with British imperialism, but all its attempts had been in vain. The result was more aggression and repression on the part of imperialism. In 1962 the liberation movement of the Occupied South had initiated a new stage of action, both through an effective nationalist struggle and through the United Nations. During the last four years the Arab countries, through its organs—the League's Councils, Heads of Government and meetings of Heads of State—had pursued the following policies:

They had striven against British imperialism in the Arabian Peninsula by every means at their disposal in order to eradicate imperialism and to consolidate the liberation movement in the Occupied South and Oman. They had also given active aid to the Arabian Gulf to enable it to achieve liberation and advancement.

They had implemented the resolutions of the Special Committee and of the United Nations General Assembly, and in particular the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on 5 November 1965, regarding the Occupied South, and on 17 December 1965 regarding Oman.

They had taken a firm stand against the British conferences and imperialist manoeuvres which, in a bid to safeguard continued imperialistic presence in a new form, sought to establish puppet régimes which were not the product of the free will of the people of the area. Those attempts and manoeuvres had been condemned by the United Nations.

They had united the efforts of the nationalists in one organization so as to close their ranks against imperialists, which tried to sow the seeds of discord among them.

329. The Nationalist Liberation Movement had recently gained impetus. On 3 March 1966, the Nationalist Front and the Liberation Organization were merged to form a single body: the Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen (FLOSY). The agreement had been ratified on the same day by the Yemen Occupied South Commission of the Arab League and by the League's Council during the same month.

330. The League of Arab States staunchly believed that the Committee would condemn the current attempt by the United Kingdom to hold negotiations with the Federation Government, its tool. It was taking pains to involve the United Nations in its aggressive attempts and taking steps to hold a conference next August which would be a replica of former conferences, which were doomed to failure. It also refused to implement the United Nations resolutions. The United Kingdom should therefore be faced with a decisive confrontation. The nationalist struggle inside the Territory was escalating and becoming more ferocious.

331. But the United Kingdom was persisting in its negotiations and preparations, and was adamant in its insistence on more sacrifices and bloodshed. That was incontestable evidence that current British negotiations were far removed from the aspirations of the people of the area, whose belief in freedom was becom-

<sup>3</sup>The Institute for Strategic Studies, *Sources of Conflict in the Middle East*, Adelphi Paper No. 26 (March 1966), pp. 26 and 27.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 27 and 28.

ing stauncher and who were more determined to gain victory than ever before.

332. With regard to the Omani cause, on 17 December 1965 the United Nations General Assembly had upheld the natural right of the Omani people to liberation from British imperialists, and to independence and self-determination; it had further condemned the United Kingdom for refusing to co-operate with the Special Committee on Oman, and called for the withdrawal of British forces from Oman, and for the abolition of British supremacy in all its forms, without restrictions on liberties and with legal rights for the people.

333. But since 1955 the occupying forces of the United Kingdom persisted in defending their presence and were still defying the resolutions of the United Nations and the natural rights of the Arab people of Oman. The Arab League was confident that the Special Committee would uphold the Omani people's right to liberty and independence in a new and effective way.

334. The Gulf Emirates were also fettered by British imperialism, which impeded their progress and deprived them of prosperity. Imperialism further imposed its internal and external guardianship without any basis in international law. This, in fact, was the most heinous form of imperialism, whose liquidation was the primary aim of the Special Committee.

335. In compliance with the League's Pact, which called for "co-operation with the Arab countries non-members of the League's Council in a bid to achieve prosperity and safeguard their future", the League Council on 31 March 1964 had adopted a resolution in which it decided to send a mission headed by the Secretary-General of the League, and whose members were personal representatives of the Heads of Arab States which are immediate neighbours of the Gulf Emirates. The aim of that mission was to conclude an agreement with the Emirs on methods of achieving brotherly co-operation with that area, and to offer economic and technical aid.

336. The mission had departed in October 1964 and was followed by a mission of technicians. Agreements were concluded with the rulers of the Emirates concerning projects for paving roads, agriculture, water, electricity and hygiene, to be financed and implemented by the League. The League earmarked the necessary funds and transferred the balance to the Dobai banks before beginning the work.

337. Since 1964, the United Kingdom had been indifferent to the League's projects aiming to revive the area, but once it realized the effectiveness of Arab aid and the willingness of the rulers and people to accept it, that country had embarked upon a policy of pressure and conspiracy. It was then decided that the Secretary-General of the League should visit the Emirates to obtain ratification of the Arab projects from the rulers. A few hours after his arrival on 10 May 1965, he received the necessary documents. The rulers, especially those of Sharjah and Ras El Khaima, because of their prestige, were then intimidated and threatened with deposition, unless they withdrew their agreement to co-operate with the League. All of them refused to submit to such threats.

338. On 22 June 1965, a mission of Arab experts left for Dubai to begin work there. It was then that British imperialism revealed its odious and outdated methods. When the experts arrived in Doha, the

capital of the Qatar Emirate, on 24 June 1965, they were prevented, by sheer force, from continuing their journey, and were obliged to return to Kuwait on the same day. There followed the detention of Sheikh Sakr Ibn Sultan, the ruler of Sharjah Emirate, and his banishment to Kuwait. Identical cables were sent to the Secretary-General of the League signed by the other rulers informing him that they had withdrawn from their previous agreements. That incident thus demonstrated one of the heinous methods of imperialist despotism.

339. These brief references to British imperialism in the Occupied South, Omani Imamate and the Gulf Emirates clearly demonstrated imperialist planning, which constituted a threat to the security of the whole area and showed the untruthfulness of recent declarations by the United Kingdom.

340. At that time, the United Kingdom had declared its willingness to put into effect projects for construction in the area, but after a year it was still indifferent to those projects. The Arabs, however, had learnt, in their protracted struggle for freedom, not to listen to any imperialist promises, for they were mere lies. Imperialism would presumably never allow progress, its deadly foe, to replace backwardness, its pliant ally.

341. The United Kingdom Government had announced its determination to evacuate the Occupied South by 1968, but had simultaneously engaged in negotiations under a non-constitutional system condemned by the United Nations, and was disregarding the true representatives of the people. It had just concluded a new secret agreement with the ruler of Bahrain. That agreement aimed at enlarging the military base in Bahrain and equipping it with large quantities of offensive arms. It had been further reported that the United Kingdom Foreign Office was taking the utmost pains to keep that agreement confidential, fearing as it did the pressure which the Arab nationalists might exert upon the Bahrain Government to annul its co-operation with the United Kingdom.

342. That situation aroused grave concern. One reason was that the United Kingdom was persisting in its outdated imperialist schemes, and paying no heed to the fact that it was in the second half of the twentieth century. Another reason was that the Occupied South revolutionaries were continuing their heroic struggle for the liberation of their country and the Omani people were engaging in hostilities. Nationalist resistance had spread from the Imamate of Oman to the internal areas of Muscat. The present situation indicated that an explosion was imminent especially after the deposition of Sharjah Emir, and the United Kingdom's persistence in rejecting the League's support for rehabilitation projects.

343. Intimidation activities had escalated in the area and an agreement concerning an aggressive military base in Bahrain had been concluded.

344. The Arab nation and free peoples everywhere looked to the Committee's historic meeting in Cairo, a city which had scored historic victories against the aggressive forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism; for Cairo was the bulwark of the struggle for freedom. Everybody remembered with gratitude its painstaking efforts to meet freedom fighters in their homelands. People would always remember the praiseworthy stands taken by the Committee on the causes of justice and liberty, and had unswerving faith that it would

take a decisive stand in support of the Arab liberation causes.

### General statements

345. The Chairman, speaking on behalf of the Special Committee, thanked the Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic for his inspiring address and for the stirring and remarkable message he had communicated from President Gamal Abdel Nasser. The Foreign Minister had set out important elements which would assist the Committee in its work in Cairo.

346. The Committee's gratitude went out to the Government of the United Arab Republic for inviting it to hold some of its meetings in Cairo and for extending to it hospitality and fine facilities.

347. The position of the Government of the United Arab Republic in the vanguard of the struggle for the liberation of colonial peoples, its devotion to the cause of peace, its dedication to the aims embodied in the United Nations Charter, and its constructive contribution to the work of the Committee, represented an inspiration and a stimulus at the outset of the Committee's work in Cairo.

348. The Chairman also thanked the observer for the League of Arab States for his statement. The special relationship of the League with the United Nations and its contribution to the Special Committee's aims and aspirations made it of particular importance, and due attention would be given to the points raised in the Committee's deliberations in Cairo.

349. It was appropriate that the Committee should be taking up the matters of Aden and Oman while in Cairo. Developments concerning Aden had reached a crucial stage. Fully appreciating the importance attached to the matter by all Arab peoples, he gave an assurance that the Committee would spare no effort to make the contribution expected of it by those peoples and by all freedom-loving peoples everywhere. As the representative of a country which had suffered under colonial domination, he pledged the Committee's unflinching determination to secure the full and earliest possible application of the pertinent General Assembly and Special Committee resolutions. In that connexion, he extended a warm welcome to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Aden, Mr. Omar A. H. Adeel, who was present and would take his seat when the matter of Aden was considered.

350. With regard to the question of Oman the Committee would, with equal determination, endeavour to make an effective contribution towards ensuring for the people of Oman the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence in accordance with their freely expressed wishes. In that task the Committee would of course be guided by General Assembly resolution 2023 (XX) of 17 December 1965.

351. He concluded by renewing his thanks to the Foreign Minister for his address and, through him, to the Government of the United Arab Republic for enabling the Committee to meet in Cairo. He also wished, through the Foreign Minister, to reiterate his gratitude to President Gamal Abdel Nasser for the inspiring message he had that day communicated to the Committee.

352. The representative of the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* thanked the Government of the United Arab Republic for its invitation to the Special Com-

mittee to hold some of its meetings in the capital of the new Arab State which was in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for the freedom and independence of all the oppressed peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the rest of the world. On behalf of the USSR delegation, he expressed his deep appreciation to His Excellency Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic, and to the Government and people of that country, which had close ties of friendship with the Soviet people. Relations between the two countries and peoples were based on their common struggle for peace, social progress and socialism. The Government of the United Arab Republic had given the Special Committee an opportunity to make an on-the-spot inquiry into the fundamental problems of the peoples of Arabia fighting against colonial régimes and to hear the representatives of nationalist and patriotic organizations of Aden and Oman and of all those engaged in the struggle to liberate those territories. It had also provided an opportunity for the Committee to work out agreed solutions which would facilitate the rapid implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples as well as many other resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the questions of Aden and Oman.

353. Although five years had passed since the adoption of the Declaration, millions of human beings, for the most part in Africa and East Arabia, were still held in chains under colonial rule, being brutally exploited, subjected to every kind of humiliation, deprived of their human dignity, persecuted and murdered, solely because they refused to remain slaves. The conscience of mankind could not ignore the crimes of the colonialists. Ways must be found to eradicate the last traces of colonialism and its aftermath, apartheid and racism. Although mortally wounded, colonialism refused to die. It was defending itself fiercely. For some time now, in some parts of the world, colonialist and imperialist forces had been attempting to organize counter-attacks against national liberation movements and to undermine the sovereignty of a number of newly independent young States.

354. The ruling circles in the United States were interfering in the internal affairs of other States and waging an aggressive war against the people of Vietnam. The British colonialists were sending punitive expeditions against the peoples of South Arabia, Aden and Oman. Their Portuguese henchmen were pouring fresh troops into Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea to exterminate the patriots in these Territories. The Verwoerd régime made no attempt to conceal its intention of annexing South West Africa. Ian Smith's unilateral declaration of independence was an act of defiance directed not only against 4 million inhabitants of Zimbabwe, but against all of peace-loving Africa.

355. The criminal plans of Ian Smith, Verwoerd and Salazar, aimed at keeping racist and colonialist régimes in power, could never have succeeded without the military, economic and political support of a number of States members of NATO, foremost among them the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. The international situation made it imperative for all forces fighting imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism to unite. South Arabia was one of the last bulwarks of British and international imperialism.

It was being used as a major base, which threatened the peace and the security of the peoples of East Arabia.

356. The imperialist monopolies, particularly the United States and British monopolies, had taken possession of the principal resource of South Arabia, oil. The interests of the oil monopolies were carefully protected by land, sea and air forces which threatened the security not only of the people of the area but of the entire Arab world. During the Suez crisis, the Aden and Bahrain bases had served as a spring-board for the air attacks on Egypt. Now, by repeated military provocations, the same bases were threatening the young Arab States. They were being used to combat the national liberation movements in South Arabia and to punish the Arab peoples which had taken up arms to fight for freedom. British airplanes took off from those bases to bomb the villages of South Arabia. British soldiers launched what amounted to colonial expeditions against the patriots of the region and hunted down the Aden freedom fighters. The United Kingdom still had a network of military bases in the Near and Middle East. In the area of Aden and the Gulf, it maintained large contingents of troops which were used both to suppress national liberation movements in South Arabia and to exert pressure on the independent States of East Arabia.

357. On the subject of the importance attributed by imperialism to maintaining military bases in that part of the world, Mr. Julian Amery, former Minister for Air of the last British Conservative Government had recently written that the facts irrefutably proved that the military presence of the United Kingdom east of Suez had considerably helped and was still helping to protect its interests against the hostile local elements. The statement was wholly without guile: the "hostile local elements" were none other than the peoples of Asia and Africa and the peoples of South Arabia, which were resisting British rule and opposing any interference in their internal affairs. The "east of Suez" policy amounted to a sustained effort to protect imperialist interests. It was contrary to the interests of the peoples of Asia and Africa and aimed at strengthening the colonial rule of British imperialism in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula.

358. However, the monstrous and barbarous methods used by imperialism and colonialism to stifle the legitimate aspirations of the peoples to freedom and independence were doomed to failure. Despite local frustrations and temporary defeats, the liberation forces were steadily increasing in number and their equipment was improving. The last vestiges of colonialism would be unable to withstand an attack by those forces: he could state that with certainty, because all States and peoples which loved freedom, peace and progress were giving increasingly active support to the freedom fighters.

359. The position of the Soviet Union on the question was well known: in order to help to liquidate colonial régimes as rapidly as possible, it had provided and would continue to provide assistance to the peoples which were waging a heroic struggle against colonial oppression.

360. During his recent visit to the United Arab Republic, Mr. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, had said: "Our State and the whole Soviet people are providing decisive support for all those fighting for their freedom and in-

dependence. For many years, the Soviet Union has been pursuing a policy of active support for peoples fighting for their national independence, for the permanent liquidation of capitalism and for the strengthening of peace. You can be sure that we shall continue to pursue that policy."

361. The joint *communiqué* on the talks between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United Arab Republic setting forth the position of the signatories on colonial questions stated that they condemned the policy of oppression of the colonial Power in Aden and South Arabia. They affirmed that they were prepared fully to support the heroic struggle of the Arab peoples for their freedom and genuine self-determination. They appealed to the United Kingdom Government to implement the decisions of the United Nations General Assembly and pledged their support to the people of Oman in its fight against colonialism.

362. The USSR delegation expressed confidence that during its meetings in Cairo, the Special Committee would adopt decisions aimed at supporting the liberation forces of South Arabia and expediting the liquidation of colonial régimes in that part of the world. The Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States had an important part to play in the overthrow of these régimes in Africa and East Arabia. In previous years, the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States had managed to co-ordinate their activities more and more efficiently. His delegation welcomed that co-operation and expressed the hope that the representatives of the Arab League would work with the Special Committee in an effort to resolve the problems to be discussed in Cairo.

363. On behalf of his delegation, he extended to the people of the United Arab Republic his best wishes for their complete success in building a new life of happiness and prosperity.

364. The representative of *Venezuela* said that he was pleased to have an opportunity, for the first time in four years, to pay a tribute to the United Arab Republic for its co-operation with the Special Committee. At the previous session, he had conveyed his thanks to the United Arab Republic in his capacity as a member of the Sub-Committee on Aden. Now, it was on behalf of the delegations of Chile, Uruguay and Venezuela that he thanked the people and Government of the United Arab Republic for the kind invitation to the Special Committee to hold some of its African meetings in Cairo. The warm welcome the United Arab Republic had given the members of the Special Committee had once again demonstrated its readiness to fight against colonialism and showed that it had taken an unequivocal stand in favour of United Nations action in that struggle.

365. The Venezuelan delegation fully appreciated the valuable assistance given the Special Committee by the United Arab Republic and thanked its Government for having enabled the Committee members to have direct contact with the reality of colonialism in that part of the world. He was confident that the experience gained during the Cairo meetings would be very valuable and would help the Committee to complete its task successfully and thus to carry out the instructions of the General Assembly.

366. The representative of *Iraq* expressed his delegation's profound appreciation and gratitude for the invitation extended to the Special Committee by a

sister Arab country to hold some of its meetings in Cairo. Coming to Cairo was, for Arabs and Africans alike, something in the nature of a long-cherished pilgrimage.

367. The same banks of the Nile had seen the flowering of a great Arab and Islamic civilization that had spread light and justice throughout that part of the world. Since the great revolution of 23 July 1952 the United Arab Republic had come to represent, for Arabs and Africans, the pulsating heart of Arab and African unity, the defiant stand against colonialism and its offshoot, international Zionism, the rallying point in the struggle against all foreign domination and oppression, and a refuge for freedom fighters from all over the world.

368. In 1954, President Nasser had written in his *Philosophy of the Revolution* that it was not in vain that his country lay to the south-west of Asia close to the Arab world, whose life was intermingled with that of the United Arab Republic; neither was it in vain that his country lay to the north-east of Africa, a position from which it overlooked the African continent, wherein was raging the most violent struggle between white colonizers and the black indigenous inhabitants for the possession of its inexhaustible resources.

369. Indeed, the United Arab Republic had played, and continued to play, a leading role in the struggle against Zionist colonialism and its forcible occupation of a very dear part of the Arab homeland as well as in the general fight against all forms of colonialism everywhere.

370. He felt confident that the Committee's deliberations in Cairo would be as successful, constructive and fruitful as those held previously in other African capitals.

371. The representative of *Bulgaria* also expressed his delegation's appreciation to His Excellency Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic, and to the people and Government of the United Arab Republic for inviting the Special Committee to meet in Cairo and for the warm welcome extended to the members. The results of the Committee's present session in Africa, since it was already possible to speak of results, had shown how much the Committee owed to the United Arab Republic and the other countries which had invited it to hold meetings in their respective capitals. The United Arab Republic's hospitality was not fortuitous. It was in line with the overall policy of the United Arab Republic on colonial questions. The United Arab Republic was in the forefront of the African countries and the States Members of the United Nations which consistently supported the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. Its contribution to the fight against imperialism and the help it gave to national liberation movements in Africa, the Near East, South Arabia and all other areas of the world where vestiges of colonialism still existed were of the greatest significance. The statement of His Excellency El Sayed Mahmoud Riad, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Republic, was further evidence of that fact.

372. The Bulgarian delegation, which represented a people friendly to the United Arab Republic, was gratified to be able to see for itself that the United Arab Republic with its age-old culture and civilization, was forging ahead towards a free and independent existence. Indeed, the few hours spent in the beautiful

capital of the United Arab Republic had already given the Committee members an idea of the enthusiasm and optimism with which the people of the United Arab Republic were building their State under the leadership of their Government. Their economic achievements and improved level of living were a source of inspiration and an example for all peoples which had severed the chains of colonialism. The Bulgarian delegation fully agreed with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Republic that the Committee's work would assume special importance during its stay in Cairo. The Committee was to define the ways and means of ensuring the speedy implementation of the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) and the resolutions on Oman and the Aden Protectorates adopted by the General Assembly at its last session. Its further task was to frustrate the attempts of the United Kingdom to maintain its military bases in South Arabia with the help of reactionary and corrupt elements and puppet governments and prevent it from continuing to enslave the peoples of those territories.

373. Guided by the anti-imperialist policy of its Government, the Bulgarian delegation could assure the representatives of the Government of the United Arab Republic that it would assist the Special Committee in every way in its efforts to liberate the peoples of South Arabia. To the people of the United Arab Republic, with which the Bulgarian people had close ties of friendship and co-operation which had been reaffirmed by the recent visit of the Chairman of the Council of Bulgaria to Cairo, it extended its most sincere wishes for continued success in building its independent and sovereign republic.

374. The representative of *Ethiopia* wished to associate his delegation with the expressions of thanks and appreciation already voiced for the welcome and hospitality extended to the Special Committee by the Government and people of the United Arab Republic. His country had grown accustomed to that hospitality throughout the long history of common ties between the peoples of Egypt and Ethiopia. The historical, cultural and geographical links existing between the two sister countries were so strong as to reduce the physical distance between them to insignificance. The Ethiopian delegation therefore felt very much at home in the great and ancient city of Cairo.

375. It was fitting that the Special Committee should take up the question of Aden and Oman while in Cairo; for the people of the United Arab Republic had long suffered under ruthless colonialists and imperialists, and rightly expected from the Committee the support and assistance due to them as a people still struggling to win freedom, independence and human dignity.

376. As a neighbour of Aden and South Arabia as a whole, Ethiopia had been keeping a close and sympathetic watch on the struggle that the gallant people of those Territories were waging for freedom, democracy and social justice. He therefore wished to assure the people of Aden of the sympathy of his delegation and its full support for any measure designed to ensure the rapid transition of Aden from its present colonial status to complete freedom and unfettered independence.

377. History testified to the fact that Ethiopia had always stood by the side of the Arab world in times of difficulty. It was therefore only natural for the Ethiopian Government and people to support the aspirations of the struggling peoples in the remaining

pockets of colonialism and imperialism in the Arab world. He warned the United Kingdom that it was high time for it to cease oppression and make the necessary preparations for a speedy and complete withdrawal from the area in question.

378. He concluded by extending his thanks to the President, Government and people of the United Arab Republic for inviting the Special Committee to their country and expressed the hope that its meetings in Cairo would contribute to the complete eradication of colonialism in the Arab world and elsewhere.

379. The representative of *Iran* expressed his delegation's gratitude to the President, Government and people of the United Arab Republic for their invitation to the Special Committee to hold some of its meetings in Cairo. It was a special pleasure for the Iranian delegation to be amongst a people with whom Iran shared immutable ties of friendship and common heritage. Those ties, dating back over two thousand years, had been reinforced by the present common aim to uproot colonialism.

380. His delegation had listened with great attention and interest to the highly important statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Republic. The Iranian representative was convinced that that statement would greatly assist the Special Committee in its task.

381. His delegation would do everything within its power to help all peoples languishing under colonial subjugation to regain their freedom and independence. The Special Committee, to a greater extent than any other United Nations body, had been instrumental in strengthening the confidence of those peoples in the United Nations and had been able to gain a direct acquaintance with their wishes and aspirations. He was convinced that the Committee would make a valuable contribution to implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

382. He concluded by reiterating the thanks of his delegation for the friendly welcome and the warmth of feeling extended to the Committee.

383. The representative of *Poland* expressed the gratitude of the Polish delegation to the President, Government and people of the United Arab Republic for inviting the Special Committee to the capital of a country which had become a shining star in the firmament of liberation struggles in the Arab world, as well as playing a leading role in liberation struggles elsewhere. He trusted that the presence of the Special Committee in Cairo would give hope and encouragement to the freedom fighters of Aden and the adjacent Territories which were still suffering humiliation, exploitation and foreign domination under oppressive and abhorrent colonial régimes. The United Arab Republic was making a most important contribution towards the realization of the noble aims of progress, peace and justice, and its dedicated efforts in the cause of its own socialist development were admired by all its genuine friends. The economic, political and social changes in the United Arab Republic, set a visible example to the world. Poland had many ties of friendly co-operation with the United Arab Republic, and both countries had a common approach to world problems. Poland cherished those relations and vividly recalled the warm welcome extended to its Chairman of the Council of State, Mr. Edward Ochab, during

his visit to the United Arab Republic in November 1965. The Polish representative wished to take the opportunity of conveying to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic Poland's warm wishes for further success in their noble endeavours in the cause of peace, progress and a bright and prosperous future. Thanks were also due to the Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic for his important and inspiring address, which was but a further testimony of the determination of the host country to assist the United Nations in its efforts to uproot colonialism everywhere. He also wished to express his delegation's gratitude to the Arab League for the facilities extended to the Committee.

384. The Polish delegation supported the just and legitimate struggle of the people of Aden and of South Arabia as a whole, and, in expressing his deep appreciation to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic for their invitation, reiterated its most cordial wishes for peace, progress and social justice.

385. The representative of the *United Republic of Tanzania* thanked the President, the Government and the people of the United Arab Republic for their welcome and expressed his appreciation of the statement made on behalf of President Nasser by the Foreign Minister. He assured Mr. Riad that the Committee would give full consideration to the President's words of wisdom.

386. Since the United Arab Republic had emerged as a free State in 1952, its people, under the leadership of President Nasser, had consistently defended human rights, and particularly the right to political independence in countries still under the yoke of colonialism. The spirit of the United Arab Republic had been shown in its acts and not by words alone. It was well known that the United Arab Republic supported the Liberation Committee of the OAU whose headquarters were in Dar es Salaam. It had striven, at great sacrifice, to free peoples exploited by foreign Powers. It had given up trading with South Africa, and had not hesitated to break off diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom because of the Southern Rhodesian question.

387. The work of the United Arab Republic for Africa was beyond praise, and he was happy that the Special Committee could hold some of its meetings in Cairo, for the United Arab Republic was extending the struggle against colonialism to the Middle East, and Aden was of particular concern to it. The United Kingdom had vested interests in those Territories and pretended that its presence enabled the indigenous peoples to make progress. It used that pretext to defy the United Nations resolutions. In that connexion he wished to pay a tribute to the many people who had lost their lives in the struggle for the independence of their country.

388. Tanzania, like the United Arab Republic with which it had long-standing ties of friendship, had always fought against colonialism. He assured it of his Government's strong support and of his conviction that with Committee's help the people of Aden would attain their freedom.

389. The representative of *Yugoslavia* thanked the Foreign Minister and the President for their messages of welcome. He was particularly happy to be in the United Arab Republic. Cairo was a most appropriate meeting place for the Committee. It was well known that the United Arab Republic had played an outstand-

ing role in the process of decolonization and in freeing Africa, and had indeed served as an outstanding example to other countries.

390. His own country had many ties of friendship and co-operation with the United Arab Republic. Both were interested in maintaining international peace and security, in eradicating all forms of foreign domination and in the improvement of international relations on the basis of non-interference. Those ties had recently been reaffirmed by the seventeenth meeting between Presidents Tito and Nasser. His delegation was certain that the Committee's work in Cairo would be successful.

391. The representative of *Syria* felt that no expression of homage and thanks could do justice to the President, Government and valiant people of the United Arab Republic. Hospitality had deep roots in that country and was indeed a matter of everyday life. Colonialism had met with its most humiliating defeats in the United Arab Republic, whose stand against oppression was not a matter of politics but rather a profession of faith. Its defence of subjugated peoples was a sacred duty, not a mere question of choice. The United Arab Republic gave support to the cause of emancipation and justice regardless of race, and was determined to liquidate the last bastions of colonialism as well as the inhuman legacy left behind: under-development, poverty, disease, ignorance, division and degradation. As President Nasser himself had said, colonialism was a basic source of evil. If it were to be eradicated, the instruments that it used must also be eradicated.

392. The United Arab Republic had become an outstanding example of progress, and Cairo had become the meeting place of progressive forces in the Arab world and elsewhere, co-ordinated by the United Arab Republic.

393. The aims of the United Arab Republic were those of the Special Committee. President Nasser's message would be a source of inspiration to the Committee, as the Chairman had pointed out: the present age was too enlightened to be deceived by the puppet régimes erected by colonialism to perpetuate its exploitation of men and resources.

394. On behalf of the Syrian Arab Republic and its people and Government, he expressed his deep gratitude, solidarity and unity of purpose with the United Arab Republic, and wished that country every success in its noble endeavour in the cause of humanity, as well as his sincere thanks to the Arab League for the assistance given the Committee.

395. The representative of *Mali* thanked the people and Government of the United Arab Republic and President Nasser for the kind invitation and warm welcome extended to the Special Committee.

396. Since the sixth century, Mali and the United Arab Republic had been linked by ethnic, historical and cultural ties. Although they had been separated by colonialism for nearly three quarters of a century, after their liberation they had found themselves more united than ever in the final struggle against old and new colonialism and against imperialism.

397. Mali was observing with special attention the real pride the UAR's efforts to strengthen its independence and emerge from under-development. Every success of the Egyptian peoples was a victory for Mali, an African victory over the common enemies

—colonialism and imperialism. Both phenomena were destined to disappear because all peoples would ultimately gain their freedom; as the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU had said, it was only a matter of time and methods.

398. The very fact that the United Arab Republic had invited the Special Committee to hold part of its session in Cairo indicated that country's interest in the problems of decolonization.

399. He was pleased to have an opportunity in Cairo to hear the true representatives of Aden and Oman speak on behalf of their peoples about the inhumane and intolerable conduct of the United Kingdom in those Territories. The United Kingdom Government must implement the relevant resolutions of the Special Committee and the General Assembly on Aden and the Aden Protectorates. The people of Oman, in particular, had the same right as others to exercise self-determination and achieve independence in circumstances of their own choosing.

400. In conclusion he expressed appreciation to the valiant people of the United Arab Republic for their efforts to combat the reactionary forces of colonialism and the reprehensible régimes of Verwoerd, Salazar and Ian Smith, and he extended to their leaders and to President Gamal Abdel Nasser his best wishes for their happiness.

401. The representative of *Australia* said that he had been doubly touched by the warmth of the reception given to the Special Committee in the historic city of Cairo. Civilization was based on the learning, art and culture which grew up in that city when the rest of the world was still at the barbarian stage. On behalf of his delegation he extended his sincerest thanks to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic and his deepest respects to the great Arab people who were playing such an important role in the modern world. His delegation appreciated the message of President Nasser and would faithfully convey it to the Australian Government; it would be grateful if the Foreign Minister could convey its respectful thanks to the President.

402. The representative of *India* said that his country was no stranger to the United Arab Republic. Links of many different kinds had existed between the two countries for thousands of years. He had been struck by the splendour of Cairo and thought it only fit that the Special Committee should be meeting there. It was indeed a privilege for the Committee to meet there, because of the noble aims of the United Arab Republic and also because of the friendly welcome of its citizens.

403. He recalled that, when the United Arab Republic had suffered the Suez attack, his own country had been one of the first to proffer support; when India had forced the Portuguese out of Goa, the United Arab Republic had given its help. His country had also been the first to establish diplomatic relations with the Arab League. He thanked the Government and people of the United Arab Republic for their hospitality and the President for his kind message.

404. The representative of *Denmark* joined previous speakers in thanking the Special Committee's hosts. His delegation had particular pleasure in meeting in Cairo, the cradle of a great civilization from which Europe had received so much inspiration. The illustrious history of the United Arab Republic was well

known, but that history was also the background to the present work of the country. It was fitting that the Committee should be meeting in Cairo, for the United Arab Republic had for many years pursued a policy of anti-colonialism. In that connexion his delegation wished to thank President Nasser and Mr. Riad for their messages clearly outlining the problems to be discussed.

405. His own country had friendly relations with the United Arab Republic, and he hoped that country would continue to make progress towards a bright future of prosperity and peace.

406. The representative of *Italy* said that the visit to Cairo had special significance for his delegation not only because of the cordial relations of Italy with the United Arab Republic, but also because the two countries' history was so closely linked. The invitation of the United Arab Republic was a symbol of the confidence placed in the work of the Special Committee and in that of the United Nations by a country which was so bravely engaged in building its future. He was grateful to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic for that confidence, and expressed his delegation's admiration for the achievements of the United Arab Republic together with its best wishes for the future.

407. The representative of *Madagascar* wished to express his most sincere appreciation to President Gamal Abdel Nasser and to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic for inviting the Special Committee to hold part of its session in the magnificent capital city of Cairo.

408. He was confident that the Special Committee's stay in the United Arab Republic would help it to solve the problems on its agenda.

409. He paid a tribute to the Government of the United Arab Republic for the warm welcome it had given the members of the Special Committee and for its generous hospitality.

410. The representative of *Tunisia* thanked President Nasser and the Government and people of the United Arab Republic for their kind invitation to the Special Committee. He also paid a tribute to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Republic for his address, which would be a source of inspiration to the Special Committee in its efforts to frustrate the schemes of the colonial Powers.

411. It was not enough to condemn colonialism; some way had to be found to render it harmless. The Special Committee should draw the attention of world opinion to that evil of the modern world so that every means would be mobilized to eradicate it once and for all.

412. He would express his delegation's views concerning the situation in Aden and the Aden Protectorates at a later stage. For the time being, he would merely say that foreign influence in those Territories could not be tolerated and that he would spare no effort to see that the resolutions of the United Nations were fully implemented there.

413. The representative of *Afghanistan* associated himself with the thanks expressed by other members of the Special Committee to the Government of the United Arab Republic for its generous invitation to hold some of their meetings in the beautiful city of Cairo on the sources of the great Nile. That hospitality was not only in accordance with the country's fine

traditions but also demonstrated a strong belief in the Committee's work.

414. He had been particularly gratified by the inspiring message received from President Nasser. He was sure that the Committee would give due consideration to the words of wisdom it contained.

415. It was a particular source of joy to his delegation to be in Cairo, for innumerable ties of friendship existed between Afghanistan and the United Arab Republic, which had a common policy of non-alignment as well as a common religion.

416. The representative of the *Ivory Coast* associated himself with previous speakers in thanking the Government and people of the United Arab Republic for their generous invitation to the Special Committee and for their warm and fraternal welcome.

417. The invitation was all the more significant as the United Arab Republic itself was engaged in a struggle to improve the lot of its people and cope with the disastrous effects of under-development. That country was thus demonstrating once again its interest in the Special Committee's work and the importance it attached to the total eradication of colonialism from the world in general and from the South Arabian peninsula in particular.

418. The position of the Government of the Ivory Coast on colonial problems was well known. He would only recall that it supported the self-determination of peoples and the gradual and orderly transfer of all the attributes of sovereignty to the true representatives of the countries still under foreign rule. Accordingly, he would spare no effort during the Special Committee's work in Cairo to seek, together with other delegations, ways and means enabling the Committee to carry out the task assigned to it by the General Assembly.

419. He concluded by extending to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic his best wishes for their happiness and prosperity.

420. The representative of *Sierra Leone* thought it particularly fitting that the Special Committee should be able to meet in the United Arab Republic, for that country represented a geographical and cultural bridge between the Arab world of Africa and of Asia.

421. It was particularly fitting that the Committee should discuss in Cairo problems of interest both to Africans and Asians, including the questions of Aden and Oman. Because of its own opposition to colonialism and neo-colonialism, his country shared the hope and determination of the United Arab Republic to free subjugated peoples from the yoke of colonialism. It would be the Committee's task to ensure that the United Kingdom implemented the United Nations resolutions on Aden and Oman.

422. He thanked the President of the United Arab Republic for his inspiring message. His delegation was convinced that the Committee's stay in Cairo would be both pleasant and fruitful.

423. The representative of the *United States of America* said that it was a particular pleasure for her delegation to visit Cairo in response to the generous invitation of the host country. The representative of Iraq had said that to come to Cairo was a spiritual privilege for Arabs; but it also was a privilege for all the peoples of the civilized world. All the members of the Special Committee were inspired by awe and respect for the continued accomplishments of the people

of the Nile valley, which had begun before the dawn of recorded history.

424. The United Arab Republic had a glorious future now that the people of the country had taken their destiny into their own hands. Her own country had long-standing friendly relations with the United Arab Republic and was especially happy that the Committee could be meeting in Cairo.

425. She thanked the President and the Foreign Minister for their speeches of welcome and looked forward to the important deliberations of the Committee in the beautiful and historic city of Cairo. She was confident that the generosity of the Government and people of the United Arab Republic would contribute to the success of the Committee's meetings in that city.

426. The representative of the *United Arab Republic* wished to convey to the Chairman and members of the Special Committee the very sincere thanks of his Government for the generous and elegant way in which they had referred to his country. Those words were more than mere courtesy; they represented an encouragement to the Government of the United Arab Republic in its difficult path of non-alignment. His Government had reserved for itself the right to judge each world issue on its own merits, and that, he believed, was also the way of the United Nations. The encouraging speeches made that morning would serve to strengthen his country's purpose on its lonely and difficult path.

427. His Government was also happy that the Committee was meeting in Cairo. The United Nations represented the ideals and the dreams of mankind and the Committee's presence in Cairo made those aspirations more tangible.

428. The Committee was one of the most effective organs of the United Nations, and a great deal of hope was placed in its works; he felt sure that that hope would be justified.

429. His own country had worked patiently for solidarity to further the aims of the United Nations, for freedom, justice and lasting peace. It would give the Committee the fullest co-operation so that its work might be fruitful and its stay in Cairo a success.

430. He would ask for permission to address the Committee later on specific points of the agenda, and thanked members for having given him the opportunity of making a statement.

#### *Closing of meetings*

#### *General statements*

431. The *representative of the Secretary-General* expressed the Secretariat's deep gratitude to the Government of the United Arab Republic for its generous hospitality and for all the assistance it had given in connexion with the Special Committee's meetings in Cairo. The Secretariat was also deeply grateful to the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States and his colleagues for having placed at the Committee's disposal its beautiful conference room and its facilities.

432. *The Chairman* expressed the Special Committee's heartfelt thanks to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic for their generous hos-

pitality during its short stay in Cairo. Their contribution to the cause of freedom and justice for all the oppressed peoples of the world was too well known to require elaboration. It would suffice to say that whether within the Organization of African Unity, the non-aligned world or the United Nations, the United Arab Republic, under the dynamic leadership of its indefatigable and able President, Mr. Gamal Abdel Nasser, had always been the torch-bearer of freedom in a world darkened by the forces of colonialism.

433. For that reason, the Special Committee considered it a special honour to have been invited by the Government of the United Arab Republic to hold its meetings there. That could also be considered as a special recognition of the work of the Committee, since Cairo had come to be considered as an important haven for all freedom-loving peoples the world over. In addition to the constructive contribution of the Government and people of the United Arab Republic to the work of the Committee, they had also found time to lavish on it hospitality in true African and Arab tradition, for which it was very grateful. On behalf of all the members of the Special Committee, he took special pride in extending their gratitude to the Government and people of the United Arab Republic for all the facilities they had offered.

434. He also thanked the League of Arab States for having put its hall at the Special Committee's disposal and for providing it with the necessary conference facilities. It was only proper that it should have discussed there the questions of Aden and Oman, since the League of Arab States was the champion of freedom and justice in the Arab world.

435. The Special Committee had taken significant steps forward with regard to the application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples as it affected Aden and Oman. The resolution adopted that afternoon on the question of Aden (A/AC.109/179/Rev.1) contained important recommendations which should help in the solution of the problem. Members would recall that operative paragraph 12 of that resolution requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee and the administering Power, to appoint immediately a special mission to Aden for the purpose of recommending practical steps necessary for the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and in particular for determining the extent of United Nations participation in the preparation and supervision of elections and of making a report to him as soon as possible for transmission to the Special Committee. It was hoped that the implementation of that important operative paragraph would help the people of Aden to reach their goal of true independence and freedom.

436. Regarding the question of Oman, the petitioners had provided the Committee with very pertinent information which should help it in assessing the situation in the Territory and arriving at appropriate conclusions. General Assembly resolution 2073 (XX) recognized the inalienable right of the people of the Territory as a whole to self-determination and independence in accordance with their freely expressed wishes, and on behalf of the Special Committee he assured the petitioners that it would keep that constantly in mind when giving further consideration to the question of Oman in New York.

*Statement by the Deputy Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic*

437. The Deputy Foreign Minister of the *United Arab Republic* on behalf of the people, the Government and the President of the United Arab Republic, expressed appreciation to the Special Committee and its secretariat for their work. The people still struggling to free themselves from colonialism had in the Committee able and articulate champions, and he was confident that its efforts would meet with continued success. He also expressed appreciation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for having sent a special representative to attend the meetings in Cairo. His Government had unquestioned confidence in U Thant, and knew that he would spare no effort to implement the General Assembly's resolutions and thereby help the just cause for which the Committee was working. The nationalists in that part of the world were well aware that they could expect only moral support from the United Nations, but they were content with and grateful for it in their struggle for freedom and for a legitimate opportunity to achieve progress and happiness.

438. His Government was glad to know that the Special Committee was keeping the question of South Arabia on its agenda, but hoped that it would not have to remain there for too long.

*Statement by the Acting Secretary-General of the League of Arab States*

439. The Acting Secretary-General of the *League of Arab States* expressed deep appreciation to the Special Committee for its tireless work and valuable support to the cause of freedom. It had been a great privilege for the League of Arab States to receive the Committee and he hoped its work would meet with continued success.

E. MEETINGS HELD AT ALGIERS, ALGERIA

*Opening of meetings*

*Message from the President of the Revolutionary Council and Head of Government of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria*

440. At the request of the Chairman, a message of welcome from the President of the Revolutionary Council and Head of Government of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria was read to the Committee. The message read as follows:

"On the occasion of the opening of a new session of your Committee in Algiers, I take pleasure in welcoming you to our country and in expressing to you, on behalf of the Revolutionary Council and the Government, our satisfaction, as well as the great pride we feel, in receiving you in Algeria to carry out a task which is in the forefront of our thoughts.

"The struggle against colonial domination, in all its forms and on all continents, is one of the constant factors in our policy and actions. Your presence in Algiers to study the problems of decolonization therefore has symbolic significance for us, and we regard it as an event of the highest importance. You will find in Algeria the greatest sympathy for your work, among a people which feels linked in fraternity with all peoples fighting and suffering to win their freedom.

"We are also glad to be given the opportunity of reaffirming our support for the United Nations and expressing all the hopes we place in it for better understanding among men and sincere friendship among peoples. We are convinced of the importance of its role in maintaining and strengthening peace throughout the world, and we are confident that it will shoulder all the responsibilities of its lofty and noble mission.

"I wish you every success in your work and a pleasant stay in our country, which will strive to give you a worthy welcome, both as guests and as friends."

*Address by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria*

441. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the *Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria* said that Algiers was the last stage in the Special Committee's journey through Africa. Its stay in various capitals of the African continent had enabled it to enter into direct contact with several liberation movements and it had thus been able to supplement its information on the problems of decolonization by placing them in their context and by seeing them as they actually were. In its African tour, the method thus applied by the Committee should be pondered, enriched and, if necessary, extended, in order to bring nearer all the solutions likely to rejuvenate, strengthen and consolidate the United Nations.

442. Algeria was happy to welcome the Committee and to help to make its mission a success. Algeria had itself placed great hopes in and had obtained much from the United Nations at the time when it had been engaged in its life and death struggle for its own liberation. It therefore felt duty-bound to give the Committee every support in the discharge of its task, to encourage its deliberations, and to share in the achievement of its objectives which were intimately linked with Algeria's convictions and actions.

443. His country, yesterday still colonized, today independent after a bitter and bloody struggle, endorsed the just and legitimate cause of peoples still fighting against colonial domination. Their liberation movements encountered a natural understanding and support in Algeria among a people who shared their desires and hopes and who sustained them in their efforts and their sacrifices.

444. The Committee would thus have an opportunity to enter into extensive contacts with the leaders of those movements and would find on a land still shuddering from its clash with colonialism a particularly appropriate background for the study of the problems it had to tackle.

445. He therefore welcomed the Committee, brought greetings from the Council of the Revolution, the National Liberation Front and the Government, and thanked the Committee for having chosen Algiers as one of its meeting-places in Africa.

446. As soon as the Second World War had ended, the elimination of colonial domination had become an international objective. The recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination, embodied in the United Nations Charter, had given rise to great hopes among the oppressed peoples and a new era was opening which was to be marked by the final abolition of colonialism.

447. While many countries had indeed recovered their independence during those last twenty years, their liberation had not always been easy and often they had only succeeded in shaking off the colonial yoke at the cost of immense sacrifices. The general upsurge of human brotherhood which had been apparent at the end of the war was gradually dying down, while imperialism, as soon as it was threatened, was recovering its vocation and striving to maintain and strengthen its domination. The very objective of the Committee's mission revealed the extent and difficulty of the task which remained to be accomplished of freeing peoples who were still under the colonial yoke and who were constrained to use violence and to wage an unequal war to establish their most elementary rights to freedom, justice and dignity. The struggle against colonialism continued, marked both by the determination of the imperialist Powers to perpetuate a régime of colonial exploitation and by the increasingly strong determination of the colonized peoples to break that stranglehold. The irreconcilable antagonism between oppressive force and faith in justice and freedom was reflected by successive outbursts of violence. In every place where a colonial régime persisted there was a hotbed of tension which gave rise to the courageous and often heroic action of liberation movements.

448. It was not by chance that the Special Committee had arranged the stages of its itinerary in Africa, for it was mainly in Africa that the fight against colonialism was taking place and that many countries continued to suffer from colonial domination. Whereas the other European Powers who had taken part in the colonization of Africa had, either voluntarily or under pressure from the African people, modified their attitude and their behaviour, Portugal persisted blindly in following its policy of colonial exploitation, completely disregarding the profound aspirations of peoples and flouting all the obligations of international society towards colonized peoples. As a result of that retrograde policy, immense areas of Africa were dominated by one of the last adherents of an anachronistic colonialism and their peoples were at the mercy of Portuguese exploiters. In Angola the Portuguese authorities were increasing their war effort in the face of an armed struggle for liberation which had been going on for more than five years. That had in no way undermined the determination of the Angolan patriots. In the end, Angola would inevitably triumph over the blindness of the colonial Power. The same was true of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands. Although the armed struggle in Mozambique had been unleashed more recently, it was still no less atrocious and no less violent and could not leave international opinion indifferent.

449. The situation in Southern Rhodesia was the direct responsibility of the United Kingdom which, in spite of its commitments and promises, had paved the way for the advent of a racist régime. The unilateral proclamation of independence by Ian Smith, the logical conclusion of United Kingdom policy, constituted a challenge and a provocation to African opinion and international opinion. It had placed the people of Zimbabwe under the domination of a white minority, thus instituting a régime of racial segregation similar to that of South Africa. That was a serious blow to the freedom of an African people and an inadmissible affront to its dignity. The African conscience could not disregard that new aggression which it had already

denounced before international opinion and against which it would be able to mobilize all the forces of Africa. The seriousness of the Rhodesian problem could not be emphasized enough. It brought dire threats to the African continent and with regard to it each member of the international Committee must consider his responsibilities.

450. In South Africa and Portugal the régime of Ian Smith found its natural allies, that double alliance being based both on racism and colonialism. The policy of apartheid applied in South Africa had been resolutely condemned in international institutions but it was clear now that the Government of Pretoria was maintaining its attitude with impunity and was frustrating the economic sanctions taken against it. That striking example showed how well founded was the scepticism felt by Africans concerning the efficacy of the economic measures taken by the United Kingdom Government against the Ian Smith régime. Nevertheless, the Head of the United Kingdom Government had promised faithfully to take all the necessary steps to restore the situation in Southern Rhodesia and had requested the African countries of the Commonwealth to allow him six months to prove to them that his policy of economic sanctions would be enough to attain the objective apparently sought. That had been at the beginning of 1966 and the time-limit granted to Mr. Wilson had now expired. It was difficult to say that the régime of Ian Smith was on the point of collapsing, a victim of the means of coercion dreamed up by Prime Minister Wilson. Indeed, negotiations were now taking place between the Salisbury racists and the representatives of the United Kingdom Government. Did the United Kingdom really believe that international opinion could be thus hoodwinked? The attitude of the Algerian Government remained clear and the delaying tactics of the United Kingdom could deceive no one. Only a resolute policy could put an end to the Ian Smith rebellion. The present shilly-shallyings were doing nothing to solve the problem; they were paving the way for a period of violence in which all Africans and free men everywhere would find themselves fighting at the side of the Zimbabwe people.

451. It was not only on the African continent that United Kingdom colonialism continued to manifest itself. In Southern Arabia, Aden and Oman peoples were fighting to free themselves from United Kingdom domination and their struggle took on the same character as in the colonized countries of Africa. There again the exploitation of the wealth of the country and the maintenance of strategic positions remained the basic aims of colonial domination. The selfish interests of the colonial Power were obstinately opposed to the fierce determination of the peoples for liberation and thus led to the same bloody clashes.

452. The problem of Palestine also had the same colonial character. By some strange justice, the Arab peoples of Palestine had been forced to pay for the Nazi crimes against the Jews and to abandon their own country and remain deprived of their fatherland. The Powers which had helped to create the artificial State of Israel had perhaps sought to solve a human problem which the sufferings of the Jewish people had certainly imposed on the international conscience. But the terrible situation in which they had plunged millions of Palestinians, who had been transformed into miserable refugees at the frontiers of their country, constituted no less a human tragedy the intensity and

scale of which could not fail to trouble the international conscience. The voluntary contributions—which were becoming more and more modest—by certain great Powers for the Palestine refugees could not dissimulate their responsibility for a problem whose social and humanitarian aspects merely accentuate its political character.

453. For a country had been despoiled, a people had been driven out and dispossessed of their wealth. Therefore, that was indeed a colonial problem. The present situation offered the Palestinians no other hope but for the reconquest by arms of their fatherland. It was for that that they were preparing and it was that objective which the Palestine Liberation Organization had set itself. The United Nations could not much longer ignore the real nature of that problem which threatened the equilibrium of the Middle East and therefore represented a permanent danger for world peace. The injustice which had struck the people of Palestine must be remedied and it was in the general interest that all countries which proclaimed themselves in favour of equality of peoples and the free enjoyment of their inalienable rights should associate themselves in that task.

454. In reviewing the problems of colonial domination and the threats they brought to mankind it was impossible to disregard the war which was raging in Viet-Nam and whose gradual escalation and murderous character directly endangered the peace of the world. The motives for aggression in South Viet-Nam could in no way justify the sufferings of a people whose sacrifices were so great that their right to peace and freedom must be recognized. The warlike attitude of the United States extremists could not be equated with the attitude of the United States people who were deeply perturbed by a war imposed on a small country which was resisting heroically that imperialist adventure. Accordingly, he ventured to state that reason must triumph and that reason made it necessary to take account of facts. It was a fact that the people of South Viet-Nam would continue to fight without respite against the foreign intervention which was being imposed on it. It was another fact that the resistance of the people of South Viet-Nam was supported by the National Liberation Front (FNL) which was canalizing its energies and organizing its struggle and which consequently was alone able to speak for the future of that country. Any sincere search for a solution to a conflict which was condemned by all peoples and primarily by the United States people must necessarily consider the FNL as the only valid spokesman and the authentic representative of the South Viet-Nameese people. Any other approach to the problem was necessarily doomed to failure and could only constitute a delaying tactic or a diversionary operation. Algeria expressed that opinion quite calmly because it felt the suffering of the Viet-Nameese people and because it was convinced that the future of mankind was based primarily upon friendship between free and equal peoples.

455. The task of the Special Committee was certainly difficult and vast in scope. Decolonization remained a problem which weighed heavily over the modern world and its multiple and varied aspects concealed the basic consideration that peoples must have the right to enjoy their freedom and live a more worthy life. Colonial domination, the exploitation of man by man, the maintenance of part of mankind in

a state of moral and intellectual degradation were a blot upon a world where science was daily achieving miracles which enlarged man's horizon and held out hopes of a promising future for peoples. The anachronistic survival of colonial régimes at a time when man was freeing himself from his earthly ties was becoming more and more an international responsibility, since it was obvious that world peace would always remain precarious so long as peoples continued to be deprived of their elementary rights.

456. Nevertheless, decolonization was not merely a political problem and the struggles for liberation to which it led were only one of its most tangible aspects. It was also and above all a state of mind, a new conception of relations between peoples. It must take hold in the minds and customs of men and replace the antagonisms between races and peoples with a feeling of human solidarity and an awareness of the need for real co-operation between human beings. Decolonization of minds must therefore precede and accompany the liberation of peoples.

457. Without that transformation, without that revolution in the rules of international morality, the work of decolonization would remain incomplete and would not succeed in eliminating all the problems it sought to solve. For, to decolonize a people did not mean only to rescue it from direct domination, which was all the more revolting because it was shameless and open. To decolonize a people was also and above all to free it from any foreign intervention, to allow it to manage its own affairs and to enable it to embark unrestrictedly along the path of progress. It was an undeniable fact, unfortunately proved by many examples, that no colonial Power had ever tried to prepare a colonized people for the exercise of its national responsibilities and that, on the contrary, its whole policy had been aimed at keeping the colony in a backward social and cultural state in order to continue its exploitation indefinitely. The difficulties experienced by the newly liberated peoples were thus the primary responsibility of the colonial Powers who often sought to profit from those difficulties by maintaining their political stranglehold and their economic privileges. The achievement of independence did not mark the end of colonial exploitation but rather caused it to reappear in new forms which were no less to be condemned.

458. Decolonization must therefore be applied equally to that kind of colonial domination which potentially had the same dangers as direct and brutal domination. To be complete, decolonization must maintain the patrimony of formerly colonized peoples and enable them to pursue their development without any foreign pressure.

459. Of course, it was primarily the responsibility of the newly independent countries themselves to take stock of their obligations and to ensure that their sovereignty was respected. By uniting their efforts and pooling their resources they could oppose manifestations of neo-colonialism. But the accession to independence of a colonized country must bring about new relationships with the former colonial Power whose responsibility towards it could not cease merely because the colonial régime was at an end. The establishment of those new relationships, if they were stripped of all vestiges of domination and if they were aimed at building a better future, based on solid and durable friendship, could facilitate the changes

that must follow the disappearance of the colonial system and could provide a new and fruitful basis for friendship between peoples. In that way, Algeria without complexes and with an open mind had co-operated with France in a spirit of mutual respect for the essential interests and sovereignty of the two countries. That co-operation, which had developed in spite of difficulties of every kind and which had gradually adapted itself to the realities and aspirations of the two peoples, constituted an enlightening experience not only as regards relationships between a colonized and a colonial Power but also as regards relationships that it had instituted between an under-developed and a developed country. The efforts which were being made by each of the parties to improve that co-operation and triumph over the difficulties that might naturally arise were so many pledges of its success.

460. That experience showed that such co-operation, desirable in itself, became inspiring when friendship and mutual esteem characterized bilateral relations, when the real interests of both partners were judiciously assessed and when there was a common determination to eliminate and transcend all the vestiges of the past in order to consolidate the present and guarantee the future. Such an undertaking was the result of a truly historic view of events because it was inspired by a sincerely shared attachment to the freedom of peoples, to the fruitful relations which could exist between them and to the consolidation of peace and stability in the world. That was one of the most healthy manifestations of decolonization.

461. International opinion had become aware of the importance of the problem of decolonization and it was perfectly legitimate that international organizations had tackled that problem and continued to follow its development. The presence of the Special Committee in Algeria showed the increasing interest that the United Nations was taking in decolonization and the work of liberation movements.

462. While the maintenance of colonial domination was a flagrant and inadmissible violation of the rights of peoples inscribed in the United Nations Charter, that situation also had serious dangers for international equilibrium and for world peace.

463. Undoubtedly, the United Nations had been preoccupied since its establishment with problems of decolonization and with the problem of racial discrimination. At each session of the General Assembly those problems were discussed at length and gave rise to many resolutions. The Security Council had often dealt with those questions and special bodies had been set up to study them. The United Nations was thus clearly determined to help carry decolonization to its completion since colonial domination and racial discrimination were irrevocably condemned by Member States.

464. However, it was unfortunately impossible to assert that the results obtained were commensurate with the good intentions shown. Twenty years after the establishment of the United Nations, vast territories and numerous peoples remained under the colonial yoke. The régime of apartheid continued to be the scourge of South Africa and was now being extended to Southern Rhodesia. It was true that some countries had recovered their independence during that period and had come to take their place in the Organization. Their efforts had always been aimed at the strengthening of United Nations action in the field of decolonization and against régimes of racial

segregation. In spite of that new source of strength for the Organization, few, if any, practical results had been achieved.

465. The only conclusion was that the United Nations must revise its basic organization and its methods of work, for in their present state they were responsible for its ineffectiveness and immobility. It was abnormal and inadmissible that a country, however big, should be able to defy the whole of the Organization and ignore its decisions. As it was now conceived, the Organization allowed such an anomaly which prejudiced its authority. The time had come to give the highest international institution a structure which was more in conformity with the modern world and which would enable it to assume its proper responsibility in the maintenance of good relations between all peoples. The newly independent countries must find their proper place and play their full role in it. Also, the powers and responsibilities of the General Assembly should be reviewed so as to establish a better balance between the Assembly and the Security Council. Finally, the Organization would remain imperfect so long as it failed to acquire the necessary universality. It was impossible much longer to keep outside of the United Nations a nation as important as the People's Republic of China whose population amounted to a quarter of mankind. It was also time that countries which might have had doubts about the value and effectiveness of the Organization should find again their legitimate place in it, for the deficiencies and imperfections which he had just pointed out in no way diminished the importance of the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of world peace and the strengthening of co-operation between peoples. The setbacks, the mistakes, the delays must not obscure all that the Organization had done and the dangers that it had been able to avert. Algeria wished to pay a tribute to the United Nations for its perseverance and would continue to support it in the continuation of those efforts. In that tribute it also included the Secretary-General who had been able to direct the activities of the United Nations with competence and authority. It did so with all the more sincerity and warmth because it could not forget the decisive role he had played as Chairman of the Committee of Solidarity with Algeria at the time when it was waging its struggle for national liberation. U Thant would certainly have been one of the men who had done most to give the United Nations a meaning, a vitality and a dynamism which could make it universally respected.

466. Finally, he wished the Committee every success and assured it that the Algerian Government would spare no effort to facilitate the Committee's task and help it in the accomplishment of its mission.

#### *General statements*

467. *The Chairman* expressed gratitude to the President of Algeria for his inspiring message, and to the Foreign Minister of Algeria for the important address which he had delivered on behalf of the President and the Government of Algeria. He requested the Foreign Minister to convey to the President and to the Government and people of Algeria the gratitude of the Special Committee for the honour they had accorded them by inviting the Committee to hold their deliberations in Algiers, the capital of a nation that was second to none in its dedication to the liquidation

of colonialism and the attainment of true independence—objectives to which the Committee also was irrevocably committed.

468. The history of Algeria's gallant struggle for independence had been justly acclaimed as a classic and heroic example of the undying quest for freedom by all colonial countries and peoples. It was to the lasting credit of the Government and people of Algeria that in spite of the heavy sacrifices they had made to achieve their independence, they had not, in their moment of triumph, forgotten their brothers in Africa and in the Arab world who were still struggling to attain their legitimate rights and aspirations. The Government and people of Algeria, by deed as well as by example, had kept faith with all the freedom fighters the world over. It was for that reason that the Committee considered it a signal honour to meet in Algiers.

469. The presence of the United Nations in Africa, in the cause of decolonization, was ample evidence of the new emphasis in the work of the United Nations in the 1960s and of the ever growing involvement of the United Nations in the question of decolonization, in accordance with its responsibilities as laid down in the Charter and in response to the challenge of the world, in which, despite the pious pronouncements of many Members of the Organization, the evil cancer of colonialism was still existent.

470. During the course of its meetings in Africa, the Special Committee had held very fruitful discussions in the United Republic of Tanzania, Somalia, Ethiopia and the United Arab Republic. It had examined in detail the colonial situation in various parts of the African continent and the Arab world. In Algeria it would pursue its study of other colonial questions which were still plaguing that continent. The environment of the host country, at once congenial and anti-colonialist, coupled with the inspiration which it had given freedom-loving peoples everywhere, would give impetus to the Committee's deliberations and contribute to the effective and vigorous discharge of its task.

471. On behalf of all the Committee members and the United Nations Secretariat staff, he wished to thank the Government of Algeria for the splendid living and working arrangements which had been so generously made for them. He expressed appreciation of the warm hospitality which in the finest Arab and African traditions had been showered on the Committee and which without a doubt would contribute to the success of their work.

472. The representative of *Mali*, speaking on behalf of the people and Republic of Mali, the Sudanese Union (RDA) and the Government of Mali, expressed his sincere gratitude, to the fraternal people and Government of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, and to the leaders of the National Liberation Front, the progressive party which had led that sister State ever since independence. When a Malian stood on Algerian soil for the first time, he was sincerely moved and proud, because he shared the feelings of the Algerian people about the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. The historical ties which had united the two peoples for several centuries had been made possible by the two-way flow of trade, culture and religion across the Sahara; that desert was not an obstacle but a link.

473. One could not speak of Algeria without evoking that people's glorious struggle to end colonial domination and promote a dynamic policy which met the genuine aspirations of the Algerian people. To be sure, Mali had gained its independence easily because of the courage and tenacity of its people, but also because of the courageous sacrifices of the valiant Algerians. He could not express the emotion he felt on remembering the thousands of Algerians who had died on the field of honour in order that Africa might one day recover its independence and dignity.

474. He was convinced that Africa, once freed of the colonial yoke, would conquer hunger and disease and would at last be able to play its rightful historic role. Unfortunately there were still trouble-spots in Africa, places where man exploited man and where apartheid, that baleful system which was no more than a relic of slavery, flourished. It was the Special Committee's duty to demonstrate the complicity of the great Powers, which, by helping the colonialist régimes, were impeding the implementation of resolution 1514 (VX).

475. His good friend, Mr. Bouteflika, the Foreign Minister of Algeria, had drawn attention at the previous meeting to the seriousness of the situation in Africa. The United Nations was morally obliged to support all national liberation movements, since their struggle was just and in conformity with the Charter. Moreover, everyone knew that Portugal, left to itself, could not continue its hateful war of conquest. He paid tribute to the freedom fighters and assured them of the unconditional support of the people of Mali.

476. Before concluding its meetings in Africa, the Special Committee should adopt a general resolution condemning the retrograde policy of the Salazar, Smith and Verwoerd Governments and the financial monopolies which were supporting them, and submitting firm recommendations to that effect to the General Assembly. It should also fix a deadline for the accession to independence of the Territories under Portuguese domination, in execution of its mandate under resolution 2105 (XX), and recommend the Security Council to make the economic sanctions taken against Portugal mandatory. It should also recommend the Security Council to require the administering Powers to apply United Nations resolutions and suspend the operations of their foreign military bases.

477. He was prepared to take part in any discussions for that purpose and reiterated his delegation's fraternal gratitude to the Government and people of Algeria.

478. The representative of *Tunisia* thanked Mr. Bouteflika for his inspiring address. He was sure that it would be a valuable source of encouragement to all the delegations and he associated himself with the Chairman's warm thanks to the Government and people of Algeria for their magnificent welcome. With deep emotion he recalled the ancestral ties which had always linked Algeria and Tunisia, in times of distress as in times of joy. It was a special pleasure for the Special Committee to be in Algeria, that sister country whose brave struggle against colonialism would for ever be an example and a symbol for all oppressed peoples. For eight years, the men, women and children of Algeria had suffered in silence and continued their long campaign of resistance under the guidance of the National Liberation Front. From the start, Tunisia had considered that struggle its own for, like

Algeria, it had promised never to deny its support to peoples sincerely inspired by the sacred desire for liberty. The inalienable right to independence was, of course, guaranteed by the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

479. At the neo-Destour Congress held at Sousse in 1959, President Bourguiba had suggested that the administering Powers should hold a conference at which they themselves would decide on arrangements for the liberation of the peoples they administered. That suggestion had not been accepted by the administering Powers but the United Nations had responded to it by adopting resolution 1514 (XV). He was glad of the opportunity to express his delegation's great satisfaction at the way in which the Special Committee had carried out its noble mission.

480. At the current meeting the members of the Special Committee were to take up the question of the Territories under Portuguese domination. In population and total area they represented almost a quarter of the African continent. It was quite natural that that grave problem should be dealt with in Algiers, a city which was an exemplar and in which freedom fighters found both encouragement and an unending source of inspiration.

481. Nothing could ever halt Africa's advance towards progress. The family of independent African countries was daily becoming larger and in the near future the whole of the African continent would be independent.

482. In conclusion, he again thanked the Government and fraternal people of Algeria for their warm welcome.

483. The representative of *Iraq* expressed his delegation's gratitude to the Government and people of Algeria for the welcome accorded to the Special Committee. Algeria, which had struggled so valiantly against colonialism, to the admiration of the whole world, was a fitting choice for the Committee's deliberations: the sacrifice made by its people to regain their freedom was an example to all those who still suffered under the yoke of foreign domination. Furthermore, Algeria played a leading role in the Organization of African Unity, in the League of Arab States and in the non-aligned world and had spared no efforts in the cause of peace, freedom and human dignity.

484. His delegation was confident that the Special Committee's meetings in Algiers would meet with the same success as in other African capitals. Important resolutions, aimed at the peaceful granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, had been, and would be, adopted by the Committee. However, when the Committee's counsel passed unheeded by the forces of colonialism, the oppressed peoples, who looked to the Committee for moral support, had no alternative but to fight for their freedom. As a result of colonialism, many critical situations had arisen throughout the world—for example, in the Portuguese colonies, Southern Rhodesia, South Arabia and Oman. Moreover, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria had rightly pointed out, there was also the tragedy of Palestine.

485. The co-operation rendered by the Algerian people and Government to the Special Committee during its meetings in Algiers would provide it with

added impetus enabling it to justify the faith of millions of human beings in the United Nations.

486. The representative of *Poland* expressed appreciation to the President, the Government and people of Algeria for their invitation to the Special Committee to hold the final meetings of its African session in Algiers. His delegation had been profoundly moved by the welcome extended to the Committee on its arrival and was grateful for the inspiring message with which the President had honoured the Committee, and for the address which had been delivered by the Foreign Minister. Those messages, and the invitation to the Special Committee to meet in Algiers, were an expression of the importance which Algeria attached to the lofty principles of the United Nations Charter and to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Committee was privileged to meet in a country which had become a symbol of the peoples' heroic struggle for freedom and independence. As a result of the Committee's visit to Algeria, he was at last able to realize a long-cherished dream and to pay a personal tribute to a courageous people who had fought, and given their lives, for the liberation of their land. The Algerian people's struggle, under the leadership of the National Liberation Front, had been admired throughout the world. The people of Poland had known that theirs was a just cause which had not only aimed at Algeria's liberation but had also paved the way to independence for many other African countries. The Algerian people and their leaders were also to be congratulated upon their remarkable achievements in other fields, for their untiring efforts in the cause of peace and progress and for their outstanding contribution to the eradication of colonialism in Africa and other parts of the world.

487. Conveying his own Government's best wishes to the Algerian people and their Government for the future, he said that his delegation was particularly happy to visit Algeria, with which Poland enjoyed fruitful co-operation.

488. The Special Committee had reached the last stage of its deliberations in Africa, and it was to be hoped that its discussions in Algiers would provide encouragement for the freedom fighters in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and the other Territories to be considered. At that stage, he wished to restate his delegation's stand regarding colonialism, for the benefit of the petitioners who would appear before the Committee. Assuring them of his Government's support for self-determination and independence for all countries still under colonial rule, he said that Poland, by virtue of its historical tradition and social structure, was utterly opposed to any form of national or racial oppression. It viewed the liberation of colonial peoples as an act of historic justice and considered that as long as colonialism existed, there could be no real peace throughout the world. His delegation had always condemned the brutalities committed by colonialists—brutalities which were in direct contradiction of the colonialists' avowed civilizing mission in the Territories concerned. In Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa crimes were being perpetrated against humanity and, as the testimony of the petitioners from Angola and Mozambique had revealed, Portugal was intensifying its war to exterminate the African people. Because it received eco-

conomic, military and political aid from certain NATO Powers, Portugal was able to flout United Nations resolutions and those Powers were responsible for the events in the Portuguese Territories in Africa. They had deeply entrenched economic and financial interests there and were determined to arrest national liberation movements. The perpetuation of apartheid and colonial domination guaranteed huge profits, earned with cheap migrant labour, for the United Kingdom, the United States and West Germany. However, their defiant attitude would have to change radically. Poland, which had been the first victim of Nazism and its creed of the master race, considered that colonialism and racism were not only an affront to human dignity but also a threat to world peace. It would not cease to raise its voice, therefore, to support national liberation movements and it would continue to denounce colonialists as the enemies of peace and international co-operation. The time had come for the Special Committee to take action to remove a danger which would not spare any Power, great or small. For that reason, his Government whole-heartedly supported the total eradication of colonialism and racism.

489. The representative of *India* thanked the President, the people and the Government of Algeria for their hospitality. Algeria was a fitting choice as the venue for the Special Committee's last meeting in Africa, since the lives of over two millions of its people had been lost in its struggle against colonialism. The messages to the Committee of the President of the Revolutionary Council and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, which had emphasized the urgent nature of the various problems and had drawn attention to the seriousness of the situation in such Territories as Southern Rhodesia and those under Portuguese administration, would make an important contribution to the Special Committee's work.

490. India's struggle against colonialism was well known throughout the world and the names of Gandhi and Nehru would remain for ever enshrined in the hearts of all who cherished freedom. It had always maintained that its own independence would be incomplete while other countries in Asia and Africa remained enslaved since freedom was one and indivisible for all peoples. India therefore joined with all those who fought against the hideous forces of colonialism in Africa.

491. Despite the fact that many of the most powerful countries had at last realized that colonialism could not endure, Portugal still clung to its inhuman domination of certain African Territories. It was living in an age that had since passed by and ruthlessly perpetuated its domination over the African people with the aid of its allies. It was to be deplored that, after hundreds of years of the so-called civilizing Christian mission, barely 3 to 4 per cent of the people in the Portuguese Territories were literate.

492. While the Special Committee could not physically prevent the Portuguese from their ruthless domination in the African Territories, it could speak forth and expose Portugal and its allies for their reprehensible action. His delegation would support all those who endeavoured to expose colonialism. Human dignity and freedom, to have any meaning, had to be one and indivisible for all mankind.

493. Lastly, his delegation extended to the Government and people of Algeria every best wish for their continued well-being and prosperity.

494. The representative of the *United Republic of Tanzania* expressed the gratitude of his delegation to the Government and people of Algeria for their invitation to the Special Committee to hold some of its meetings in Algiers.

495. The warmth of the welcome extended to the Special Committee, despite the lateness of its arrival, was part of an inseparable tradition among Algerians. It was very touching that the Committee should be holding meetings in Algeria only four years after the country had disengaged itself from the claims of colonialism. Never in the twentieth century had a people paid such a price for freedom. Indeed, that should be a lesson to colonial Powers that the just cause always won. A further lesson was provided by Algeria's progress since independence. The country's attainments showed what could be done in an atmosphere of freedom and independence.

496. It was fitting that the Special Committee should discuss the question of Portuguese Territories in Africa. Portugal was refusing to learn from history, but the freedom fighters of those Territories should draw inspiration from what Algeria had achieved. Tanzania would always be on the side of the forces of freedom; for so long as the cancer of colonialism and apartheid subsisted, there could be no true freedom or lasting peace. The Committee was therefore not only performing a task but also carrying out its duty to eliminate colonialism.

497. He was grateful for the encouraging message from the President of the Revolutionary Council and for the inspiring address by the Foreign Minister. As the Committee's tour drew to a close, his delegation was more than ever convinced of the determination of Africans to uproot colonialism from their continent.

498. The representative of *Yugoslavia* associated himself with the Chairman's statement thanking the Government and people of Algeria for their warm welcome. His delegation was happy to be in Algeria, whose struggle for independence had been an inspiration to liberation movements elsewhere in Africa. Since the country continued to play an important role in that respect, various African liberation movements had set up their headquarters in Algeria.

499. The inspiring message from the President of the Revolutionary Council and the statement of the Foreign Minister would provide further impetus for the Special Committee's work. Co-operation and friendship between Algeria and Yugoslavia dated from the time of the Algerian struggle for independence and continued on the basis of non-alignment and peace.

500. He concluded by expressing his thanks for the hospitality extended to the Special Committee and the fine facilities and working arrangements provided, and wished the Algerian people all success, prosperity and progress.

501. The representative of *Afghanistan* associated himself with the Chairman's statement thanking the President of the Revolutionary Council for his inspiring message and the Foreign Minister for his important address and kind words of welcome. His gratitude also went to the Government and people of Algeria for inviting the Special Committee to hold some of its meetings in Algiers.

502. The warm welcome extended to the Special Committee was further testimony of the traditional

hospitality of Algerians, in whose country colonialism had encountered one of its greatest setbacks. Having gained its independence, Algeria was playing a leading role in decolonization.

503. Afghanistan and Algeria were bound in common aspirations and spiritual ties. When the heroic efforts and sacrifices of Algeria had led to independence, the joy of Afghanistan had been immense. He expressed his country's heartfelt wishes to the Algerian people for their happiness, prosperity and progress.

504. The representative of the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* expressed the sincere gratitude of the Soviet Union delegation to the President of the Revolutionary Council, the Government and the people of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria for their invitation and very cordial hospitality. The Special Committee's meetings in Algiers would undoubtedly be a source of inspiration to all those who desired the complete elimination of colonial régimes because the heroic struggle of the Algerian people against foreign oppression would always serve as an example to those who were fighting for their liberty.

505. The Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria was in the forefront of the fight against colonialism and imperialism; the struggle being waged by Algeria, in co-operation with sister States and the Organization of African Unity, for the final destruction of colonialism, deserved the admiration and gratitude of all peace-loving peoples.

506. He was particularly happy to be in Algeria, because the Soviet Union's relationship with that country had always been close. That relationship had begun as soon as the Algerian people had set out to resist oppression. On his arrival the previous day he had felt the effect of that friendship. The Soviet Union and Algeria had a common ideal: the building of socialism and of a new life.

507. The message which the President of the Revolutionary Council had addressed to the members of the Special Committee would be a source of inspiration to them, because it encouraged all those who were fighting for their independence. Mr. Bouteflika's address was also most valuable. He was gratified at the position adopted by the Algerian Government on problems of colonialism and on a number of international problems. He fully shared the views of the Algerian Government about the activities of United States imperialism in Viet-Nam.

508. The Soviet Union delegation would do everything in its power to ensure the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). In due course it would give a detailed account of its position on the problems of putting an end to Portuguese and Spanish colonialism. For the moment, however, he would confine himself to assuring the peoples of those regions of the sympathy and fellow-feeling of the Soviet Union, which had helped and would in the future continue to help the independent States of Africa and the OAU in their noble struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

509. The colonial Powers would have to be compelled to respect the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. That would be an arduous undertaking because those criminal régimes were being helped by the Western imperialist and colonialist Powers. Imperialism presented a united front. A coalition should be formed against those who wished to impede the irreversible process of the libera-

tion of peoples. Peace-loving peoples too, would have to present a united front to them. The Special Committee should make use of the right conferred on it by the General Assembly at its twentieth session to report on any developments which might threaten international peace and security. It should recommend measures in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter against Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Decisions had to be taken to justify the hopes of the oppressed peoples of Africa. In conclusion, he wished Algeria every success in the course upon which it had embarked.

510. The representative of the *Ivory Coast* said that he considered it an honour and a pleasant duty for his delegation to associate itself with the very sincere thanks which had been expressed to the Government and people of the Republic of Algeria for their friendly invitation and for the brotherly and warm welcome they had extended to the members of the Special Committee. The invitation to visit Algiers, the last stop on its information tour through Africa, would enable the Committee to make contact, as it had at Dar es Salaam, Mogadiscio, Addis Ababa and Cairo, with freedom fighters who were trying to liberate their territories from colonial domination, apartheid and shameful régimes, such as the rebel régime of Ian Smith. Peace was indivisible and the rights of all peoples were universal. He therefore deplored the fact that, nineteen years after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, millions of human beings were still being deprived of their inalienable rights. Such a state of affairs created trouble-spots which represented a constant threat to international peace. He appealed once more to the intelligence and common sense of the men and régimes responsible for that anachronistic situation. The period of the exploitation of man by man had passed.

511. The Special Committee was responsible for the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It had to take into account the international background to which the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Algeria had referred in his address at the previous meeting and to concentrate its efforts on the peoples it had been instructed to assist in gaining their independence. Its visit to Africa should be interpreted as a further sign of the links of solidarity between the United Nations and all African peoples still deprived of their inalienable right to freedom and independence and subjected to racial discrimination.

512. He sincerely thanked the President of the Revolutionary Council and Head of the Algerian Government, whose country had already done so much to help solve the problem of decolonization, for the very wise and understanding message he had addressed to the members of the Committee. He also thanked the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Algeria for his clear and most informative statement. Both those statesmen were well aware of the heavy burden their country had assumed by welcoming to its territory the liberation movements of countries under colonial domination. He also paid a well-deserved tribute to the valiant Algerian people, which had itself fought so hard for its independence and was gratified that an Algerian delegation was participating in the Special Committee's work during its visit to Algiers. The Committee would derive valuable inspiration from the message from the President of

the Revolutionary Council and from the words of the Algerian Foreign Minister. He was happy to note that the Algerian people, despite its modest resources, had been able to make useful progress since independence. He wished the Algerian Government and people peace and prosperity.

513. The representative of *Venezuela* said that the Special Committee could have wished for no better place than Algiers in which to complete its work in Africa. Algeria was a living example of what a people filled with an ardent desire to win its independence and recover its sovereign liberty could do. The heroic struggle it had waged was reminiscent in many ways of that of the peoples of Latin America in general, and of Venezuela, in particular. Like the Venezuelan people, Algeria had not been content with obtaining its independence. Since regaining it, Algeria, as a member of the international community, had been pursuing a policy of capital importance within the United Nations, where it had adopted an attitude of unequivocal opposition to colonialism and of assistance to peoples fighting for their independence in Africa. He was certain that the Algerian people, which had not hesitated to sacrifice the lives of over a million of its sons in order to win its independence, would not consider its struggle ended until the millions of Africans suffering under the colonial yoke had regained, with their independence, their dignity as free peoples. The message which the President of the Revolutionary Council, Head of Government of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, had addressed to the Special Committee that very morning was proof of that. In his interesting address, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Foreign Minister of Algeria, had taken up the same theme. The Venezuelan delegation associated itself with the Chairman of the Special Committee in thanking them both; their words would be a source of inspiration to all members of the Committee. The people of Venezuela had followed every phase of the heroic struggle of the Algerian people and the Venezuelan delegation had made it its duty to defend that people in all circumstances in its statements and by its votes. He was happy and proud to be able to express, on Algerian soil, his admiration and respect for a people which had not only refused to be intimidated by the oppressor but had waged a relentless struggle to regain its liberty and independence.

514. It was no accident that the Special Committee was holding its meetings in Algeria at that time. Its journey through the African continent would have been incomplete if it had not included a visit to that sanctuary of anti-colonialism. Neither was it an accident that the Algerian Government had invited it. The Committee had a duty to see the country which had suffered so much and fought so hard against colonialism. That invitation had enabled it not only to come into contact with colonial reality in Africa but to become acquainted with the noble Algerian people which was, in its eyes, a living symbol of anti-colonialism in modern times.

515. Algeria was now free. It had begun a fresh struggle against ignorance and under-development. He had been struck by the country's youth. The streets were full of children and young people going to school or college. Algeria was making a determined stand against illiteracy in order to combat one of the most notable consequences of colonialism: ignorance. On behalf of his delegation, he thanked the Government

and people of Algeria for their cordial invitation and generous hospitality. The work of the Committee could not be concluded in a more propitious atmosphere. He was certain that that work would bear fruit. He hoped that the admirable people of Algeria would find a better future and wished it every success in all its undertakings.

516. The representative of *Syria* said that the fact that the Special Committee's concluding meetings should be held in Algiers was evidence of Algeria's awareness of the paramount role it was destined to play in support of the cause of emancipation everywhere, and to its determination to lead it to full accomplishment.

517. In the defence of freedom, of the right to self-determination and of emancipation from colonialism, that country had sacrificed a million martyrs and had waged one of the most heroic struggles in human history. In the face of its opposition, the myth of colonial assimilation had crumbled, and from that land, with African solidarity, Asian support, and the co-operation of justice-loving nations, would be directed the *coup de grâce* against the remaining pockets of colonialism. It was therefore significant that the plight of Angola should form the main topic of the Special Committee's consideration in Algiers.

518. With total self-denial and universal dedication, Algeria had not stopped at its own achievement, but had gone on to play its part in the solution of international problems at large and in support of the cause of liberation. The brilliant statement by its Foreign Minister had clearly depicted the large perspective of its role in international affairs in general, and above all in the struggle against the remnants of colonialism, a flagrant example of which in a new form was thriving to the detriment and misery of the Arab people of Palestine.

519. The great Algerian revolution had not stopped at the eradication of the physical presence of colonialism. It had been a structural revolution aimed at restoring the value of man, developing his resources, placing his welfare at the centre of endeavour, reviving his true culture and enhancing his contribution to civilization, in human relations based on social justice and equality. Last but not least it had been aimed at stimulating the legitimate tendency of progressive forces towards solidarity, and community of interests, aims and aspirations. It had been a genuine revolution against the concept of master and slave, first and second class citizens, privileged and under-privileged. It had thus a most intimate connexion with the purposes of the Special Committee in helping to implement the granting of independence to innocent peoples who had for long suffered under colonial inhumanities, and with the United Nations objectives of international peace and justice.

520. The gallant people of Algeria were to their brother Arabs of Syria a source of inspiration, and the model they had offered was an embodiment of all that was noble for humanity. He expressed his country's sincere gratitude to them, to their Government and to the President of the Revolutionary Council.

521. The representative of *Italy* associated himself with the thanks expressed by the Chairman, on behalf of the Special Committee, to the President of the Revolutionary Council and to the Foreign Minister of Algeria. His delegation's gratitude went to the Government and people of Algeria for inviting the Com-

mittee to hold its final meetings in Algiers. So close were the ties and so short the distance that Italians did not feel themselves to be abroad when in Algeria. He was indeed most happy to be there and hoped that his visit would give him a closer acquaintance with the country's progress since independence.

522. The Special Committee had to reaffirm its pledge to foster the process of decolonization by peaceful means. All should adhere to that principle, both for moral reasons and because it was a prerequisite for international co-operation in accordance with the United Nations Charter. The invitation extended to the Committee was symbolic of Algeria's confidence in the United Nations, for which the Committee was grateful.

523. He expressed his delegation's deep admiration for Algeria's past and present achievements and extended his best wishes for the country's subsequent prosperity and well-being.

524. The representative of *Madagascar* expressed his delegation's thanks to the Algerian Government for inviting the Special Committee to hold the final part of its session in the wonderful city of Algiers.

525. The task which the Special Committee was performing on Algerian soil was, in his delegation's opinion, of special importance. History had willed that Algeria and Madagascar should have experience of the same master and the same tribulations. The colonial history of Madagascar was bound up with that of the Maghreb countries generally and particularly with that of Algeria; for instance, Mohamed V, Sultan of Morocco, had been exiled to Malagasy territory, and the Queen of Madagascar, Ranaivalona III, had ended her days in exile in Algiers.

526. Like so many other countries, Madagascar desired peace and sought co-operation at all times among the members of the international community, but its Government was convinced that concord among members of that community would be resting on a fragile and precarious foundation as long as any State cherished the ambition to exploit a foreign people, as long as any Government persisted in refusing a subject people the right to self-determination. The accession to independence of a large number of African countries and their awareness of their responsibilities to their brothers who were still oppressed should be a clear warning to those who still clung to the idea of domination and exploitation that they were trying to swim against the tide. The ideals of freedom and independence had gained such strength in Africa that those obstinate Governments would be forced to listen to the voice of reason and accept their defeat.

527. The case of the Algerian people had provided the annals of history with an illustration of the victory of those ideas over arms. An entire nation might be exterminated, but it had never been possible to stifle by force the genuine aspirations of a people, because there would always be others outside its frontiers who shared its ideals. Madagascar had recovered its sovereignty and was aware of its responsibility to peoples still subject to foreign domination. The Malagasy delegation was therefore deeply grateful to the Algerian Government for the generous hospitality it had offered to the Committee of Twenty-four, which would again enable the members of that Committee to meet men still living under the colonial yoke, to gather first-hand information on the situation in colo-

nial territories seeking liberation, to draw practical conclusions from it and to produce better results.

528. The representative of the *United States of America* thanked the Government and people of Algeria for their hospitality and welcome.

529. She regretted to have to place it on record that her delegation took exception to certain remarks of the Foreign Minister of Algeria and the representative of the Soviet Union, both of whom had seen fit to interject and distort a subject which lay outside the purview of the Special Committee.

530. However, she was extremely happy to be in a country which, since the first settlements of Carthage, the sweep of Islam and the contact of Christianity, had played a prominent role in history. It was a pleasure for her to recall that Algeria and the United States had always maintained diplomatic or consular relations. Her delegation was gratified to see the emergence of a new Algeria confidently facing the future, and wished it every success in its difficult task.

531. The representative of *Ethiopia* joined in thanking the Government and people of Algeria for the hospitality and warm welcome extended to the Special Committee. The heroic struggle of the Algerian people against colonialism and imperialism would always remain a landmark in the annals of the Continent, and serve as an example and an inspiration to all those struggling to win freedom and independence.

532. The Special Committee's presence in the brave city of Algiers, whose very name had become synonymous with anti-colonialism, was of great significance. The question of the Territories under Portuguese domination had appropriately been reserved for discussion in that heroic place where the militant atmosphere and revolutionary enthusiasm would undoubtedly provide a suitable setting for consideration of such a burning question. The sacrifices of the people of Algeria in defence of freedom and independence would strengthen the determination of those now engaged in a life and death struggle against Portuguese oppression. They would continue the struggle to the bitter end, knowing that their efforts would be crowned with success and that their sacrifices would not be in vain. The trail of heroism and sacrifice blazed by Algeria had left its indelible mark on the struggling masses of Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and other lands. The Committee was grateful to the Government and people of Algeria for having invited it, and for having made it possible for world attention to be focused on such a crucial issue.

533. So far as Ethiopia was concerned, the complete eradication of colonialism and imperialism from the earth was a commitment and a national objective. The fossilized attitude of Portugal in obstinately clinging to its colonies in Africa was not only an affront to world public opinion, but a shame to modern civilization. Ethiopia would not rest until that shame had been obliterated.

534. After a rule lasting for several centuries, the Portuguese colonialists had nothing to show in their favour. Forced labour, torture and oppression were the hallmarks of their civilizing mission in Africa. The inhabitants of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea were left with no alternative but to resort to arms to regain their right to decent human existence. They had the full moral and material support of

progressive humanity for their struggle, long and bitter though it might be. As the struggle intensified in the days to come, Portuguese obduracy was bound to collapse under its own weight of cruelty and oppression.

535. His delegation wished to thank the President and the Foreign Minister of Algeria very sincerely for their inspiring messages, and assured the Algerian people that in their efforts for advancing the great cause of freedom and independence they had in Ethiopia a strong and faithful ally, whose aims and objectives were identical. He also assured all the freedom fighters present that Ethiopia, together with all progressive mankind, would leave no stone unturned in seeing that the struggle for justice and democracy was finally crowned with success.

536. The representative of *Chile* expressed the Chilean delegation's very sincere gratitude to the Government of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria for the invitation it had extended to the Special Committee. Like the beauty of the Algerian landscape, the history of the Algerian people's bravery was a source of inspiration to all nations which loved peace and desired the victory of equality and justice throughout the world.

537. Algeria had provided the finest example of total elimination of colonialism. The whole world had followed, minute by minute, the fight waged by its people to emerge from the phase of oppression to that of free exercise of its rights. The Chilean people had always defended that cause. It had unremittingly opposed the colonial system. It had remained aware at all times of its obligations to the rest of the world. It had contributed in every way possible to the liberation of peoples and territories under colonial domination, in order to enable them to exercise as early as possible their basic right to self-determination and to decide their own future.

538. Chile had always greatly admired the Algerian nation and had always supported the liberation movement, through which, at the cost of so much suffering and bloodshed, it had achieved the independence of its territory and its people. It had felt the proclamation of Algeria's independence to be a personal triumph. Its relations with Algeria had always been close and cordial, as it had proved by concluding bilateral agreements with that country and acting in complete harmony with it in the community of nations.

539. The Chilean delegation had listened with great interest to the message from the President of the Revolutionary Council and to the excellent address that morning by the Foreign Minister of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria. It warmly congratulated both those distinguished figures on their brilliant exposition of their Government's point of view on the situation in Territories still under colonial domination.

540. Algeria, like the other States of the world community, well knew Chile's attitude to that type of domination. As a member of the Special Committee, Chile had been able to make an effective contribution to the fight being waged against colonialism in order to secure for men who were still aliens on their own territory the full exercise of their rights. If all States acted in the same way and applied the basic principles of the United Nations Charter, the problem could be solved and a long obsolete system defeated.

541. In conclusion, he reiterated his delegation's thanks to the Algerian Government and people for

their cordial hospitality and the fraternal welcome they had extended to the members of the Committee of Twenty-Four.

542. The representative of *Iran* expressed his delegation's sincere thanks to the President of the Revolutionary Council, the Government and the people of Algeria for their kind invitation to the Special Committee to hold its concluding meetings in Algiers. Although it had come to the final stage of its journey, its task still remained to be accomplished. In the course of its meetings in Africa it had been greatly encouraged by the faith which people everywhere had placed in its work; among the heroic people of Algeria it would draw strength and reinforce its determination to liquidate imperialism.

543. It was through valour, unflagging determination and strength of character that the Algerian people had secured their great success against colonialism. Theirs had been the sweat, blood and toil, while the Special Committee's role was one of persuasion. It could, however, be safely said that in spite of the great odds the Special Committee had to face, it would succeed in the cause of freedom and independence if it always kept in mind the heroic example of Algeria. That country's championship of freedom and justice had not stopped at its own independence, but it had been a torch-bearer to all colonial peoples and had spared no effort to fight for the total liquidation of imperialism everywhere. Its independence had marked the beginning of a new era, from the first day of which its Government had embarked upon a bold policy for the betterment of the life of its people. Its efforts in the fields of education, the fight against illiteracy, industrialization and the mechanization of agriculture had been crowned with success, and would open up the possibility of a richer life for all. He paid homage to the Algerian martyrs, whose sacrifice had not been in vain. They had given their lives so that their brothers and sisters could live in freedom and justice.

544. The Special Committee would derive great benefit from the wise and inspiring words of the President of the Revolutionary Council and the Foreign Minister of Algeria. He expressed the thanks of his country, which had from time immemorial been linked to Algeria by spiritual and cultural ties, for the warm hospitality that had been extended, and its best wishes for the success and prosperity of the Algerian people.

545. The representative of *Sierra Leone* thanked the Foreign Minister of Algeria for his stimulating words on the Special Committee's responsibilities in regard to colonialism, and assured him that his delegation would do all in its power to contribute towards the quest for a just and speedy solution.

546. The questions of Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and the Territories under Portuguese domination had been described as chronic cases of colonialism. The armed struggle in those Territories called to mind the struggle that had been waged by the heroic people of Algeria for so long, and he was convinced that it too would be successful. The Special Committee was fortunate to be in Algiers for its discussion on those Territories, which would bring new hope to the freedom fighters. Its deliberations and recommendations would rekindle the fire of independence that the colonial Powers had tried to smother.

547. The bondage of colonialism left behind it low economic standards which were a form of oppression that left a lasting wound. Algeria's example, however,

would give strength to its kith and kin still awaiting liberation.

548. The Special Committee had received a warm welcome from the people of Algeria. He was convinced that its stay would be an enjoyable one, and that his country and Algeria would go from strength to strength in their quest for peace, justice and freedom in all parts of the world. His delegation was grateful to the President of the Revolutionary Council and the Government and people of Algeria for their gracious invitation and generous hospitality, and to the President and Foreign Minister for their thought-provoking statements. The Committee would leave no stone unturned in its task of fighting all forms of colonialism.

549. The representative of *Bulgaria* expressed his delegation's sincere thanks to Mr. Houari Boumedienne, President of the Revolutionary Council and Head of Government, the other members of the Government and the people of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria for the warm welcome they had extended to the Special Committee.

550. At that final stage of its discussions, the Committee was in a position to appreciate the true worth of Algeria's generous hospitality. Its work had not been fruitless and its results, good as they were, would be even better, thanks to the welcome it had received.

551. The Bulgarian delegation welcomed the presence at the meeting of the Algerian delegation. The members of the Committee, who had a special role to play in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, would appreciate the real value of that delegation's co-operation. The active participation in the Committee's work of a country which was in the forefront of the fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism was bound to give fresh impetus to the Committee's decolonization activities. The moving message from President Boumedienne and the excellent address by Mr. Bouteflika, Foreign Minister of Algeria, contained ideas and suggestions which would increase the effectiveness of the Committee's work and be a source of inspiration to all. The Bulgarian delegation associated itself with the Algerian Foreign Minister's moving expression of solidarity and sympathy with the people of South Viet-Nam. The Bulgarian delegation had always ardently desired to be on close terms with the revolutionary people of Algeria, which had been able to break its colonial shackles by its own efforts and had written in blood, at the cost of the lives of almost 2 million of its children, one of the most glorious pages in the history of the armed struggle against imperialism, colonialism and the oppression of man by man. He was profoundly moved at being on Algerian soil for the first time. The Committee's presence in the beautiful city of Algiers, the pearl of the Mediterranean, was deeply significant. He was sure that the Committee would be able to fulfil its task, that it would not disappoint the brave Algerian people which was so generously giving it hospitality, that it would be inspired by Algeria's victorious struggle against colonialism and would spare no effort to help, with the support of the United Nations, in the liberation of colonized peoples.

552. In pursuance of its anti-imperialist policy, characteristic of a socialist State, the People's Republic of Bulgaria unreservedly supported the fight against colonialism and national liberation movements in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, South Africa,

Mozambique, Angola, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Aden, Oman and elsewhere, in the same way as it had sided unconditionally with the Algerian people when it was carrying out its heroic fight for liberation. In that city, imbued as it was with a revolutionary and anti-colonialist spirit, the Bulgarian delegation wished to reaffirm the solidarity of the Bulgarian people with peoples still suffering under the colonial yoke. It asked the President to convey to the valiant Algerian people and to his Government the best wishes of the Bulgarian people for success in their task of building a new society founded on freedom and justice. It wished the people of Algeria, to which the Bulgarian people was linked by bonds of friendship and co-operation, further success in consolidating the power of the people and building a popular and democratic Algeria.

553. The representative of *Denmark* sincerely thanked the Government of the Algerian Republic for inviting the Special Committee to hold meetings in Algiers. He had been deeply impressed by the cordiality of the Algerians' welcome and by the traditional hospitality of the country and the people. It was quite natural that the Special Committee should meet in the capital of a country whose fight for independence was an example to other countries under colonial domination. The Danish delegation was convinced that the work of the Committee would be inspired by the spirit of freedom which had been the mainspring of that fight. The same spirit was evident in the message addressed by President Boumedienne to the Committee and in the statement on the colonial problem made by Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Algerian Foreign Minister. The Danish delegation had been most gratified to note the confidence which Algeria placed in the United Nations, since that Organization could and should play a very important part in the process of decolonization. It had been very happy to note Mr. Bouteflika's statement on the friendly relations which had developed since the liberation between Algeria and France and which proved that the relationship between the dominator and the dominated could be replaced by a more fruitful one based on the principles of sovereignty and equality.

554. The Danish delegation was gratified that its Government maintained excellent relations with the Government of the Algerian Republic. It wished to convey to the President of the Revolutionary Council, and to the Government and people of Algeria the best wishes of the Danish Government and people for their happiness and for progress in the course they had chosen.

555. The representative of *Australia* said that in coming to Algeria his delegation was very conscious of being among people who had suffered greatly, dared greatly and were achieving greatly. It was an honour to be among them, and it had been a particular pleasure to be greeted in their own country by former friends and colleagues of the Algerian Mission to the United Nations in New York. Their offices and his were adjacent, and apart from being good neighbours they had become firm friends.

556. His delegation offered its deepest respects to the President of the Revolutionary Council, and thanked him and the people of Algeria most sincerely for their hospitality. It would faithfully convey to its Government the message with which the President had honoured the Special Committee, together with that of the Foreign Minister.

557. On the last stage of its journey through Africa, the Special Committee had become more deeply conscious than ever of the importance of the people, who were the object of all its efforts. Their rights and their hopes could in the ultimate be realized and their fears overcome only by the common efforts and common understanding of humanity. For free people everywhere, the price of liberty was eternal vigilance to protect their rights and to recognize the changing and sinister forms of aggression against them, so that every man could remain or become the free man he would wish to be.

558. He expressed his delegation's warmest good wishes to the leaders and people of that free country for the future that they had bought so dearly.

559. The representative of *Algeria* said he knew that it was not customary for an observer to take part in the discussion but he wished to say a few words in reply to the friendly remarks made by all the delegations about his country. If, as he would have wished, the whole Algerian people had been able to hear the words of friendship, admiration, confidence and gratitude which had been addressed to his country, it would have found them to be the finest tribute paid to its courage and its heroic sacrifice, and would have discovered that all the members of the Committee were aware of the grandeur and repercussions of its struggle.

560. The statements by members of the Committee were too numerous to allow him to reply individually. The Algerian delegation would therefore thank the members of the Committee collectively, on behalf of the Revolutionary Council, the Government and the whole Algerian people, for their friendly remarks and the unanimous good wishes they had expressed.

561. At the end of a difficult struggle, Algeria was trying to rebuild all its ruins, the inevitable consequences of its desperate fight for liberty, in order to build a strong sovereign State, worthy of its thousand-year past and therefore capable of playing its full part within the community of nations. There was no incompatibility at all between that ambition and the principles by which the Committee was guided. True to the description "Algiers, sanctuary of anti-colonialism", which one of the speakers had used, Algeria was determined to oppose the after-effects of colonialism wherever they were still to be found.

562. The Algerian Government therefore had a binding duty to co-operate as effectively as possible with all forms of anti-colonial struggle, by giving direct and indirect help to liberation movements in their bitter fight. The logical consequence of that attitude was the invitation which had been extended to the Special Committee to hold part of its session in Algeria. He was very pleased that an opportunity was thus being provided to all his brothers-in-arms present in Algiers to obtain a hearing from the Committee, which would in that way be fully informed of the conditions under which they were fighting. He was also gratified to be able to welcome the members of the Committee to a country whose tradition of hospitality had so often been praised and to make available to it all the necessary working facilities and all the tourist resources of his young motherland. He again thanked the members of the Committee for the warm friendliness they had demonstrated towards Algeria.

## Closing of meetings

### General statements

563. The representative of *Czechoslovakia* said that he had enjoyed the opportunity to attend the Special Committee's session in Africa, if only as an observer. The Committee had accomplished much and had adopted a number of effective resolutions on the Territories it had considered. His Government would pay due attention to those resolutions and would support the Committee's recommendations during the deliberations at the General Assembly. It would, moreover, do its utmost for the cause of freedom and independence of colonial countries and peoples.

564. Certain delegations had expressed concern at the outset that the participation of observers in the Committee's discussions might delay its work. The majority of members would, however, agree with him that that had not proved to be the case and that any obstacles which had hampered the smooth running of the Committee's proceedings came from an entirely different source.

565. Lastly, he extended thanks to the Committee for allowing him to attend its session as an observer and to those Governments which had invited the Committee to meet in their capitals. He wished the Committee every success in its future work for the freedom and independence of colonial countries and peoples.

566. The representative of the *Secretary-General* expressed gratitude, on behalf of the Secretariat and in his own name, to the Algerian Government and people for their hospitality and for all the facilities they had made available and asked the Algerian delegation to convey his thanks to all concerned. The Secretary-General had also asked him to express deep appreciation to the Algerian Minister for Foreign Affairs for the kind words in his opening address to the Committee.

567. He also wished to record the gratitude of all members of the Secretariat for the many personal kindnesses extended to them by the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Rapporteur and members of the Committee.

568. *The Chairman*, speaking on behalf of the Special Committee, expressed gratitude to the President and the Government of Algeria for enabling the Committee to hold its final meetings in Algiers, and to the Government and people for their warm welcome and hospitality. The facilities provided for the Committee's meetings had been particularly appreciated.

569. The Committee had been most happy to visit Algeria because of the opportunity to strengthen contacts, friendships and links with the brave Algerian people. Their struggle had indeed been a source of inspiration to the Committee and lent impetus to its work. Algeria had won a bitter, long drawn-out struggle for independence with but limited assistance from the United Nations, owing to the unfavourable balance of forces in its political organs. However, the very success of the struggle had given impetus to a process which had somewhat redressed that balance and led to the establishment of the Special Committee. The Committee had also been able to appreciate Algeria's whole-hearted dedication to the cause of the emancipation of all colonial countries and peoples, as attested by its position in the vanguard of countries extending, at great sacrifice, generous material and moral assistance to national liberation movements. It had also sensed the country's attachment to the cause

of true freedom, the purging of all traces of colonialism from its system, and its progress in the consolidation of its hard-won independence.

570. The resolution on Equatorial Guinea (A/AC.109/186) adopted by the Committee in Algiers expressed gratification at the Spanish invitation, which was both a welcome indication of willingness to co-operate with the Committee and an example worthy of emulation by other colonial Powers. However, it should be stressed that those sentiments were based on the expectation that the invitation would lead to the complete and rapid implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Only then would the Spanish gesture and the Committee's subsequent action deserve to be regarded as a constructive contribution. With regard to the resolution on Territories under Portuguese administration (A/AC.109/187), the Committee had heard several petitioners whose testimony amounted to a massive indictment of the Portuguese Government's violation of human rights. Members had been horrified and overwhelmed by the irrefutable evidence of the Portuguese atrocities committed against children and old people, in particular. However, the Committee had been heartened by news of the unrelenting struggle being waged by the nationalists in order to free themselves from the yoke of the oppressors, and had gained direct knowledge of their aspirations, needs and difficulties. On the basis of that evidence, the Committee had adopted an important and far-reaching resolution, which contained a number of new elements: concern at the further aggravation of the already critical situation by the racist minority rebellion in Southern Rhodesia; condemnation of the violation of the economic and political rights of the indigenous people by the settlement of foreign immigrants and the transfer of African labour to South Africa; condemnation of the activities of financial concerns in the Territories exploiting the human and material resources and impeding progress towards independence and freedom; an appeal to all States to prevent their nationals from co-operating with the Portuguese authorities, especially in the matter of foreign investment; and a firm recommendation to the Security Council to make the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2107 (XX) mandatory on all Member States.

571. The decision to undertake another African visit had been more than justified by the results achieved. The concern and active solidarity of the United Nations with colonial peoples generally had been further emphasized. Direct contact with peoples under colonial rule had put the Special Committee in a better position to understand and assist them in their legitimate struggle for freedom and independence. Petitioners had found it easier to appear before the Committee in order both to provide confirmation of the iniquitous nature of the colonial system, and to offer fresh ideas and suggestions—thereby adding to the capacity of the Committee to contribute to the rapid liquidation of colonialism. That was illustrated by the resolution adopted that morning concerning the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) (A/AC.109/188).

572. In that connexion, particular attention should be drawn to the recommendation to the Security Council to make the measures provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter against Portugal, South Africa and the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia,

mandatory on all Member States. That was a worthy response to the request made by the General Assembly to the Committee in its resolution 2105 (XX) to make such suggestions as might assist the Council in its consideration of appropriate measures to counteract threats to international peace and security arising from developments in colonial Territories.

573. In addition to reiterating the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, the Committee had gone further than in previous resolutions by inviting all States to provide material and moral assistance to liberation movements in colonial Territories.

574. Another noteworthy development in the thinking of the Committee was its implied condemnation of military bases in colonial Territories and its request to colonial Powers to dismantle such bases and refrain from establishing new ones in their colonies.

575. Furthermore, the resolutions adopted by the Committee during its visit to Africa showed a renewed emphasis of the importance of economic factors in the implementation of the Declaration. Experience had shown that those factors, in the form of financial and economic interests operating in collusion with the colonial Powers, all too often obstructed progress towards the application of the Declaration.

576. The Committee's deliberations had also clearly demonstrated the need to ensure that independence was based on the freely expressed wishes of the people.

577. He expressed his deep appreciation to the Organization of African Unity and to the League of Arab States for their effective collaboration in the Committee's work and hoped that those links would be strengthened. He also extended the Committee's thanks to all host Governments for their warm welcome and kind co-operation.

578. The representative of *Ethiopia* said that throughout its visit to Africa the Special Committee had sensed the depth of African feeling and the desire to rid the continent of colonialism. The five capitals in which the Committee had held meetings represented a cross-section of Africa. The visit had therefore been very useful, in that it had afforded close contact and had strengthened the confidence of Africans in the Committee and in the United Nations as a whole. That had been attested by the warm and spontaneous welcome extended to the Committee.

579. The speeches delivered and resolutions adopted had given encouragement to all African freedom fighters. The Committee was of course only a moral force, and no panacea; but because of its tenacity of purpose it had gained stature in the eyes of the world.

580. The road to decolonization was long, but the right course had been engaged. Because of the noble, though necessarily modest, efforts of the Committee, colonialism was being driven to bay and would be vanquished if the pressure continued.

581. He wished to associate his delegation with the thanks expressed by the Chairman, on behalf of the Committee, to the President, Government and people of Algeria for their fraternal welcome. The great work of national reconstruction and development under way in Algeria was evidence of what a people could accomplish when master of its own destiny. He concluded by extending the best wishes

of his Government for all further success on the road of progress, democracy and social justice.

*Statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria*

582. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the *Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria* said that he was addressing the members of the Special Committee in order to tell them, on behalf of President Boumediene, the Revolutionary Council, the National Liberation Front and the Algerian Government, how much they had all appreciated the goodwill that the members of the Committee had, with one accord, expressed towards Algeria, which had suffered so much during its long and murderous war of liberation. It was particularly encouraging to see that the enormous sacrifices made by the Algerian people on the altar of liberty not only had enabled Algeria to achieve independence but could also be a source of encouragement to the enslaved peoples who were still struggling against colonial domination. He offered his heartiest congratulations to the Committee, which had been unsparing in its efforts to accomplish the lofty mission entrusted to it and which, after fruitful discussion, had achieved such encouraging and positive results.

583. As the Chairman had pointed out, the presence in Africa of the Special Committee, dedicated as it was to the cause of decolonization, revealed the change of heart that had taken place at the United Nations. Indeed, the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples marked a decisive stage in the evolution of the United Nations. It was possible to assess the progress achieved and the distance travelled by recalling that not until 1961 had the Special Committee replaced the defunct and ridiculous Committee on Information, whose terms of reference had covered all the problems of the Non-Self-Governing Territories with the exception of the immediate, basic and essential problem of their political situation and their achievement of independence. It was therefore a source of great satisfaction to Algeria, which had struggled for so many years before it had been able to make the long-stifled voice of its revolution heard in various international bodies, that the Special Committee had been able to visit Africa in order to hear representatives of the liberation movements, to obtain first-hand information about the situation in the dependent territories and to establish closer contact with the realities of colonialism.

584. While, however, it thus gave credit to the United Nations for the great progress it had brought about in international opinion in the quest for a solution to the degrading problem of colonialism, Algeria could not fail to note with indignation and deep concern that resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence had remained a dead letter, like so many other resolutions, as was clear from all the petitions which the Committee had heard. The colonial Powers, which were responsible for the future of the peoples placed under their administration, were refusing to co-operate with the Special Committee, defying the United Nations with impunity and displaying utter contempt for international opinion. He could not but deplore once again the negative attitude of the United Kingdom, which had absented itself from the meetings of the Committee but was present at Salisbury, where it was compromising itself with Ian Smith instead of respond-

ing to the appeal of the United Nations and committing itself honestly to a policy of decolonization.

585. That was why Algeria felt that the time for resolutions of which nothing ever came had passed and that immediate and effective measures should be put into effect to abolish colonialism and the exploitation of man by man. The time had come to transfer full powers to the dependent peoples in order to enable them to choose their political status freely, to organize the development of their countries and to pursue their progress in every field, in conformity with the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Meanwhile Algeria, faithful to its revolution and to its martyrs who had fallen on the battlefield of freedom, would continue to furnish unstinted material and moral support to all liberation movements in the just and legitimate struggle which colonialism was forcing them to wage for the recovery of their dignity and of their inalienable right to self-determination. Algeria knew by experience that it was idle to hope that Lisbon, Pretoria or Salisbury would allow independence to be achieved by peaceful means.

586. Turning more specifically to the question of the Territories under Portuguese domination, which the Committee had just been studying at Algiers, he would like to compliment the Committee on the calm and serious atmosphere that had prevailed at its meetings and on the unflagging attention which it had given to the petitioners. The resolutions that the Committee had adopted in the light of the information which it had patiently amassed meant that there were still grounds for hoping that the United Nations, thus brought face to face with its responsibilities, would do its duty. By taking the important step of recommending to the Security Council that it should be made obligatory for all States to implement the measures provided for in General Assembly resolution 2107 (XX), the Committee had put its finger upon one of the provisions that was most likely to bring Portugal to its senses if that provision was adopted and consistently followed. Those results responded to the hopes which the liberation movements and the African peoples had reposed in the Committee. They did honour to the United Nations and added lustre to its reputation. The work of the Committee, after its African tour, was really only just beginning. It must be carried on tirelessly within the United Nations, in order to bring all States to a healthier appreciation of the realities of colonialism. Algeria's devotion to the universal principles of the United Nations, the enthusiasm with which it would support any measures calculated to strengthen the Organization, the faith and optimism which it felt with regard to the future of mankind, and, lastly, its passionate thirst for justice and freedom—all those factors showed how closely the aims of the Committee coincided with those of the country which had the honour to be its host.

587. On behalf of the Revolutionary Council and the Algerian Government, he congratulated the Committee most warmly on the hard work it had done both at Algiers and elsewhere, in other capitals of the African continent. That work had brought the Committee's arduous but inspiring task considerably nearer to fulfilment. That the result of the Committee's efforts was encouraging, to say the least, was undoubtedly due to a spirit of healthy rivalry, to the existence of such a widespread and concerted will to hasten the process of decolonization, and to the invaluable, indeed

indispensable, assistance of valiant freedom fighters, full of forceful ideas, imbued with hope and faith, and determined to conquer and radically to transform the future of their peoples, whose subjugation ran counter to the spirit of the age. The Committee had proved, if proof were needed, that the vast majority of its States members, and particularly, in spite of their inevitable growing pains, those that had emerged in recent years, respected the struggle of the peoples who were still oppressed and encouraged their actions, thus putting into practice in the best possible way the principles which most clearly embodied the spirit of the United Nations. The Committee's reaffirmation and renewed demonstration of active solidarity undoubtedly marked a decisive step on the path towards decolonization and the consolidation of the independence of the young States. Algeria, which owed the progress and ultimate victory of its cause to the support it had received from so many quarters during its war of liberation, was today able to appreciate the true value of the Committee's work. Support for liberation movements all over the world was a sacred ethical principle by which the Algerian people and its Government were constantly guided. Algeria gave unconditional support to the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, South Africa, Palestine, Oman, Aden and all Territories still under colonial rule in their heroic struggle to shake off the colonial yoke and to regain freedom. Algeria would continue its unstinted support until the day when those peoples were able to resume their rightful place among the family of independent States of the Third World and in the community of nations.

588. Apart from the action undertaken for the assistance of the countries under colonial domination, the Committee's solidarity reflected the efforts made by the recently constituted States to establish their independence on increasingly healthy foundations. Indeed, national independence only became genuine and acquired true meaning as a country gradually shaped and built up its own economic and social framework. Because of circumstances as complex as they were outdated—an inevitable consequence of struggles for influence between exclusively foreign interests—attempts were often made to oppose that type of consolidation.

589. The adoption of the resolution on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, a resolution which recognized the legitimacy of the struggle—in all its forms, particularly the most effective ones—of the peoples under colonial rule and which invited all States to provide material and moral assistance to the national liberation movements in colonial Territories, constituted a welcome change in the methods of the United Nations. It had been inevitable, in view of the blind obstinacy of certain colonial Powers. The recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples under colonial rule put an end to the age in which the efforts of those peoples—oppressed, humiliated and deprived of all their rights, even that of living in freedom—to regain their independence were regarded by colonialists and their natural allies as a violation of established laws. That the dignity of the struggle had today been stressed by one of the principal organs of the General Assembly was a source of considerable encouragement to all national libera-

tion movements. Moreover, the Special Committee's appeal to all States to provide moral and material assistance to the oppressed peoples reduced the scope of all the tendentious and improper interpretations which the colonial Powers applied to the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of a State. By providing the sorely needed assistance for which they had been asked, countries that cared for justice, freedom and the preservation of world peace would be able to give effective support to the oppressed peoples in what had now become a world-wide struggle for the abolition of colonialism, which constituted an ever increasing threat to international security. Such a course would also preclude attempts at the use of force by certain States that dreamed of keeping their colonies for ever and by others that longed to recover their lost empires.

590. On behalf of his Government, he congratulated the Committee on having requested the specialized agencies of the United Nations and other relief organizations to increase, in co-operation with the liberation movements of all the Territories under colonial domination, their assistance to the refugees of those Territories. The petitioners who had appeared before the Committee had pointed out the social aspect of the sacred struggle they were waging against foreign occupation, a struggle of the first importance for all leaders of liberation movements throughout the world. The petitioners were aware that the future of their country after independence would depend essentially on the strength of its people and on the fresh sources of energy that would be released. By requesting the specialized agencies to increase their assistance to oppressed peoples and to do so in co-operation with the representatives of those peoples, the Committee was giving due recognition to the men who today were shaping the destiny of their country. The Algerian Government fully supported that decision.

591. Other decisions of equal importance had been taken by the Committee while it had been at Algiers. They marked the firm resolve of the member States to achieve rapid decolonization of the occupied territories. That laudable intention would achieve results equal to the hopes it inspired if it was backed up by the sincere co-operation of the Powers still administering the Territories. By inviting a delegation of the Special Committee to visit Equatorial Guinea, the Spanish Government had adopted a helpful initial attitude. That attitude would not really bear fruit until Equatorial Guinea became a free, independent and sovereign State, as was bound to happen.

592. The positions of other colonial Powers, however, had undergone no change. Portugal, among others, was persisting in its refusal to co-operate with the United Nations. That intransigence was due far more to the assistance given to Portugal by certain Western Powers than to the resources of its own which the Lisbon Government thought it possessed. It was clear that in helping the Portuguese armed forces to resist the legitimate claims of the oppressed peoples those Western States were seeking to safeguard economic and strategic interests of the first importance. And when the last bastions of colonialism had been conquered, those same Powers would want to replace that collusion by indirect action designed to prolong indefinitely the exploitation of the peoples of those Territories by hindering the consolidation of their newly won independence. That new form of colonialism was a potential source of real dangers, the existence

of which it would be idle to deny; hence the work of decolonization, if it was not to remain incomplete, would have to be extended to neo-colonial situations. It was the direct responsibility of the Committee to carry out in full the task which had been entrusted to it. If complete and total independence was to be achieved, that aspect of the problem should not go unanalysed. If it did, decolonization would lose much of its meaning in the eyes of the peoples.

593. That danger loomed even larger when, as in the case of certain colonial Territories already on the road to independence, the administering Power was seen to be installing indigenous elements who represented the economic, and often also the political, interests of the colonialists themselves. That could only result in further exploitation of the peoples of those territories within the framework of the granting of independence. The Special Committee should not think that, once independence had thus been granted, its work was over. It would be useful if commissions representing the United Nations could visit territories about to become independent in order that their peoples might be free to choose genuine leaders under United Nations supervision. The idea of granting independence must be conceived in flexible terms allowing full play to the legitimate aspirations of the peoples concerned. Any restriction would limit the extent of that natural right and run counter to the aims both of the peoples themselves and of the United Nations.

594. In conclusion, he once again conveyed to the Committee the congratulations of the Algerian Government and people on the conclusive results which the Committee had achieved in Africa and wished it every success in the fulfilment of its task. He also thanked all the representatives who had spoken so warmly and kindly about Algeria and the Algerian people and assured them of the deep and sincere feelings of friendship and esteem which Algeria entertained towards all the peoples whom they represented. He asked the indulgence of members of the Committee for the inevitable defects in the organization of the Conference. Whatever efforts were made, they would never fully succeed in expressing the welcome of the Algerian people, who strove to be among the worthiest heirs to the splendid traditions of Arab-African hospitality. What really mattered was that each member of the Committee should have felt himself thoroughly at home during his brief stay and should now enjoy the pleasures of a well-earned rest.

#### F. ACTION ARISING FROM THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE'S VISIT TO AFRICA

*Adoption of resolution concerning the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) with regard to colonial Territories considered by the Special Committee during its meetings in Africa (1966)*

595. At the 454th meeting of the Special Committee on 21 June 1966, the representative of the *United Republic of Tanzania* introduced a draft resolution co-sponsored by Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/L.315). In view of the interrelation of the colonial problems with which the Committee had dealt, the co-sponsors thought it ad-

visable to supplement and summarize the various relevant resolutions in a general resolution.

596. *The Chairman* noted the following important aspects of the draft resolution: in the fifth preambular paragraph, the expression of the Special Committee's regret had been prompted by its awareness of the United Kingdom's obligation to attend the meetings in Africa, not only as a member of the Special Committee but also as an administering Power. In the sixth preambular paragraph it had been necessary to point out the negative attitude of certain colonial Powers, to which one petitioner after another had testified. Operative paragraph 3 had been a response to Portugal's and South Africa's and Southern Rhodesia's defiance of world opinion and of the international Organization's recommendations. It was based upon the position that had always been taken by the Special Committee and by the African group in the Security Council. Operative paragraph 4 reflected the Committee's concern about the foreign financial interests that not only collaborated with the administering Powers but also provided funds enabling them to continue their wars of oppression. Operative paragraph 5 reflected past statements, but also contained a slight departure from previous resolutions, in its request for material assistance for the national liberation movements. After seeing a documentary film on Portuguese Territories, the Committee had felt all the more strongly the urgent need for aid to be granted not only by the Special Committee but also by organizations the world over. Operative paragraph 7 was of vital importance, in view of the administering Powers' need of military installations in order to continue their oppressive measures. The existence of such bases constituted not only a menace to the population in the Territories but also a threat to neighbouring countries. The recommendation in operative paragraph 8 that assistance should be withheld from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa had been intended to cover only the duration of their colonial rule over the Territories in question. He asked for the entire Committee's support of that paragraph.

597. The representative of *Ethiopia* supported the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.315) on behalf of the Afro-Asian group and Yugoslavia, and commended the Chairman for his excellent introductory remarks. It could be seen that the document provided a summary of all that the Committee had done in Africa, giving a bird's-eye view of the salient points contained in its debates and resolutions.

598. The last preambular paragraph on colonialism's threat to international peace and security was vitally important but needed no explanation, as the facts were self-evident. In view of the many years that had passed since the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) it was not out of place to reaffirm in operative paragraph 1 the inalienable rights of the peoples in colonial Territories to freedom and independence.

599. He associated himself with the Tanzanian representative in noting the importance of operative paragraph 5, which laid down a juridical basis for the support of national liberation movements in colonial Territories. Operative paragraph 8 would be instrumental in focusing the world's attention upon the grave threat to peace inherent in the continuation of colonialism. Peoples everywhere must be convinced of the evils rampant in colonial domination and of the urgent necessity to eradicate it. He announced his support

of the draft resolution and strongly recommended it to the Committee.

600. At the 455th meeting, on 22 June, the representative of the *United Republic of Tanzania* said that two changes had been made as a result of consultations held by the sponsors of the draft resolution the previous evening. The first concerned operative paragraph 7, which had been amended to read:

“Requests the colonial Powers to dismantle the military bases installed in colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones.”

The second change related to the co-sponsors of the draft resolution: Iran, the Ivory Coast and Madagascar had indicated their wish to withdraw their names.

601. The representative of *Poland* said that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were the two agencies which provided most assistance to the colonial Powers. Only the previous day, the Special Committee had been informed that IBRD was to grant further assistance to Portugal. He therefore proposed that operative paragraph 8 should be amended to read:

“Requests all States and international institutions, including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund and other specialized agencies of the United Nations, to withhold assistance of any kind to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa until they renounce their policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination;”

602. The representative of the *United Republic of Tanzania* said that the Polish amendment was acceptable to the sponsors of the draft resolution and would be included in the revised text (A/AC.109/L.315/Rev.1).

603. The representative of *Venezuela* said that he would have preferred the draft resolution, as it appeared in document A/AC.109/L.315/Rev.1, not to have been submitted at that time. He thought that it would have been better to wait until the Special Committee returned to New York. The draft resolution embodied a number of ideas, principles and statements in regard to which his delegation had several times stated its position in detail, and that position had not changed. In order to vote on the draft resolution, his delegation was obliged to seek precise instructions from its Government. Since that could not be done from Algiers, the Venezuelan delegation was reluctantly compelled to take no part in the vote.

604. The representative of *Australia*, expressing agreement with the opening remarks of the representative of *Venezuela*, said that his delegation was opposed to resolutions of the kind before the Special Committee since they lacked precision on important points of principle. In the first place, the last preambular paragraph of the draft resolution was couched in language which was unacceptable to his delegation. He further wished to restate his opposition to the wording used in operative paragraph 3, in which connexion he had already voiced his delegation's views regarding the use of force in Southern Rhodesia. He wished to point out, however, that his Government had been among the first to refuse recognition of the illegal régime in Salisbury, recalling its representative and initiating far-reaching trade and financial

measures to support those proposed by the United Kingdom Government and the Security Council. For those reasons his delegation would oppose the draft resolution before the Committee.

605. The representative of *Chile* repeated that a draft resolution of such importance could not be voted on hastily. He agreed with most of the ideas in the draft resolution, his reservations being all on points of drafting and terminology. Since, however, the draft resolution summarized the Committee's activities during its tour and defined future policy, it would not be possible for his delegation to take part in the vote without being able to receive instructions from its Government.

606. The representative of *Italy* stated that his delegation had been unable to obtain instructions from its Government and would not, therefore, take part in the vote.

607. The representative of the *United States of America* said that he shared the reservations expressed by previous speakers regarding the introduction at the last minute of a draft resolution which contained new and substantive provisions. His delegation supported many of the basic objectives set forth in the draft resolution but was of the opinion that the interests of the peoples of the Territories concerned, as well as of the administering Powers, would best be served by peaceful co-operation. Since, however, other paragraphs in the draft resolution obscured those objectives, his delegation would vote against it.

608. The representative of the *Ivory Coast* deeply regretted that it had not been possible for his delegation to be one of the sponsors of the draft resolution because of a problem in relation to the wording of operative paragraph 7. Owing to lack of time it had been impossible to reach a compromise. His delegation supported the draft resolution as a whole but had some reservations of principle with regard to operative paragraph 7. He assured the freedom fighters of the full support of the Government and people of his country in their just and noble struggle.

609. The representative of *Madagascar* said that his delegation would vote in favour of the draft resolution, which included a number of ideas and principles which it had always supported in the Committee. Nevertheless, he had serious reservations about operative paragraph 7. In his view the question of the military bases was not within the competence of the Special Committee. The Committee's task was to understand the aspirations of the inhabitants of the Territories under Portuguese domination, but it would be for the inhabitants themselves to decide the question of the bases once they were independent.

610. The representative of *Denmark* said that his delegation did not support operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution. It could not agree to a recommendation to the Security Council couched in such general terms and based on principles the consequences of which were so hard to foresee. Nor did Denmark support the fifth and eighth preambular paragraphs or operative paragraphs 4, 7 and 8. In the absence of instructions from his Government he would go no further into the question of the draft resolution. The progressive position of Denmark on colonial problems was well known. For the reasons he had just stated, he would be obliged to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution as a whole and would vote against

operative paragraphs 3 and 7 if they were put to the vote separately.

611. The representative of *Iran*, referring to operative paragraph 7 of the draft resolution, said that his Government was opposed to the establishment of any foreign military bases on its territory and had made its views in that connexion abundantly clear in many official statements. It was, by the same token, opposed to the establishment of foreign military bases in principle. However, since the Special Committee was concerned with decolonization, his delegation was of the opinion that the question of such bases could only be considered in the light of their effect upon the local population's aspirations for independence. Otherwise, the matter would not fall within the Committee's purview. For that reason, his delegation had not been able to accept the wording of operative paragraph 7 and had had to withdraw its name from the list of sponsors.

612. The representative of the *United Republic of Tanzania*, replying to points raised on behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.315/Rev.1), said that certain delegations had expressed the opinion that the draft resolution had been introduced at short notice. It had, however, in fact been submitted to the Special Committee on the previous day and delegations had therefore had plenty of time in which to make suggestions if they so wished. In any event, the draft resolution contained only one new element, namely, a reference to the United Kingdom's failure to participate in the Committee's work—which had been commented upon by most members when the Committee had opened its session in Africa.

613. With regard to the view held by certain delegations that operative paragraph 7 of the draft resolution did not fall within the Committee's purview, he pointed out that its terms were very similar to those of operative paragraph 12 of General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX), which had been supported by the majority of Afro-Asian members and which, moreover, provided the Committee with a further mandate to continue its work. Although no general reference to the question of military bases had been made in the draft resolution, the sponsors of course agreed that they should only be established with the consent of the people. But, as far as the colonial Territories were concerned, the presence of military bases after independence would, in effect, mean the continuation of colonialism.

614. As for operative paragraph 3, the views expressed in it had always been held by the African members of the United Nations.

615. The representative of the *Ivory Coast*, speaking in exercise of his right of reply, recalled that the General Assembly had indeed adopted a paragraph identical with paragraph 7 of the draft resolution, but it alone was entitled to do so. Moreover, that paragraph had aroused lively controversy even in the General Assembly, as was clear from the fact that it had been adopted by only 49 votes to 37, with 18 abstentions.

616. The representative of the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* stated that his delegation would vote in favour of the draft resolution since it accorded with the position which the USSR had always maintained. It also corresponded to the interests of the African peoples.

617. With regard to foreign military bases in colonial Territories, it had always been the opinion of the Soviet Union delegation that they constituted a direct threat to the independence of the indigenous population and the sovereignty of States, as events in Aden, Guam and Ascension Island proved. The same was true of Libya. The Italian and Australian statements were unacceptable. The motives behind the statements of certain Powers were well known. If Italy allowed United States military bases to be established in its territory, that was its own affair. The colonial Territories, however, had never been consulted and foreign military bases were imposed upon them to prevent them from gaining independence.

618. The revised draft resolution was adopted by a roll-call vote of 16 to 2, with 1 abstention, as follows:

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia.

*Against:* Australia, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Denmark.

619. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/188) adopted by the Special Committee at its 455th meeting on 22 June 1966 reads as follows:

*"The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,*

*"Having held meetings from 23 May 1966 to 22 June 1966 successively at Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania, at Mogadiscio, Somalia, at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, at Cairo, United Arab Republic, and at Algiers, Algeria, and having heard the spokesmen of the Governments of those countries,*

*"Having considered the situation in various Territories still under colonial domination,*

*"Recalling General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,*

*"Recalling further General Assembly resolutions 1654 (XVI) of 27 November 1961, 1810 (XVII) of 17 December 1962, 1956 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963 and 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965,*

*"Regretting the failure of the United Kingdom Government to participate in the Special Committee's meetings in Africa,*

*"Deploring the negative attitude of certain colonial Powers, in particular the refusal of the Governments of Portugal and South Africa to recognize the right of colonial peoples to freedom and independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV),*

*"Deploring further the attitude of certain States which continue to co-operate with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa in the repression and exploitation of the indigenous people,*

*"Recognizing that the continuation of colonialism constitutes a threat to international peace and security and a crime against humanity,*

*"1. Reaffirms the inalienable rights of the peoples of colonial Territories to freedom and independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV);*

*"2. Deplores the refusal of certain colonial Powers to co-operate with the Special Committee and their continued disregard of the United Nations resolutions;*

"3. *Recommends* to the Security Council to make obligatory the measures provided for under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter against Portugal, South Africa and the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia;

"4. *Condemns* the activities of the financial interests operating in these Territories which exploit the human and material resources and impede the progress of the people of the Territories towards freedom and independence;

"5. *Recognizes* the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples under colonial rule to exercise their right to self-determination and independence and invites all States to provide material and moral assistance to the national liberation movements in colonial Territories;

"6. *Requests* the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the specialized agencies concerned and other international relief organizations to increase, in co-operation with the liberation movement of all the Territories under colonial domination, their assistance to the refugees of these Territories;

"7. *Requests* the colonial Powers to dismantle the military bases installed in colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones;

"8. *Requests* all States and international institutions, including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund and other specialized agencies of the United Nations, to withhold assistance of any kind to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa until they renounce their policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination;

"9. *Requests* the Secretary-General to take all measures necessary to publicize the work of the Special Committee as widely as possible, so that world opinion may be sufficiently informed concerning the grave threat to peace constituted by colonialism."

620. The text of the resolution was transmitted to the President of the Security Council on 1 July 1966.<sup>5</sup>

*Adoption of resolution expressing appreciation to host Governments*

621. At the 455th meeting, the representative of *Iran* said that he was privileged to introduce, on behalf of twenty members of the Special Committee, a draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.316) expressing appreciation to the Governments which had invited the Committee to meet in their countries.

622. The Committee could be proud of its accomplishments in Africa; it had taken important decisions for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and had done much to strengthen the confidence placed in the United Nations by those still under colonial domination. The Committee, which had everywhere received an enthusiastic welcome, was particularly indebted to the host countries which, by their invitation, had helped to accelerate independence for all countries. They had also made it possible for the United Nations to establish direct contact with the peoples concerned. In conclusion, he proposed

that the draft resolution should be adopted by acclamation.

623. The representative of *Mali* said that after the admirable statement by his Iranian colleague he had little to add regarding the draft resolution which had just been submitted to the Committee. On behalf of all the sponsors he wished to tender sincere thanks to their brother States of Africa who had invited the Special Committee to hold part of its session in their wonderful countries, thus enabling the members to form an idea of how the struggle against colonialism in Africa was developing. They had found during their stay that, in cases where colonialism still clung to the countries under its domination, the economic factors to which all the petitioners and personalities who had appeared before the Committee, as also the majority of the members of the Committee, had drawn attention were of particular importance.

624. While the Committee was at Addis Ababa, Mr. Diallo Telli, Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, had shed light on that aspect of the question when he had stated:

"The salient feature of the current situation in Africa is the aggravation of the threat to international peace and security constituted not only by the survival of colonialism but by the strengthening, during the past year, of the alliance formed between Portugal, South Africa and the Rhodesian settlers in order to consolidate their hold over the entire southern part of the African continent and to ensure the perpetuation of colonial and racist domination there. It is a known fact that that ungodly alliance of the most backward régimes of oppression—all three of which have been unanimously condemned, on several occasions, by the United Nations—nevertheless has its accomplices among the powerful. Those accomplices are the many forces—individuals, companies or States—which have made investments in the south of the continent, which live and prosper from the exploitation of African wealth in that region and which thus bear a large share of responsibility for the deterioration of the situation and for the bloody tragedy besetting the African peoples of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese domination. As these accomplices are in large measure responsible for the paralysis which affects all peaceful attempts at decolonization, they are naturally the major obstacles in the way of the Committee's efforts. It is therefore important that you should find an adequate solution to a serious and specific situation, failing which your Committee and all those working for peaceful decolonization cannot hope to achieve any positive result. This is a most important point, for what is needed now in the matter of decolonization is not resolutions but solutions. The obstacles to the solutions are, firstly, the alliance between the régimes of Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon; and, secondly, the support which this alliance is receiving from its accomplices in Europe and the United States, especially by way of bilateral assistance or the aid provided by organizations such as NATO. That is the source of the great difficulties which are hampering the efforts to achieve decolonization in Africa. It is to this that the principal efforts of the Committee should be directed."

625. After hearing the petitioners and seeing the film which some of them had made, members of the

<sup>5</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1966, document S/7395.

Committee were surely more convinced than ever that colonialism was a disgrace to mankind and to the conscience of man, a view which had been eloquently expressed by the representative of Denmark. In conclusion, he thanked all the host Governments for welcoming the Committee and for the facilities with which they had provided it for the achievement of its task: they had all proved, if proof were needed, their sincere desire to co-operate with the United Nations. He therefore proposed that the Committee should adopt the twenty-Power draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.316) by acclamation.

626. At the same meeting the Special Committee adopted the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.316) by acclamation. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/189) reads as follows:

*"The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,*

*"Having held meetings from 23 May to 22 June 1966 successively at Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania, at Mogadiscio, Somalia, at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, at Cairo, United Arab Republic, and at Algiers, Algeria, and having heard the spokesmen of the Governments of those countries,*

*"Expresses its profound gratitude to the Governments and people of the United Republic of Tanzania, Somalia, Ethiopia, the United Arab Republic and Algeria for inviting the Special Committee to hold meetings in their respective capitals, for providing the Committee with the necessary facilities for its meetings, and for their generous and kind hospitality."*

#### ANNEX I

##### **Communiqué issued on 14 May 1966 by the Chairman on behalf of the Special Committee**

In response to invitations extended to it by the Governments of Algeria, Ethiopia, Somalia, the United Arab Republic and the United Republic of Tanzania, the Special Committee of Twenty-Four has decided to hold a series of meetings this year in Algiers, Addis Ababa, Mogadiscio, Cairo and Dar es Salaam.

This decision was taken in the context of operative paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) of 27 November 1961 which, in establishing the Special Committee, authorized it "to meet elsewhere than at United Nations Headquarters, whenever and wherever such meetings may be required for the effective discharge of its functions". The Special Committee was also aware that the General Assembly, by operative paragraph 7 of its resolution 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965, had approved "the programme of work envisaged by the Special Committee during 1966, including the possibility of holding a series of meetings in Africa" and had authorized the necessary financial provision in the budget for 1966.

In deciding to hold another series of meetings in Africa this year, the Special Committee was particularly conscious of the positive results achieved by its visit to Africa last year. While the Special Committee was unable, owing to the non-co-operation of the administering Powers concerned, to visit the colonial Territories it considered in Africa last year, it was enabled, by reason of its proximity to these Territories, to establish closer contact with the realities of their situation and to obtain more direct knowledge than hitherto regarding the aspirations of their peoples. The experience of the Special Committee in Africa last year thus made possible the adoption of several important resolutions concerning these Territories, which formed the basis of the relevant decisions taken by the General Assembly at its twentieth session.

The work of the Special Committee in Africa last year also benefited from the co-operation it was able to establish with the Organization of African Unity through the participation of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa as well as of the Administrative Secretary-General of that organization.

The Special Committee notes with grave concern that the renewed hopes of freedom and independence without delay which were inspired in colonial peoples by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples on its adoption over five years ago have, with but a few exceptions, not been realized. Indeed, owing to the negative attitude or non-co-operation of the administering Powers concerned, very little progress has been made in the implementation of the Declaration in most of the Territories, including the larger Territories in Africa, which engaged the attention of the Special Committee in previous years.

The Special Committee is convinced that its forthcoming visit to Africa will not merely demonstrate the increasing concern of the United Nations for the position of colonial peoples but strengthen its own capacity to assist these peoples in their struggle for independence. This consideration is of special significance in view of the General Assembly's request, contained in its resolution 2105 (XX) that the Special Committee in continuing to seek the best means for the immediate and full application of the Declaration, should, whenever it considers necessary, recommend a deadline for the accession to independence of each colonial Territory. Further, the Special Committee's visit to Africa will facilitate the appearance before it of representatives of nationalist movements wishing to express their views regarding the future of their countries, who would otherwise find it impossible to travel to New York.

The programme of the Committee's meetings in Africa is as follows:

Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania: between 22 and 30 May 1966;

Mogadiscio, Somalia: between 31 May and 3 June 1966;

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: between 4 and 9 June 1966;

Cairo, United Arab Republic: between 9 and 16 June 1966;

Algiers, Algeria: between 16 and 22 June 1966.

The items on the agenda of the Special Committee for these meetings will include all the colonial Territories in Africa, Aden, Oman, Mauritius and Seychelles.

#### ANNEX II

##### **List of representatives who attended the Special Committee's meetings in Africa**

###### *Afghanistan*

Mr. Abdul Samad GHAUS

###### *Australia*

Mr. Dudley McCARTHY, M.B.E.

Mr. John Howard BROOK

###### *Bulgaria*

Mr. Matey KARASIMEONOV

###### *Chile*

Mr. Hernán SÁNCHEZ

###### *Denmark*

Mr. Hans R. TABOR (in Dar es Salaam, Mogadiscio and Addis Ababa)

Mr. Skjold G. MELLBIN

Miss Karen HANSEN (in Dar es Salaam, Mogadiscio, Addis Ababa and Cairo)

###### *Ethiopia*

Mr. Getachew MEKASHA

Mr. Berhane DERESSA

*India*

Mr. Pram BHATIA (in Dar es Salaam)  
 Mr. S. SEN (in Addis Ababa and Cairo)  
 Mr. R. GOBURDHUN (in Algiers)  
 Mr. C. R. GHAREKHAN  
 Mr. Frank H. C. JOHN

*Iran*

Mr. Mohsen S. ESFANDIARY

*Iraq*

Mr. Adnan PACHACHI (in Cairo)  
 Mr. Ala'uddin ALJUBOURI

*Italy*

Mr. Ludovico CARBUCCI ARTENISIO

*Ivory Coast*

Mr. Julien KACOU

*Madagascar*

Mr. Gabriel RAKOTONIAINA

*Mali*

Mr. Mamadou Moctar THIAM

*Poland*

Mr. Kazimierz SMIGANOWSKI

*Sierra Leone*

Mr. G. B. O. COLLIER  
 Mr. G. E. O. WILLIAMS

*Syria*

Mr. Rafic JOUÉJATI

*Tunisia*

Mr. Moncef KEDADI

*Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

Mr. P. F. SHAKHOV  
 Mr. A. V. GRODSKY  
 Mr. I. G. NEKLESSA  
 Mr. G. I. VEKILOV

*United Republic of Tanzania*

Mr. J. W. S. MALECELA  
 Mr. S. CHALE (in Addis Ababa)  
 Mr. Ahmad DIRIA-HASSAN (in Cairo)  
 Mr. Mohammad Ali FOUH

*United States of America*

Mrs. Eugenie M. ANDERSON  
 Mr. Richard E. JOHNSON  
 Mr. Donald McHENRY  
 Mr. Raymond PERKINS

*Venezuela*

Mr. Leonardo DÍAZ GONZÁLEZ  
 Mr. Rafael OSUNA (in Dar es Salaam, Mogadiscio, Addis Ababa and Cairo)

*Yugoslavia*

Mr. Dimitar JANEVSKI